

ONE HUNDRED YEARS
OF SINGAPORE



SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES,
Founder of Singapore.

Photographed by Emery Walker from the picture in the National Portrait Gallery.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF SINGAPORE

GENERAL EDITORS
WALTER MAKEPEACE
GILBERT E. BROOKE
ROLAND ST. J. BRADDELL

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
C. M. TURNBULL

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INTRODUCTION

SINGAPORE celebrated its centenary in February 1919 at a time of British pride in imperial achievement and optimism about the future. The Great War was over, the Empire had emerged with its territorial boundaries widened to their greatest extent, and Governor Sir Arthur Young looked forward to a second prosperous century for Singapore 'assured of the blessings which must be the outcome of a victorious peace'.

The previous year, in March 1918, the Straits Settlements government had appointed a Centenary Committee under the chairmanship of the acting Colonial Secretary, George Maxwell. In addition to celebrating the anniversary itself, the Committee recommended, as a permanent memorial of the occasion, the founding of a college of higher education, to be financed by public subscription supplemented by government funds. This was achieved in 1928 with the establishment of the Raffles College of Arts and Sciences. After the Second World War it would combine with the King Edward VII Medical College to form the nucleus of the University of Malaya.

The Committee also sponsored a history of the settlement, and the two-volume *One Hundred Years of Singapore* was published in London in 1921. Compilation was put in the hands of three Singapore editors—Walter Makepeace, Gilbert Brooke, and Roland Braddell—who worked with the co-operation of a London subcommittee of former Singapore residents. The senior editor, Walter Makepeace, then proprietor/editor of the *Singapore Free Press*, had been

with the newspaper in Singapore for more than thirty years. One of Singapore's oldest journals, the *Free Press* had ceased publication in 1869 but was revived as a weekly in 1884. It was so successful that three years later the owners converted it to a daily, recruited an editor from England, William St. Clair, and hired Makepeace, who was then the official court reporter in Malacca, as his assistant. In 1895 Makepeace and St. Clair became joint proprietors, and after the latter retired to the West Indies in 1916, Makepeace continued to edit the *Free Press* for a further ten years, when he himself retired to England. Makepeace was eminently qualified to supervise the centenary publication and, together with a unique band of contributors, produced a volume which is still required reading for the student of Singaporean and Malaysian history.

As reporter of Legislative Council proceedings for sixteen years, between 1887 and 1902, Makepeace enjoyed from the outset a ringside view of Singapore's politics and the activities of its leading personalities. In the early years of colonial rule the press were excluded from the Legislative Council chamber, and it was the Clerk of Council's sole prerogative to produce reports. But in the late 1880s the situation changed, and, prior to the appointment of a government reporter, Makepeace's reports were used as the Council's official record. In later years Makepeace sometimes substituted in the absence of the official reporter. His behind-scenes impressions went further than the official reports, which he pointed out could be deficient, since it was hard to hear the members who convened round one long table. There was one occasion, under the punkah's soporific effect, when a three-hour debate was reduced to three columns of reporting. While Legislative Council sittings were open to the public, according to Makepeace no spectator ever sampled this depressing experience more than once.

Makepeace himself was active in public affairs. When the Straits Settlements Association was revived in 1888, Makepeace attended the first general meeting of the reconstituted Singapore branch and was its vice-president at the time of the Singapore centenary celebrations. The

Association had first been formed by discontented British businessmen in 1868, soon after the Straits Settlements were transferred from Indian to colonial rule, to agitate against the alleged shortcomings of the new Straits government. As the colonial regime became more accepted, the Association atrophied, but in its revived form it sought to influence the reaction of European and Straits Chinese opinion on official legislation. In the early 1890s the body resisted London's imposition of what was considered an exorbitant military contribution. This issue roused more fire than any other in the entire first century of Singapore's existence and, in Makepeace's words, produced 'undoubtedly the greatest effort made by the Colony in its history'. The Straits Settlements Association was at the centre of this controversy and was largely responsible for the compromise figure which was eventually agreed in 1895. This success encouraged it to declare the following year that its scope 'included everything relating to the Straits Settlements and the Malayan Archipelago and the adjoining countries'. The Association went on to clash with the government over municipal legislation, the anticipated effect of the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Ordinance, the expropriation of the Tanjong Pagar Dock Company, and the proposed imposition of income tax. But the Association rallied behind the government when the First World War broke out in 1914. It gave solid backing to the war effort, and in December 1918 sponsored a public meeting which urged the exclusion of Germans from Singapore for the next ten years.

Despite Makepeace's support for the military contribution protest campaign, he enrolled in the Volunteer Corps. In 1890 he was made secretary and treasurer of the newly formed Masters and Mates Association of the Straits Settlements and in 1921 was still treasurer of its successor body, the influential Merchant Service Guild. He joined the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1903, served as council member, librarian, and vice-president on a number of occasions, and in 1918-19 was honorary secretary of the Society.

Of Makepeace's two collaborators, Dr Gilbert Edward

Brooke, then Port Health Officer at Singapore, was born in France in 1873 and educated at Cambridge. He began his medical career in the West Indies, where he was also district commissioner and police magistrate for the Caicos Islands. When Brooke moved to Singapore he also acted as government analyst and veterinary surgeon. He subsequently became Chief Health Officer for the Straits Settlements and first Director of the League of Nations Health Section's Eastern Bureau. Brooke was an honorary lecturer at the King Edward VII College of Medicine and wrote several texts on hygiene and tropical medicine. A keen traveller, photographer, and gardener, he retired to live on Penang Hill, where he died in 1936.

The most illustrious of the three editors was the youngest, Roland St. John Braddell, who was born in Singapore in 1880, third-generation scion of a distinguished Straits family. His grandfather, Thomas Braddell, who came to Penang as a sugar planter in 1844, later took up the practice of law in Singapore and became the first Attorney-General of the Straits Settlements colony in 1867. Roland's father and uncle founded the legal firm of Braddell Brothers, which still survives. Sir Thomas de Mul-ton Lee Braddell, Roland's father, served for many years as a judge, then as Attorney-General in Singapore and subsequently as Chief Judicial Commissioner of the Federated Malay States. After studying law at Oxford and being called to the Bar in London in 1905, Roland Braddell returned to Singapore to join the family firm and was to play a prominent role in Malayan public life for more than half a century. His appointment as a member of the Singapore Housing Commission in 1917 was followed by service on many other government commissions and committees. Braddell sat on the Johor Executive Council and Council of State from 1932 until 1940, and after the Second World War he became legal adviser to the United Malays National Organisation. Trusted by both the Malay leaders and colonial authorities, he played a vital role in the difficult negotiations leading up to the creation of the Federation of Malaya in 1948, and he

continued to act as private legal adviser to the Conference of Rulers in the Federation of Malaya. Knighted in 1948, Braddell served on the Singapore Executive Council from 1949 to 1950 and was appointed chairman of the council of the newly established University of Malaya in 1949. He had wide literary and historical interests, publishing many papers and books.¹ Braddell joined the Straits (later Malayan/Malaysian) Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1913 and served on its council from 1926 until 1952, being vice-president from 1938 to 1947 and president from 1948 to 1951. He continued to practise law in Malaya throughout the 1950s, eventually retiring at the age of eighty to London, where he died in 1966.

Braddell held that 'the history of a place such as Singapore is chiefly the history of the men who lived in it', and *One Hundred Years of Singapore* is dedicated to 'the race of trader-statesmen and the clan of trader-fighters' and their descendants 'who bear the burden of this heritage today'. In fact, the book focused on the activities of the European community and relied heavily on personal reminiscences and old newspapers. It owed much in style and content to Charles Burton Buckley's *An Anecdotal History of Old Times in Singapore, 1819-1867*.² While the editors organized the book according to topics, it deals mainly with personalities and provides a revealing portrait of social life among the ruling class. The contributors dispel any notion of a sleepy tropical outpost and dreams of 'home' but vividly portray an active busy European community, defying the

¹Notably *The Law of the Straits Settlements*, 2 vols., Singapore, 1915, 2nd edition, 1931, reprinted Kuala Lumpur, 1982; *The Lights of Singapore*, London, 1934, reprinted Kuala Lumpur, 1982; *A Study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca and Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya*, originally published as two series of articles in the *Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, 1935-41 and 1947-51, and reprinted as *JMBRAS* Reprint No. 7, 1980.

²First published in two volumes, Singapore, 1902; reprinted in one volume, Kuala Lumpur, 1965; reprinted Kuala Lumpur, 1984, with an introduction by C. M. Turnbull.

equatorial heat to create a new and vibrant society with its own special character. The dominant community was fairly cohesive and not so conscious of rank as in most other British colonies. People were valued for their individual qualities, achievements, and eccentricities, for their versatility in music, sports, theatricals, and public service. Like the Gilbert and Sullivan operas which were so popular in Singapore during this period, a debunking Gilbertian sense of humour prevailed even from the early days of the colony. Braddell in particular in his writing blended erudition with gentle wit and a keen but affectionate sense of the ridiculous.

At the same time, the book tended to slur over discreditable acts among the rulers, while highlighting scandals and sensational murder trials among the Asian community. Thus Braddell describes how H.C. Caldwell, Senior Assistant Registrar in the Singapore Court, 'came to financial grief and left the country in 1856' when in fact he absconded to Hong Kong with \$100,000 of the Court's deposits.

In part, this racial distortion stemmed from the need for the Chinese, who constituted three-quarters of Singapore's population, to have a volume of their own. Initially the compilers planned to incorporate two or three chapters on the history of Singapore's Chinese, but they soon came to the conclusion that only a Chinese could undertake such a task. This was given to Song Ong Siang, a fifth-generation, London-educated Straits Chinese, with a brilliant academic record, who in 1894 was the first Chinese to be admitted to the Singapore Bar. Song's companion volume, *One Hundred Years' History of the Chinese in Singapore*,³ was also modelled on Buckley's *Anecdotal History*, highlighting prominent individuals and families of the settled Straits Chinese community, to the virtual exclusion of the China-born immigrant majority. Song's book bore a distinctly imperialist

³First published in London in 1923; reprinted Kuala Lumpur, 1967; reprinted Singapore, 1983, with an introduction by Edwin Lee.

flavour, concentrating on the assimilation of the Straits Chinese, to show, in the words of Makepeace's foreword, 'how the sons of an Old Empire can adapt themselves to the condition of a new one'. It was an important work, although separate from the main centenary history, and in this it reflected the status of the 'King's Chinese'. Many of them were successful and wealthier than the leading Europeans, mingling in the mainstream of public life, sending their sons to be educated in England, and adopting many of the characteristics of the British ruling class. Yet they were always socially separate, never wholly accepted by the colonial establishment nor seeking such acceptance.

One Hundred Years reveals the unhappy plight of the Eurasians, who, despite their vital and in some ways semi-privileged role in the colonial system, had by the turn of the century been edged out socially. The other communities, who constituted the great mass of Singapore's population, fade into a blurred background. It is significant that the chapter on 'Law and Crime' is given four times as much space as that on 'The Peoples of Singapore'.

The ignorance about other ethnic groups was indicative of the nature of Singapore's plural society, in which the different communities led essentially separate lives, living amicably and peaceably alongside each other. *One Hundred Years of Singapore* breathes the paternalism of that age, with its ostensible concern to use the colony's wealth to make a better future for all Singapore's inhabitants. In its comprehensive report, which was published in 1918, the Singapore Housing Commission, on which Braddell served, wanted to tear down half the town and rehouse the poor. But, as the chapter contributed by Alexander Still, editor of the *Straits Times*, indicates, Singapore's rulers also wanted to preserve harmony in the cosmopolitan society by segregating communities. This sense of benign aloofness towards what the dedication describes as 'the peoples in their keeping' can be seen clearly in the celebrations set for the Centenary Day itself, when the authorities set out to provide free entertainment and food for the masses, to arrange sea sports and

processions of schoolchildren, but to discourage the different communities from organizing their own participation 'as tending to ostentation and extravagant expenditure'.

As it celebrated its hundredth birthday, British Singapore looked back with confidence at the rapid strides made in the first two decades of the century in the expansion of population, the physical burgeoning of the town, and economic growth. Imperial confidence ran high, and *One Hundred Years* lauds its heroes of empire: founders, governors, and senior civil servants, such as Raffles, Clarke, and Swettenham. Frank Swettenham's *British Malaya*⁴ opened a new chapter in the interpretation of Singapore's role in its first century as the focal point of an apparently preordained advance of British control over the peninsula. The transformation of the Straits Settlements from a dependency of the government of India into a crown colony in 1867 is seen as a prelude to that expansion. It was the activities of local European and Chinese entrepreneurs which first drew an unwilling British government to 'intervene' in the Malay States. But *One Hundred Years* propagated the myth that Governor Sir Andrew Clarke arrived from London in 1873 with 'definite instructions for change' and also a 'happy capacity for picking out the right men'. J. W. W. Birch, first Resident of Perak, is quoted as a 'brilliant example', a view apparently not shared by the Sultan and his senior chiefs who murdered him.

But the hero of this history and of the Centenary Day itself was Thomas Stamford Raffles, and the greatest adulation was reserved for him and the ideals which he was presumed to have bequeathed. Central to the centenary celebrations was the promotion of higher education, which was indeed dear to Raffles's heart. Singapore also reaffirmed its dedication to free trade principles, which Raffles only came to espouse late in life, and hailed him as the

⁴Frank Swettenham, *British Malaya: An Account of the Origin and Progress of British Influence in Malaya*, London, 1906; revised edition, London, 1948.

pioneer of British territorial expansion, which was a latter-day heresy Raffles would have abhorred.

Once the British intervened in the Malay States, events in the peninsula overshadowed those of the colony, so that the compilers found 'really little to record' after 1874. *One Hundred Years of Singapore* deliberately avoided 'a "village pump" chronicle of petty struggles and squabbles' in favour of portraying Singapore as 'the absolute rock and foundation on which the whole of our confederation and confraternity depend; as a city grown up and dominant, not merely an eager little town...the capital and crown of British Malaya'. It was a place where imperial dreams had come true.

The contributors to these volumes saw the settlement not as a separate island but an integral part of the peninsula, a bastion of empire and guardian of the Pax Britannica. In 1919 they looked forward to yet closer ties with the hinterland across the projected causeway which would provide the final link in road and rail communications from Singapore through the length of the peninsula. This attitude was in sharp contrast to Singapore's 150th anniversary celebrations in 1969, four years after the enforced separation from the Federation of Malaysia, which impelled Singaporeans to stress their new-found self-reliance as an independent republic, a distinct nation, and a multiracial society.

C. M. TURNBULL

January 1991

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF SINGAPORE

BEING SOME ACCOUNT OF THE CAPITAL OF THE
STRAITS SETTLEMENTS FROM ITS FOUNDATION
BY SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES ON THE 6TH
FEBRUARY 1819 TO THE 6TH FEBRUARY 1919

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STRAITS SETTLEMENTS

VOL. I

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

1921

THE MERCHANTS AND THE FACTORS AND THE LONG-FORGOTTEN
WRITERS

WHO SOWED THE SEED OF EMPIRE IN A RUDELY FURROWED SOD ;
THE RACE OF TRADER-STATESMEN AND THE CLAN OF TRADER-FIGHTERS
WHO LAID THE LINES OF ORDER BY THE GRACE AND WILL OF GOD,
THE SONS FROM THESE DESCENDED, WITH THE PEOPLES IN THEIR
KEEPING,

THE MEN WHO BEAR THE BURDEN OF THIS HERITAGE TO-DAY,
EACH TOILER IN THE NOONDAY WITH HIS HEART AMID THE REAPING,
TO THESE AND THOSE THAT WATCH THEM DO I DEDICATE THIS LAY.

J. A. N.

PREFACE

THE writing of the articles in this book has been a labour of love : how great a labour only those who have worked in Singapore and have had occasion to rummage in the scrap-heap of its history can realise. Here there is no *dolce far niente* such as the home-staying Englishman imagines the East to grant. All are busy men, whose days are too full of work, and whose hours of rest and recreation are none too many. Year in, year out, the Government and mercantile offices are open, the Courts sit, the newspapers go to press. Even the public holidays are only so nominally for most men, and the private holiday is merged into the long leave to which we all look forward. We have no cultured class with ample leisure to spare for making an exhaustive chronicle of the past, so that it was obvious that the only way to get the history written was to divide it into articles and call for volunteers. It has been our good fortune that so representative a number of authors have been public-spirited enough to turn their leisure hours into more work, and to them the Committee responsible for the history tender their heartiest thanks, confident that the general public interested in the welfare of the town will add their mead of praise.

Such a method of compiling a history of a hundred years of varying civic, public, and social life of a number of communities such as Singapore contains must necessarily lead to some lack of proportion between the

contributions of the enthusiasts in the subjects dealt with. Also the amount of matter to be considered, and appropriate illustrations, grew enormously as the process of compilation went on. The Editors' task of eliminating was greater than that of compiling, and they are conscious that the necessary limits of the work and the cost of production have had to influence their decision as to what could go in. Nevertheless, they hope that no aspect of the Colony's life has been omitted. The history of the Chinese community is to be more fully dealt with in a separate publication now being written by Mr. Song Ong Siang, and the article in this work is but a very short summary of the history of the hundred years of the Chinese in the Straits. The same enforced brevity applies to other communities, whose records are not easy to obtain.

The Committee which undertook the work consisted of Mr. W. George Maxwell, C.M.G., the Honourable Mr. F. M. Elliot, O.B.E., Mr. Song Ong Siang, Mr. C. Bazell, the Rev. W. Murray, and the three Editors. Its thanks are due to the Government of the Straits Settlements for financial assistance and for a ready access to Colonial records. Many have assisted with their recollections and with advice, and have freely lent material for the illustrations. Though it is perhaps invidious to mention names, especial thanks are due to Mr. Elliot for the use of the blocks which illustrated Mr. Buckley's *Anecdotal History*; to Mrs. G. P. Owen and Mr. A. W. Bean, whose unique collections of photographs have been an inexhaustible mine; to Mr. W. E. Hooper; to Mr. M. Rodesse; to Mr. R. W. Braddell for the loan of his unique collection of caricatures; and to the heads of the mercantile firms who have helped in the difficult work of tracing the history of the firms. Mr. H. N. Buckeridge and Mr. Hibiya have been of the greatest assistance in preparing the photographs for the illustrations.

Finally, the Committee was most fortunate in having the assistance and co-operation of the London Sub-Committee, Mr. T. H. Reid, Mr. G. Brinkworth, and Major St. Clair, and in finding Mr. Murray willing to lend the prestige of his house to the enterprise.

WALTER MAKEPEACE.

GILBERT E. BROOKE.

ROLAND ST. J. BRADDELL.

SINGAPORE,

August 1919.

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ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF SINGAPORE

CHAPTER I HISTORICAL

SINGAPORE PRIOR TO 1819

*By C. O. Blagden, M.A., Reader in Malay,
University of London*

To write a history of the old Singapura would be something like the task imposed upon the children of Israel by Pharaoh : for where should one seek the straw to make those bricks with ? What has come down to us in the form of Malay tradition, written and unwritten, cannot be traced back beyond the sixteenth century, when the place had long been nothing but a distant memory. We need not, therefore, wonder that the material is hopelessly mixed up with myth and legend, affording no sure foothold for historical reconstruction. The most that can be done is to focus the few scattered gleams of evidence into a thin ray that may shed some feeble light upon the obscurity of the past, while setting in its true perspective the little that is really known on the subject. At bottom, Singapore is but a phase in a long process of evolution often deflected by outside influences and interrupted by catastrophic changes.

The essence of it all was the command of the international trade-route between East and West, from Indo-

nesia and China to India, Persia, and Arabia, and vice versa, which ran immemorially through the Straits. Even in the second century of our era Ptolemy notes names of Indian origin on the coasts of that region, given no doubt by Indian seafarers, some of whom became settlers, and eventually founded small Hindu and Buddhist states. When the veil is again partially lifted, we find in the seventh century one such State in Southern Sumatra, with its capital at or near Palembang. Its Buddhist rulers bearing the dynastic title of Maharaja are repeatedly mentioned by Arab travellers and geographers, and for centuries the State kept up close commercial and diplomatic relations with China, which are duly recorded in Chinese histories. Soon extending their sway over the Sumatran homeland of the Malays, properly so called, to the north-west of their capital, the kings of Palembang by degrees possessed themselves of out-stations far up the Straits, to Achin Head on the one side and what is now Lower Siam on the other. By methods which we should call piratical they took toll of all the trade that passed that way. Every vessel had to come into one or other of their ports, or take the alternative risk of being attacked in the narrow seas. As a matter of fact, they were practically forced by circumstances to come in somewhere. The produce of the Far East was brought down by the north-east monsoon, that of the West by the south-west monsoon. The exigencies of barter, coupled with the slowness of navigation in those early days, made an exchange depot a necessity, and the Straits were by nature predestined to that end.

The only question was as to where, precisely, that mart should be located. In early days Kedah, one of Palembang's most important out-stations, which had long been a port of call for navigators from India, was also apparently the favourite one from the Persian and Arab point of view. But the Chinese were induced or compelled to put in at Palembang on their way, and thither also went many traders from Western Asia, though it

made their journey longer. But wherever they went, Palembang took its toll of their merchandise.

For five or six centuries this state of things went on. In spite of occasional attacks on the part of the Javanese and the great Tamil dynasty of Coromandel, Palembang continued to hold its own, and dominated the entire region of the Straits. But fairly early in the thirteenth century we find evidences of impending trouble: the Palembang Empire begins to dissolve, partly perhaps from internal causes, partly under pressure from without. Already one or two of its out-stations or vassal states had begun to set up their independence: an instance is given by the Chinese writer Chau Ju Kua about A.D. 1225. Towards the close of the same century, there arose in the north of Sumatra a little cloud, which was to grow ere long into a mighty storm and sweep the Archipelago. The North Sumatran settlements were adopting Islam. Before venturing upon such a radical change, they must have practically slipped away from the overlordship of the South. Meanwhile, in the far north of the Peninsula, and on the isthmus leading to it, even worse things were happening. The Siamese power had overcome the Cambojan kingdom, and was pressing down upon the Malay outposts in the region of Ligor. The days of the Maharaja's Empire were manifestly numbered.

It is somewhere in this period, between A.D. 1250 and 1300, that we must, I think, conceive of Singapore starting upon its brief career of independent existence. How long it may have been a port of call before that time we do not know. The old native name of the place was Tēmasek, or Tumasik as the Javanese records spell it. Singapura was its Indian title, conferred upon it, no doubt, in reminiscence of some other "Lion City" in Kalinga or elsewhere. The legends which grew up around its name and fate are embodied in Malay literature, but are not worth repeating or discussing here. We may infer from them that for a century or more it was a flourishing port ruled by kings of its own, who may have been descendants of the Palembang house. We

learn from Chinese sources that early in the fourteenth century a Siamese naval expedition failed to take the place. Later on, somewhere about A.D. 1377, it was raided and devastated by the Javanese of Majapahit, who at that time conquered a considerable part of the Archipelago. But they did not apparently think it worth while to occupy the place permanently, and so it lapsed into insignificance and obscurity, being completely eclipsed by the new emporium of Malacca, of which Singapore now became an unimportant out-station. Towards the end of the fifteenth century we find mention of a governor of Singapore who was late in coming to make his obeisance to his sovereign lord the Sultan of Malacca, and was executed as a traitor accordingly. In the early part of the seventeenth century, when the Portuguese had long been masters of Malacca, and its Malay dynasty had fled and established itself in Johore, there was a harbour master (Shahbandar) at Singapore, which seems to indicate that at any rate a certain amount of trade found its way there. But the fame of the old town survived its importance, and the circumstances of its tragic fall left a deep impression on the Malay mind.

It can never have been a very big place. When it was refounded in the nineteenth century, few traces of its former existence were discovered, and they were not such as to indicate any great importance. Local tradition still pointed to the hill, now occupied by Fort Canning, on which the old palace of the Rajas had stood, and which no local Malay even then dared to ascend. But perhaps the only surviving relic that might have proved to be of historical value was a much-weathered inscription on a rock near the mouth of the Singapore River, which was wantonly destroyed a few years later by a vandal at the head of the Public Works Department. Some of the fragments were recovered and sent to the Calcutta Museum,¹ where all trace of them has

¹ The Editors have been successful in securing, through Dr. Hanitsch's kindness, a photograph of a fragment of the Calcutta stone, which is reproduced on the opposite page.



FRAGMENT OF THE OLD STONE.

now, it seems, been lost. So that clue, if it really was one, is gone for ever.

In the history of the Straits, which in essentials is the story of the rise and fall of successive commercial emporia, there is a sort of irregular periodicity. From very early days, Kedah, at the northern end, was the outstanding port of call, and such it remained, under the suzerainty of Palembang, probably till about the middle of the thirteenth century. Then the pendulum swings to the southern end of the Straits, and for a century or so Singapore, soon becoming independent of Palembang, seems to have been in a fair way to make good its natural geographical claim as the predestined trading *dépôt* of this region. But it had rivals in the small ports of Northern Sumatra, which now also emancipated themselves. Then came the disastrous Javanese conquest, and the pendulum swung again, but this time haltingly, only as far as Malacca. Malacca may already have had a fairly long existence as a port, but there is not much evidence of it. It now held its own for nearly four centuries. Then, towards the end of the eighteenth century, Penang, the modern representative of Kedah, was founded, and soon began to take the lead. A few years later the refounding of Singapore once more brought the commercial centre of gravity down to the southern end of the Straits.

It is a chequered story, and looking back upon it we see how through it all two contending forces have been at work. On the one hand, natural physical advantages of position, and on the other, political considerations. Powers outside the Straits—Palembang in early days, Majapahit in the fourteenth century, Batavia in the seventeenth and eighteenth—in turn disturbed the normal course of development that would have flowed naturally from the physical conditions. It has been reserved for our own times to create a freedom of trade which has given the geographical advantages of Singapore their full scope. The moral is plain for all to draw, and needs no comment here.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE SETTLEMENT

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To anyone in touch with Malay traditions and local history, as Sir Stamford Raffles was, the existence of the old port of Singapura must have been a familiar fact. It is the peculiar merit of the new founder that he applied this piece of common knowledge to the special requirements of his own time. The refounding of Singapore resembles in some degree the incident of Columbus and the egg: another man might have done it equally well, but did not. Already in the year 1703 the travelling Scot, Alexander Hamilton, had had the place offered to him as a gift by the then Sultan of Johore, and remarked, with characteristic prudence and foresight, that "it could be of no use to a private person, tho' a proper place for a company to settle a colony in, lying in the center of trade, and being accommodated with good rivers and safe harbours, so conveniently situated that all winds served shipping, both to go out and come in."

In 1818 the position of affairs in the Straits and the Far East was a critical one for the British East India Company. Under the treaties which were framed after the Great War of those days, we had agreed to restore to the Dutch, in substance, their great island empire which during that war we had captured from them and from the French, the temporary masters of the Netherlands. In that retrocession Malacca and its dependencies were comprised, and Malacca was, in fact, transferred on the 21st September 1818. The change meant that, unless something were promptly done, the Straits would fall under the command of the Dutch, and British trade would again be excluded from the Eastern Archipelago. Raffles saw the danger, and was determined to strain every nerve and stretch every point in order to prevent such a catastrophe. From the Government of Bengal he succeeded in obtaining for himself a commission to look out for a port to the south of Malacca which should

serve as an emporium for British trade after Malacca was given up. The Governor-General, in granting the commission, hedged it in with a careful proviso against doing anything that would raise objections on the part of the Dutch authorities. As a subordinate government, Calcutta could not take it upon itself to thwart the policy of Westminster.

There are, however, occasions on which a Nelson will put his blind eye to the telescope, and at the decisive moment Raffles determined to follow that recent precedent. Indeed, it is difficult to see how he could have carried out the main object of his instructions without in some degree infringing them in the letter : for the two things were incompatible. The Bengal Government wanted a port, and at the same time desired to avoid international complications. Yet it is pretty clear that, whatever site had been selected in that part of the world, the Dutch would have been sure to protest. At first Riau was considered, but when the news came that the Dutch were about to occupy it or had already done so, the thoughts of the Bengal Government, prompted no doubt by Raffles, turned to Johore (which then included Singapore) as a possible alternative. Having received his final instructions, and guided by what he knew of Singapore's former importance, Raffles left Calcutta about the 10th December 1818, arrived at Penang on the 30th, organised his little expedition in six ships, and departed for the south on the 19th January 1819.

That he had a pretty clear view of his objective appears plainly from his correspondence at this time with the Governor of Penang (who disapproved of the whole project) and with the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, in the course of which he points out the special advantages of Singapore. But already on the 12th December he had written a private letter to Marsden, wherein he says : " My attention is principally turned to Johore, and you must not be surprised if my next letter to you is dated from the site of the ancient city of Singapura." However, his mind was apparently not

finally made up, and he was ready to visit other places that might possibly be suitable for his purpose. Accompanied by Major William Farquhar, late Resident of Malacca, who had left Penang a few days earlier, and whom he overtook in the course of the voyage, he put in at the Kērimon Islands, near the western entrance of Singapore Straits (as recommended by Farquhar), but found them unsatisfactory, and set sail towards the Johore River. On the afternoon of the 28th January the little flotilla came to an anchorage off St. John's Island, near Singapore. That same day Raffles went on shore and had an interview with the Tēmenggong, the local Malay chief, who had settled on the island some years before with a few score of followers. It would seem that from that moment the matter was decided in Raffles's mind; his plans, if somewhat vague till then, now took definite and final shape. Singapore was to be his new foundation, come what might, for at that instant he fully realised its topographical advantages, and saw that he had indeed found what he had been in search of.

Raffles was by temperament an enthusiast, but he can hardly have been unaware that a settlement in that place would very probably raise protests on the part of the Dutch Government. Local politics were in a tangle. For about a century the historic Sultanate or Empire of Johore, which included also Pahang, the Riau-Lingga Archipelago, and much else besides, as well as Johore proper and its island dependency of Singapore, had been in something like a chronic state of dissolution. This was mainly due to the impotence of the Malay Government in face of the turbulent intrigues of a number of powerful and enterprising Bugis chiefs from Celebes, who had settled in the Riau-Lingga Archipelago during the eighteenth century. The titular Malay Sultan resided in the island of Lingga; but the real power behind the throne was the Bugis Yang-di-pertuan Muda (or Viceroy) of Riau, and the two principal Malay dignitaries, the Bēndahara and the Tēmenggong, had virtually become territorial chiefs in Pahang and Johore respectively,

though they still owned their allegiance to the Sultanate. That phantom throne, moreover, was suffering from a disputed succession. Some few years earlier the younger son of the late Sultan, in the temporary absence of his elder brother, had been seated upon it by the Bugis Viceroy, who was friendly to the Dutch. But this act of state had not by any means received the unanimous consent of the leading Malay high officials. However, the new Sultan had been formally acknowledged by the British East India Company in 1818, a treaty having been made with him in August of that year. But that arrangement had been forcibly overridden in November by Dutch interference under the claim that he was a vassal of the Government of the Netherlands, on the strength of former treaties made by the Dutch East India Company with one of his predecessors. The principal British authorities contended that such former treaties were obsolete, and were not revived by the changes consequent on the peace, and the matter was under discussion at the time. Meanwhile, the Sultan's elder brother had taken no active steps to assert his pretensions, but was living quietly as a private individual at Riau.

Raffles determined to avail himself of this imbroglio in order to further his plans. He at once sent Farquhar to Riau on a mission to the Viceroy, and a message was also despatched to the disappointed heir, Těngku Husain, generally known on account of his seniority of birth by the title of Těngku Long. Farquhar left on the 30th January, and on the same day a provisional agreement was made at Singapore between Raffles and the Těměnggong, acting both for himself and for the Sultan, that is to say the claimant Těngku Long. In consideration of an annual payment to the Těměnggong of three thousand dollars, the Company were to be allowed to establish a trading station at Singapore or some other place within the Government of Singapore and Johore, the Company agreeing to protect the Těměnggong, and the latter undertaking not to enter into relations with any other nation nor allow foreigners into his country.

Pending the arrival of the new Sultan, who was expected to come soon, the Company could select a place to land their forces and materials and hoist their flag.

Farquhar returned from his mission on the 3rd February. Though he had failed to secure the active support of the Bugis Viceroy, who felt bound by his recent agreement with the Dutch, he had at any rate gained his passive acquiescence. Meanwhile, on the 1st February, Těngku Long had arrived and paid Raffles a visit, and on the following day Raffles fully explained the situation to him. In pursuance of the understanding then come to, a definite treaty was made on the 6th February between Raffles, for the British East India Company, of the one part, and Těngku Long, now formally proclaimed under the title of Sultan Husain Muhammad Shah, and the Těměnggong, of the other. Save that an annual payment of five thousand dollars was allotted to the new Sultan, the treaty did little more than confirm and slightly amplify in some particulars the provisional agreement of the 30th January. It was eventually, in its turn, superseded by a further treaty (dated the 2nd August 1824 and ratified on the 19th November of that year), which enlarged the permission to establish a trading station on a very limited portion of the island of Singapore into the complete cession of the whole island, and its adjoining waters and islets, in full sovereignty and property, to the East India Company. Nevertheless, the 6th February 1819 is the true birthday of Singapore as a British Settlement. On the following day Raffles, the new founder of Singapore, having done what he had set out to do, departed from his new Settlement, leaving it in the charge of Farquhar as Resident and Commandant.

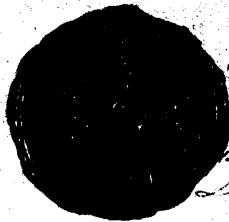
It cannot be denied that in all this transaction there was much that inevitably invited criticism from several different points of view, and in actual fact the controversy that it raised embittered the rest of the founder's career and probably shortened his life. On the technical question of the supremacy claimed by the Dutch over

ترجمہ حاصل ہوگی ایت

The Government of the Straits Settlements
Singapore, have received from the
British Consulate at the Straits Settlements
the following document.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the
document of the 18th of February 1819, containing
the original of the Treaty of the 6th of February 1819,
between the British and the Dutch Governments,
relative to the cession of the Straits Settlements
to the British Government.

مکدربے ایت کیت منور نکان تند
تاشن سرت چف کیت کد وادالم
قرطس این
د فیاوت کورت کفد سلسل حکاری
بولن ربیع الاخر تاهق ۱۲۳۴
ترسورق و نکر ی کیت فوراه اٹ



Attest
Agent
British Consulate
Singapore
with the Seal of the
Legation of the Straits Settlements



Singapore in virtue of their ancient, and now renewed, relations with the Sultans of Johore, there was a good deal to be said on both sides. It has all been said, at great length, elsewhere, and need not be repeated here. Admitting, also, that Těngku Husain had the better claim to the throne, it did not lie within the scope of Raffles's commission to regulate the succession of the Johore Empire, a necessary condition precedent (as it happened) to the acquisition of Singapore. The whole transaction was essentially an act of state, not to be justified by any formal legalities, but only, if at all, on wider grounds of public policy, and retrospectively by its results. On the other hand, the Dutch had had relations with the Johore Empire for upwards of two centuries, and had held Malacca from 1641 to 1795. Yet during the whole of that time they had never availed themselves of their opportunities to turn the natural advantages of Singapore to account. It would, of course, have competed with their Settlement of Malacca, which itself was cramped and checked in its development by the jealous policy of Batavia, their colonial capital. So when they raised objections the moment anyone else tried to do what they had neglected to undertake, their protests sounded rather like those of the proverbial dog in the manger.

There was, however, in this case the important difference that at the critical moment the objector was not in possession of the actual matter in dispute. Possession, as we all know, is nine points of the law, and in the end it prevailed. In 1824, after many protests, the Dutch Government withdrew its objections, and entered into a give-and-take treaty, which settled the question in our favour. But much heartburning remained, and the traces of it are by no means extinct even now: that fact is generally ignored by English writers, but it is desirable that it should be fully realised. Yet, taking a broader view, it may fairly be asked whether, as against any technical claims based on a more or less disputed title, the real benefits resulting

from the establishment of the new free port do not decisively bring down the scale. For the foundation of Singapore struck the death-knell of the bad old system of commercial monopoly on which the Dutch Colonial Empire had too long subsisted, and forced it to adopt the more modern and humane methods which have contributed so materially to its present flourishing and prosperous condition. In view of these results, the descendants of the contending parties of 1819 may well join hands in accepting an accomplished fact, which for the world at large, as well as for themselves, has been of such enormous practical benefit. After a hundred years, we may hope that this old controversy will close on a note of friendship and mutual goodwill.

Nor need we now use harsh language about the British authorities who at the time disapproved of Raffles's brilliant but highly irregular tactics. They were immediately let in for a peck of troubles, and they cannot reasonably be blamed for not foreseeing as clearly as he did the prospective advantages of his action. But to the founder belongs the great credit that he did foresee those advantages, that in his mind's eye he pictured to himself Singapore as it is to-day, and decided that for such an end much must be risked; that he faced obloquy, international controversy, the censure of his official superiors, and the ruin of his own career for an ideal which seemed to him to outweigh all these, and not for any personal reward. When he retired from the public service, a broken man, that memory was his solace, and we, who have profited by his brilliant stroke of genius, are in duty bound to recognise the grandeur of the conception which a century of realisation has made familiar to us.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE COLONY

By Roland St. J. Braddell

Singapore is the capital of the Crown Colony known by the somewhat unfortunate name of the Straits Settlements. This Colony at present comprises the

island of Singapore, the island of Penang, the town and province of Malacca, the territory and islands of the Dindings, Province Wellesley, Christmas Island, the Cocos Islands, and the island of Labuan, and their dependencies. These Settlements comprise some 1,600 square miles, but are very scattered ; thus, Singapore is 700 miles from Labuan, 110 from Malacca, 270 from the Dindings, and 350 from Penang. The last census, that of 1911, gave a total population for the colony of 714,069 persons.

For administrative purposes the Colony is divided into four Settlements :—

- (1) The Settlement of Singapore, which also includes Christmas Island and the Cocos Islands ;
- (2) The Settlement of Penang, which also includes Province Wellesley and the territory and islands of the Dindings ;
- (3) The Settlement of Malacca ; and
- (4) The Settlement of Labuan.

The administration of the Colony is entrusted to the Governor, who is assisted in carrying on its government by an Executive Council. The chief executive officers are : at Penang, the Resident Councillor, who has a seat *ex officio* on the Legislative Council, and at Malacca and Labuan the Residents, who do not have such seats. Singapore is the seat of government, and there are situated the headquarters of the Governor (who is also High Commissioner of the Federated and Unfederated Malay States and British Agent for British North Borneo) and of the military forces of the Colony.

The first Englishman through Malayan waters was Sir Francis Drake in 1578, during his famous voyage round the world ; but the first Englishman to travel in the Peninsula was a London merchant, Ralph Fitch, in 1583. He returned to England in April 1591, and in that same month Lancaster commenced his first voyage to Malaya. It proved a disastrous failure. He anchored at Penang in June 1592, with his men in the last stage of weakness from scurvy. At Penang he buried twenty-

six of his crew and Mr. Rainold Gouldring, "a merchant of great honesty and much discretion." These, then, were the first Englishmen known to die and be buried in the Straits, but their last resting-place is unknown.

In 1600 the East India Company was formed. It had for its principal object trading in Malaya. It may thus be said fairly that the early Malayan trade was the parent from which our great Indian Empire sprang, and, as will be seen, Malaya, so far as it was British, was directly connected with India until 1867.

In 1684 the East India Company's Government at Madras established a fort and factory at Indrapoer, and on the 25th June 1685 Fort York at Bencoolen, from the establishment of which latter fort may be dated the real dawn of British power in Malaya. In 1763 the fort and establishment at Bencoolen were formed into a separate presidency, with a Lieutenant-Governor at its head; but though the British were thus established in Sumatra, they had no foothold in the Straits of Malacca, while, on the other hand, their great rivals, the Dutch, were established at Malacca, and had been so for more than a century.

The British accordingly judged it necessary to establish a commercial port in the Straits of Malacca, and at first Acheen was considered the best place. A Mr. Kinloch was sent to the King of Acheen towards the end of 1784, but his efforts at negotiation proved fruitless. Then Captain Francis Light proposed again the island of Penang, and in 1786 negotiations were opened by him with the King of Kedah for the cession of the island. These proved successful, and Captain Light, with a body of Marines, landed at Penang on the 15th July 1786, where the British flag was hoisted on the 11th August 1786, the eve of the birthday of "the first gentleman in Europe," in whose honour the island was renamed "Prince of Wales's Island," by which name it was long known. Penang, or Pinang as it is more correctly, is the Malay name for the betel-nut palm (*pokok pinang*), with which beautiful trees the island abounds.

The occupation had taken place by virtue of an agree-

ment entered into between Captain Light and the King of Kedah ; but the latter was far from satisfied, as he considered that there had been a breach of the agreement, as indeed there had. Early in 1790 he gathered a quite formidable force at Prai, and declared his intention of attacking Penang. Light got wind of this, and at once got together a force of 400 armed men, with whom he attacked the King in his stockade, captured it, and put to flight the fleet of war prahus which had gathered for the attack on Penang. On the 1st May 1791 a treaty was concluded by Captain Light with the King for the cession of the island. This treaty seems to have been negotiated under the impression that the King was an independent sovereign, whereas he was in reality a tributary of Siam. The British government over Penang was, however, expressly acknowledged by the Siamese under the Treaty of Bangkok in 1826. The expression " King of Kedah " is preserved because the old records refer to him under that style : his real title was, of course, Sultan.

Penang was practically uninhabited when the British acquired it ; but the success of the Settlement was at first rapid and startling, so that within three years of its acquisition Captain Light, who was appointed Superintendent from the first, was able to report that there was a population of 10,000 on the island, which was continually being increased, and that its imports had reached the value of £130,000.

Light died of malarial fever on the 21st October 1794, and lies buried in the old grave-yard in Penang, where there is also a simple tablet to his memory in St. George's Church, which church was consecrated in May 1819. Francis Light's name ranks second only to that of Sir Stamford Raffles in the history of the Colony ; like Raffles he was persecuted by the East India Company's officials in India, and also like Raffles he died a poor man. He was born at Dallinghoo, near Melton in Suffolk, and received his education at Woodbridge Grammar School, after which he entered the Royal Navy, serving as a

midshipman in H.M.S. *Arrogant*. In 1765 he left the Navy, and went to India to seek his fortune. At Calcutta he was given command of a country ship which traded with Siam and Malaya. In 1771 he was employed by Messrs. Jourdan, Sullivan & de Souza, of Madras, as their agent at Kedah, and it was in that year that he first laid a definite proposal before Warren Hastings for the acquisition of Penang as "a convenient magazine for Eastern trade." His elder son, Colonel William Light, laid out the city of Adelaide in Australia, and his memory is solemnly toasted every year at the election of the Mayor. His portrait hangs in the National Portrait Gallery.

At first the Indian Government were not too pleased at having acquired Penang, but events in 1797 altered their views. In that year the island was made the rendezvous of the expeditionary force despatched from India against Manila. This force numbered 5,000 Europeans and a correspondingly large body of native troops. It never got beyond Penang, as the objects for which it had been despatched were accomplished without its aid; but the experience gained drove home to the official mind the extraordinary value of the place. Colonel Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, was one of the force, and he wrote a memoir about Penang and its possibilities which had a great effect in India, none the less so because his brother, the Earl of Mornington, arrived shortly after as Governor-General.

In 1800 the island was given a regular form of government, and Sir George Leith, Bart., was appointed the first Lieutenant-Governor. On the 6th June that year he concluded a fresh treaty with the King of Kedah, whereby we obtained the cession of the district known as Province Wellesley (so called after the Duke of Wellington), on the mainland opposite Penang, and it became and has always remained part of the Settlement of Penang for administrative purposes. The territory at first obtained in the province was a mere strip of coast little more than three miles in width, and running from the Muda River to the Krian River. In 1831 its limits

were extended and its tenure better defined by treaty with the Siamese Government, and in 1867, by a further cession by the same Government, the boundaries were further extended. In 1874, by treaty with Perak, another slice, the Trans-Krian, was added, so that the province now has a coast-line 45 miles in length, its extreme width being 13 miles and its least $7\frac{1}{2}$. The object of its acquisition was, of course, to render more secure our tenure of Penang. It is very valuable agricultural land, and it is interesting to note that the price which we paid for the first cession in 1800 worked out at a little over a penny an acre.

In 1801 Penang was given a proper judicial administration, Mr. John Dickens being appointed magistrate; he was an uncle of the great novelist, Charles Dickens, and had been practising at the bar in Bengal. The trade of Penang went ahead so much that the Indian Government, imbued with a sense of its great importance, in 1805 raised Penang to the rank of an Indian Presidency, under a Governor and Council, and its relations with the home authorities and the Supreme Government of India became the same as those of Bombay and Madras. The first Governor was Mr. Philip Dundas, who arrived with a numerous body of officials, including no less than twenty-six Europeans.

In 1807 the Crown granted a Charter of Justice for Penang, and by it established "the Court of Judicature of Prince of Wales's Island," which Court first sat in June 1808, when the first Recorder, Sir Edmond Stanley, took his seat on the Bench, Thomas Stamford Raffles, the founder of Singapore, being the Registrar.

The ancient history of Malacca, like that of Singapore, is a matter of much doubt, practically the only guide being the Malay Annals (*Sejarah Melayu*). If they are to be believed, then after the destruction of Singapore a number of fugitives, headed by the King of Singapore himself, established themselves at the mouth of the Malacca River and founded the city. Mr. R. J. Wilkinson, C.M.G., however, considers the Annals unreliable,

and thinks that though probably a party of refugees did do something to found the old town of Malacca, it is extremely doubtful if they were headed by the fabulous Iskander Shah, King of Singapore. The name of Malacca is taken from the *Phyllanthus Emblica*, or *Malaka* plant.

As early as A.D. 1403 the Chinese annals mention Malacca, and they tell us that in 1405 its king was recognised by the Emperor of China, and received a chop (seal), a suit of silk clothes, and a yellow umbrella. The Chinese work called *Ying Yai Sheng Lan*, dated A.D. 1416, speaks of the Malacca Malays as devoted Mahomedans, and says that they paid very little attention to agriculture, but were good fishermen, using dug-outs, and that they possessed a currency of block tin, lived in very simple huts, raised some four feet from the ground, that they traded in resin, tin, and jungle products, made very good mats, and that "their language, their books, and their marriage ceremonies are nearly the same as those of Java."

The town became a trading centre of very great importance, so that it attracted the notice of the Portuguese, when, to use the words of Sir George Birdwood, they burst into the Indian Archipelago "like a pack of hungry wolves upon a well-stocked sheep walk." In 1511 they captured it under the leadership of Albuquerque, and after some desperate fighting. The Portuguese held Malacca for 130 years, a period of disaster throughout, in which, with the exception of courage and daring, they exhibited none of the qualities fit to rule an Asiatic people. Amongst their other follies, they declared a crusade against the Mahomedan religion, and in their endeavour to establish a commercial monopoly, waged a piratical war on all who opposed them. This brought them a host of enemies, and Malacca was continually being besieged by the Malays and Javanese, in addition to which for forty years before its fall the Portuguese were assailed by the Dutch, who besieged Malacca in 1606 and 1608 without success. In 1641,

after a nine months' siege, the Dutch captured it, and held it for 154 years.

One of the most romantic episodes in the history of the town was connected with the visits to it of St. Francis Xavier, "the Apostle of the Indies." On his first visit in 1547 he scourged the inhabitants for their vices and their crimes; but his teaching produced only a temporary effect, and on his subsequent visit he found the people had relapsed into their former iniquities. "Before his final departure," wrote the late Mr. T. Braddell in *Logan's Journal*, "Malacca was publicly cursed. Standing in the church door, the Saint took off his sandals, struck from them the dust, and declaring the place accursed, refused to bear away so much as even the dust from the earth. The curse is said to rest on Malacca to the present hour, and is frequently brought forward to account for the wretched state of decay and misery in which the place is now found." That was written in 1858; the cynic would remark to-day that the price of rubber has proved a most effective antidote to the poison of the Saint's curses, for Malacca prospers like the wicked.

On the 25th August 1795 the Dutch in Malacca capitulated to a British squadron under command of Captain Newcome, of H.M.S. *Orpheus*, and Major Brown, of the East India Company's service. In thus occupying the place the British Government acted nominally as the protector of legitimate Dutch rights usurped by Napoleon Buonaparte. In that rôle the British were prepared to hand back the Settlement to its rightful owners on the conclusion of the Peace of Amiens in 1802. But as war was resumed before the retrocession could be made, the occupation continued. The cost of administration was heavy, and there was practically no return, as trade had to a large extent been diverted to Penang. Lieut.-Colonel Farquhar, then Governor of Penang, proposed under these circumstances that the place should be abandoned after the destruction of the fortifications. The Court of Directors agreed, and the fortifications were

destroyed in 1807 at very great cost, only a single gateway at present remaining. Raffles, by a vigorous despatch, got the Directors to change their policy of evacuation, and the British occupation continued. Three years later the wisdom of this was shown by the use made of Malacca for the Java expedition which assembled there in 1810. The force, which consisted of 6,000 European troops, an equal number of native troops, a train of artillery, and some cavalry, was collected to destroy the revolutionary government established in Java under Daendels, one of Napoleon's marshals. The British landed near Batavia on the 4th August 1811, and gained a decisive victory over the local forces led by General Janssens at Cornelis on the 26th August. The island became British, and Raffles was appointed its Lieutenant-Governor. It was handed back to the Dutch in 1816 under the Treaty of Vienna, under which same treaty we restored Malacca, but not until 1818.

This treaty was signed in 1814, and the British were therefore bound in that year to restore Malacca to the Dutch. It accordingly became necessary to obtain a station which would command the Straits of Malacca if England were not to lose her trade. Singapore was the place eventually selected and finally ceded to us by the formal Treaty of the 6th February 1819. By the Treaty of the 17th March 1824, the occupation of Singapore was confirmed by the Dutch, and Malacca was restored to the British, in whose possession it has remained ever since. By this same treaty we gave up Bencoolen.

After its transfer back to us in 1825 Malacca was governed by a Resident subject to the authorities at Penang. The affairs of Singapore were administered by Sir Stamford Raffles as Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen, with a Resident as the chief local executive officer, until 1823, when they were placed under Bengal.

In 1826 Malacca and Singapore were united to Penang, and the three stations formed into one Settlement, under one government, consisting of a Governor or President, with a Resident Councillor at each station.

The three stations were designated "The Settlement of Prince of Wales's Island, Singapore and Malacca," but they still continued to constitute an Indian Presidency.

On the 18th October 1826 a treaty was effected with the Sultan of Perak, whereby he ceded to the East India Company the island of Pangkor and the Sembilan Islands, nominally in order to bring about the suppression of the piracy of which these islands formed the headquarters. As a matter of fact they were never occupied until 1874, when by the Treaty of Pangkor we obtained confirmation of the cession and the addition of that piece of territory known as the Dindings, which were at first administered by a British official from Perak, but shortly afterward became and are still part of the Settlement of Penang for administrative purposes.

On the 27th November 1826 a second Charter of Justice was granted by the Crown, which established "The Court of Judicature of Prince of Wales's Island, Singapore and Malacca," and the new court sat for the first time at Penang in August 1827.

On the formation of the separate government at Penang in 1805, hopes were entertained that the Settlement would become one of considerable importance, and in consequence an establishment on a large scale was sanctioned, as has been seen. The lavish provision of officers caused the civil establishment alone to reach the sum of £58,393 per annum; the Governor received £7,820, the three Councillors between them £11,880, the secretary to the Government £1,760, the assistant secretary £1,320, and so on. In 1806 the Governor reported the value of exports actually cleared through the Customs House during a period of six months only as being \$1,766,731; but from 1810 the trade became stationary, so that by 1814 the total loss on the Settlement to the Indian Government was £81,448. Orders were given for reductions, but they were not attended to, so that in 1829 the Court of Directors gave positive orders to the Supreme Government in India to reduce the establishment and break up the local government

altogether, which was accordingly done by Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General of India, who visited the Straits, landing in Penang on the 16th March 1829. His Lordship is said to have remarked that he could not see the island for cocked hats ! In 1830 the Presidency was abolished, and the three Settlements were placed under the Government of Bengal. Mr. Fullerton's proposal to make Malacca the headquarters station was disapproved of, and Singapore became the headquarters of government in 1832, and has remained so ever since. The civil establishment was ultimately fixed at £19,176 ; the Resident received £3,600, the Deputy Residents at Singapore, Penang, and Malacca £2,400 each, the Assistant Resident at Penang £1,296, the Assistant Residents at Singapore, Province Wellesley, and Malacca £720 each.

Owing to a misinterpretation of the Charter of Justice, the titles of Governor and Resident Councillor had to be restored in place of Resident and Deputy Resident, but the Settlements continued, nevertheless, to be subject to Bengal. In 1858 the East India Company was abolished, and the Settlements came under the new Indian Government, and so remained until the transfer in 1867.

In 1831 the Naning War was waged. Naning is in the north part of Malacca, and covers about 240 square miles. In 1830 Penghulu Dool Syed, abetted by the surrounding states, put himself in open rebellion, and in October of that year crossed the boundary and seized some land belonging to a Malay British subject, who applied to us for redress. The Penghulu refused to listen to our remonstrances, so a force was despatched against him in August 1831, thus commencing the war. Our first attack was unsuccessful, and the force retreated to Malacca, leaving two six-pounder guns in the jungle. In March 1832 the second campaign nominally opened, but nothing was done until June, when H.M.S. *Magicienne* commenced a blockade of the Linggi and Kesang Rivers, and our troops captured Tabu, the residence of Dool

Syed, who escaped and wandered an outcast until 1834, when he surrendered. The war is a very inglorious page in the history of British arms ; it cost £100,000, and in the final operations our troops took ten weeks to cover the last twelve miles of a march the goal of which was only twenty-two miles from the town of Malacca.

In 1857 the European population of the Straits had begun to agitate for severance from the Indian control. They petitioned the Houses of Parliament, and amongst the many points which they made were that the Straits were too far from India for the Government there to understand their needs ; that the Indian Government took very little interest in them since the loss of the Government's trade monopoly with China ; that the community was not represented, as there was no Council of any kind ; and that the Indian Government had entirely neglected to cultivate good relations with the neighbouring Malay States, which last was a particularly burning grievance. After six years of ceaseless agitation Sir Hercules Robinson, Governor of Hongkong, who was on his way home, was ordered to stop at Singapore and report on the question, which he did. In 1866 the Government of the Straits Settlements Act was passed by Parliament, and on the 1st April 1867 the Straits Settlements became a Crown Colony.

It will be as well to see how the three Settlements had prospered up to this date. The trade of Penang remained stationary from 1810 to 1844, the figures for these two years having been £1,106,924 and £1,110,036 respectively. By 1853 it reached £1,687,347, and from that year the progress was marked and steady, rising to £3,838,353 in 1859. The trade of Singapore rose from £2,563,124 in 1823 to £4,241,334 in 1830 ; from 1840 the increase was steady and continuous till 1857, when it reached £10,062,187, while in the next year it increased very nearly two and a half millions, the highest point which it reached prior to 1861.

The effect of the establishment of Singapore on the trade of the other two Settlements was marked. Penang

fell off from £1,352,722 in 1822 to £708,559 in 1831, when the revival commenced. Malacca had a total of £318,426 in 1826, which decreased gradually, until in 1844 it was only £159,529. From that year, however, Malacca revived, and the increase was progressive, until it showed a total of £920,227 in 1859.

In 1865 the total trade value of the three Settlements was £18,570,080, the revenue being £193,937 and the expenditure £115,529; so that it could be claimed that if they were constituted into a Colony they would be able to pay their way. India was content to agree to the separation, for the Government there claimed that the military establishment cost it annually £300,000, towards which the Settlements contributed only £63,000, and the fact is that the Straits had always been a burden on the Indian finances, due principally to their neglect by the Indian Government. Thus Sir Harry Ord, the first Governor, made the Colony pay its way, and left it in 1871 with a very respectable credit balance.

How the Straits have prospered as a Colony may be seen from the fact that in 1911 the revenue amounted to £1,331,076, the imports to £46,437,349, the exports to £39,887,146; while by 1916 these figures had risen to a revenue of £2,021,331, imports £63,242,000, and exports £57,436,000.

Until the transfer the three stations were garrisoned by sepoy from Madras, assisted by a detachment of native and a small force of European artillery also from Madras, the latter being for the fort and arsenal at Penang; two extra native regiments had been raised in the Madras Presidency especially to supply the requirements of the Straits Settlements. In about 1857 a small force of Madras European artillery was sent to Singapore, and constituted the first European troops of any arm stationed there. In 1860 the garrison at Singapore numbered 1,093, of which 904 were sepoys; at Penang 622, of which 514 were sepoys; and at Malacca 216, of which 174 were sepoys.

With respect to works of defence Penang long pos-

sessed the fortification called Fort Cornwallis; but in 1866 it was believed to be incapable of affording protection either to the town or the shipping in the harbour, and no other military works existed there. The old fort at Malacca had been dismantled, as we have seen, and no other defences of the same nature were constructed afterwards. At Singapore a small work called Fort Fullerton existed at the mouth of the river, but was left incomplete until 1858, when it was completed, and other fortifications on an extensive scale were commenced, being completed prior to the transfer.

On the transfer the Colony received an Executive and a Legislative Council, the constitution and functions of which bodies are at this date governed by the instructions of the 17th February 1911. At first the chief executive officers at Malacca and Penang were entitled Lieutenant-Governors, but when Captain Shaw, Lieutenant-Governor for Malacca, died in April 1879, the office was abolished in that Settlement, and the title changed to Resident Councillor, the officer having a seat upon the Legislative Council, as was the practice until comparatively recently. When Major-General Anson, Lieutenant-Governor of Penang, retired in July 1882, the office was abolished there also, and a Resident Councillor substituted, with a seat on the Legislative Council, as is the practice now. Penang objected violently, and from time to time agitations were commenced and petitions sent to the Secretary of State. The grievance still remains, and only quite recently it was again suggested that the office of Lieutenant-Governor should be restored.

We come now to a very important episode in the history of the Colony, the pacification of the Native States, as they were called. After Raffles and Crawford a succession of officials, knowing that the Supreme Government in India did not wish to have any trouble about the politics of a quarter so distant, deliberately shaped a course of utter neglect towards the Native States, although the Press and the public were frequently urging action.

As Sir Frank Swettenham wrote in his book *British Malaya*, few things are more remarkable in the history of the Straits than the gradual loss of interest in, and knowledge of, the neighbouring Malay States. He points out how research into everything Malay was the guiding force of Raffles's life, and how his example stirred men like Marsden, Crawford, Logan and Braddell to study and write on the subject, an enthusiasm which lasted until 1860, when, of all the leading contributors "to what may be called the English literature of Malaya," only Mr. Braddell remained, and his duties as Attorney-General occupied all his time during Sir Harry Ord's administration.

Sir Frank says that in the first years of the Colony's history, from 1867 to 1874, it is almost inconceivable how little was actually known of the independent Malay States in the Peninsula. "What was understood," he writes, "was that, in many of the States, there was going on some kind of domestic struggle between rival claimants to power who, from time to time, as they could raise funds or gain credit, sent to the Colony for arms and ammunition to carry on a warfare which claimed comparatively few victims and in which the fortunes of the combatants varied with bewildering rapidity." When the Chambers of Commerce of Singapore and Malacca petitioned the Government protesting against the turmoil and anarchy that prevailed in these States, Sir Harry Ord caused the answer to be made that if they choose to run the risk of placing their persons and property in the jeopardy which they were aware would attend them in the Peninsula, "they must not expect the British Government to be answerable if their speculation proves unsuccessful" !

However, the hand of Government was forced by a development of the disturbances in Selangor which had drawn Rembau and Sungei Ujong, two of the Negri Sembilan, into the quarrel. The Sungei Ujong chief and one of the Selangor chiefs directly invoked British aid, and Sir Harry Ord visited the scene of the distur-

bances in 1872, where he patched up a sort of peace that proved quite useless. In Selangor for years a family feud, in which the Sultan's three sons represented the opposition, had led to perpetual turmoil and placed the property of traders at the mercy of any body of marauders who might take a fancy to it. In the autumn of 1873, when Sir Harry Ord's administration ceased, affairs in Perak were in a disgraceful state owing to the quarrel about the succession to the Sultanship, and a continuing fight, with heavy losses on both sides, between two factions of Chinese who were struggling for the possession of valuable tin mines. These two factions were known as the Go Kuans (the five tribes) and the Si Kuans (the four tribes), and the mines over which they fought lay around Larut. The Mantri of Perak espoused the cause of the Go Kuans, and gave them all the assistance he could. The Si Kuans had seized and stockaded positions between the Go Kuans and the sea, but as the Mantri owned two small steamers and was the recognised authority in Larut, he kept his friends supplied with food and arms, and attempted to starve into submission the Si Kuans, who, however, were helped by their friends in Penang. These two factions waged a very real warfare, and no one was safe, for the Si Kuans established a fort on the Larut River, and fitted out big fighting-boats, armed with guns. They attacked the boats of H.M.S. *Midge*, and a fairly long action ensued, in which they were beaten off; but two British officers were wounded. They also attacked British police stations at the Dindings and in Province Wellesley.

A policy of inaction could clearly be pursued no longer, and Lord Kimberley sent out the new Governor, Sir Andrew Clarke, with definite instructions, which were duly carried out. The Governor sent Mr. W. A. Pickering, the Chinese Protector, to the chief centre of disturbances in Perak to see if the leaders would be prepared to accept his arbitration on their differences. Mr. Pickering was completely successful. The Treaty of Pangkor was signed on the 20th June 1874, and forms

the legal foundations of the system of administering what are to-day the Federated Malay States. A Proclamation in November 1874 ushered in the new *régime* by the appointment of Mr. J. W. W. Birch as Resident of Perak, and Mr. J. G. Davidson, the Singapore lawyer, as Resident of Selangor.

Mr. Birch was murdered in 1874, and the Perak War followed, the British force consisting of 2,000 troops, 1,500 of whom were British soldiers, aided by a strong Naval Brigade, and being commanded by Major-General the Hon. F. Colborne, C.B., and Brigadier-General John Ross. The force met with stubborn resistance, and protracted operations were necessary before the country settled down under the British protectorate; in the course of these operations Captain Channer won the Victoria Cross.

In 1888 a British subject was murdered in Pahang, and Sir Cecil Smith, then Governor of the Straits Settlements, demanded an explanation and satisfaction. The former was unsatisfactory and the latter was not forthcoming, but serious consequences were averted by the Bandahara taking the advice of the Sultan of Johore and asking for the appointment of a British Resident. In October 1888 Mr. J. P. Rodger was appointed, while Mr. Hugh Clifford, who had already spent some years in Pahang as Governor's agent, remained to assist the Resident. Disturbances broke out in Pahang in 1894, which necessitated long, harassing, and expensive military operations.

The formation of the State now known as the Negri Sembilan began in 1883, but did not assume its present position until 1895, when Sungei Ujong, the last outstanding State, was merged.

In 1895 the four States of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, and Pahang were formed into the Federated Malay States, and since then their prosperity has been a tale of wonder.

In 1886, by an Order of Her Majesty in Council, the Cocos or Keeling Islands were annexed to the Straits

Settlements, and placed under the Government of the Colony. These islands had been discovered in 1609 by Captain Keeling, of the East India Company's service, but they attracted no further attention until Captain Ross visited them in 1825. Finding them unoccupied, he returned to Scotland, and induced some people from there to come back with him and colonise them. Returning to the islands in 1827 he found Alexander Hare and a party of colonists settled in them. The two factions lived on bad terms with each other, and though many of the Ross colonists left the place owing to its being already occupied, the Ross influence exceeded that of the Hare. The latter, an idle man of most eccentric character, was gradually deserted by his followers, who went over to Ross. Finally Hare left the islands and, it is said, came to Singapore to die.

In 1854 Ross died, and was succeeded by his son Mr. J. G. Clunies-Ross. The islands, which had from time to time been visited early by ships of various nationalities, received a formal visit early in 1857 from H.M.S. *Juno*, when Captain Fremantle took possession of the group in the name of the British Government, and appointed Mr. J. G. C. Ross to be Superintendent. In 1878 the islands were placed under the Government of Ceylon, so remaining until 1886. In 1903 they were incorporated in the Settlement of Singapore, and are the headquarters of a cable station on the route from Cape Colony to Australia. In 1914 the German cruiser *Emden* was destroyed off the islands by H.M.A.S. *Sydney*.

By a Proclamation of the 23rd May 1900 Christmas Island was annexed to the Colony, and by an Ordinance of 1900 it became part of the Settlement of Singapore. The island had been annexed by Great Britain in 1888, a settlement being made there by a party of twenty persons from the Cocos Islands. By Letters Patent of the 8th January 1889 the Governor of the Colony had been made also Governor of Christmas Island. It possesses extensive deposits of phosphate of lime, which are quarried by the Christmas Island Phosphate Company,

to which company the island is let on a ninety-nine years' lease.

The first connection of the British with Labuan was when in 1775 they were expelled by the Sulus from Balam-bangan, and took temporary refuge on the island. It became a British Colony by cession as a *quid pro quo* for assistance in suppressing piracy. The Sultan of Borneo, Omar Ali Saifudin, himself made the offer, in conjunction with the Rajah Muda Hussin, in a document addressed to Queen Victoria in 1844, in consequence of the visit of Captain Sir Edward Belcher in H.M.S. *Samarang* to Brunei to enquire into rumours of the detention of a European woman there. The Sultan became terrified by a report that the British were going to attack his capital, and the document mentioned above was drawn and despatched with a view of preventing such measures. No advantage was taken of it at the time, but when Sir James Brooke, K.C.B., was appointed Her Majesty's Agent in Borneo, the Sultan and the Rajah Muda, in accepting the appointment in February 1845, again expressed their adherence to their former declarations, and asked for immediate assistance to protect Brunei from the pirates of Marudu, a bay at the northern extremity of Borneo. This assistance was duly granted. In April 1846 the Sultan plotted the murder of the Rajah Muda, who committed suicide to escape assassination. Sir Thomas Cochrane, the Admiral in command of the station, then attacked and captured Brunei. In November 1846 possession was taken of Labuan, and a treaty was effected with the Sultan on the 24th May 1847. The British flag had been hoisted previously, on the 24th December 1846.

Labuan was made a Crown Colony, and given a Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and a staff of British officers; and a Legislative Council was created for the new colony. It was governed as a Crown Colony until 1889, and in its palmy days was the centre of a thriving trade. Much was hoped from the deposits of coal which the island possessed, but they have never proved profitable. The

Colony was nearly always in financial straits, so that from 1890 to 1906 it was placed under the control of the British North Borneo Company, its establishment as a Crown Colony having been broken up. By Letters Patent of the 30th October 1906 it was ordained that Labuan should become part of the Colony of the Straits Settlements, on a day to be proclaimed by the Governor, who duly proclaimed it as the 1st January 1907, from which date it became and remained part of the Settlement of Singapore until 1912. Since the 1st December 1912, it has been a separate Settlement, but part of the Colony.

This completes this short account of how the Colony reached its present position. The various events in its more domestic history will be found referred to in other articles in this work—events such as the fixing of the dollar and the expropriation of the Tanjong Pagar Dock Company, for instance.

CHAPTER II

STAMFORD RAFFLES—THE MAN

By the Rev. William Cross, M.A.

WHEN Sir Stamford Raffles landed on the mangrove-covered bank of the Singapore River on the 28th January 1819, he was almost thirty-eight years of age. A long record of extraordinary achievements in imperial service had placed his name high among the statesmen and pioneers of the East Indies. He came in the full ripeness of his developed powers, and every step he took for the establishment of a new colony was marked by the confidence and unerring touch of one who wielded an instrument perfectly edged. Some nine brief days he remained ; but when he left, it is not too much to say all the plans of the future city were so clearly defined that not even after one hundred years are these plans exhausted or superseded.

Some men build pyramids and palaces, and therefore are remembered ; some discover continents ; some write imperishable books. These are extensive and arresting claims upon fame. Raffles planted a seed. That was all. But it was the seed of a city, and the city was destined to become a nerve-centre of the whole world. The poet says the thrilling music of the moon sleeps in the plain eggs of the nightingale ; the throbbing power of great events lay in the little trading-station erected among the Kalat trees on that river-bank during the nine memorable days a hundred years ago, and the far-sighted mind of Raffles knew it.



BUST OF SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES BY CHANTREY.

WHAT HE HAD DONE BEFORE 1819

His birth was appropriate to his destiny. On board a merchant vessel of which his father was captain, as it lay off Jamaica on the 5th July 1781, he first opened his eyes upon the world. Things were not prosperous with that captain, and when the boy was but fourteen years of age straitened family conditions compelled him to leave school and seek employment. In 1795 he was taken on the temporary staff at the office of the East India Company, passing to the permanent establishment five years later. It is worth noting that when Raffles entered the Company's service, a young man, some six years his senior, named Charles Lamb, was there. To Lamb the offices of the great trading company were the end of all adventure. Fixed there for some thirty-three years to what he called "the dry drudgery of the desk's dead wood," the genial essayist found his appropriate fame. One wonders if ever he took any notice of the earnest, thoughtful boy who for ten years was his fellow-clerk, but whose ambitions were far too restless for the desk. There is no record of any intercourse, although they must have crossed one another's path often.

The desk could not hold Raffles. From the commencement he had his eyes upon the ends of the earth. In night study he tried to make up for his lack of education. His spirit fretted because he had been taken from school too soon. Courses of study in languages and science were mapped out for leisure hours. From an intimate letter we get a peep into his habits and his difficulties. One night, he tells us, he was deep in his books. He used to read into the small hours of the morning. One little candle was burning beside him. It was past midnight. The door of his bedroom-study was pushed open, and the voice of his mother rebuked him: "Tom," she said, "are you not in bed yet? It's very late. You are wasting money burning so many candles, and you know we cannot afford it."

This was pretty hard upon the young student, for at that time he was the chief wage-earner in the house, his guinea a week being the family's mainstay. Raffles never forgot his early experience of pinching poverty. His difficulties acted as spurs to his determination to make the great adventure of going abroad.

It came as a reward and a great opportunity to a chafing spirit when he received the offer of a secretaryship in the Company's new Presidency at Penang. Raffles was now twenty-four years of age. The story has often been told of how he mastered a book knowledge of the Malay language during the five months of the voyage ; of how in a very short time he displaced the resident and incapable interpreter ; of the letter making some enquiries about Malay customs sent by William Marsden to Governor Dundas, which Dundas could not answer, and so passed on to his brilliant young secretary for attention. Ambition grew like a tropical flower within Raffles's soul. Amusing it is, but very significant, to find him writing home to his uncle in England asking him to make the " most diligent enquiry for me with every particular you know, respecting the family of my grandfather, and back from him to the date in which the glorious Knight Baronet Sir Benjamin Raffles strutted his hour." The young secretary had discovered somewhere the name of his vanished ancestor who shone with the tinsel of one of King James's cheap titles, and it touched some chord in him. " At all events, get the family arms drawn and emblazoned with their supporters, etc." The youth was feeling definitely after fame, and wished to think he had some family traditions. It was about this time that he tried his 'prentice hand in statesmanship. Feeling seedy in health, he got leave to take a short sea trip as far as Malacca Town. Malacca had been marked for destruction by the authorities in Penang, for Penang trade needed fostering, and Malacca was an irritating little rival to the new and pet Settlement. Abandon Malacca, and force its stream of trade towards the favoured centre. That was the policy. The Supreme

Government at Bengal, a thousand miles away, had supinely acquiesced in the selfish representations of the Penang traders. An edict had gone forth that every public building in Malacca was to be razed to the ground, and the population were, practically, to be driven away from their ancient home. When Raffles came for his few weeks of holiday, the sheer folly of this policy forced itself upon him. Always quick to respond to historic associations, and equally quick to see the inner meaning of the fact that for centuries Malacca had been a native trading port, he grasped the problem with vigour. To his mind Malacca appeared as a natural door for commerce in the Straits. No other place had any traditions of past glory. Malays, Chinese, Portuguese, Dutch, and now the British had all built civilisations there. But this had seemed nothing in the eyes of the traders in the northern Settlement. All they saw in Malacca was a contemptible trade rival.

You cannot force trade, said Raffles. Trade must be free if it would flourish. Associations, native customs, historic memories, provided you have the natural facilities, all act as magnets for trade. You may drive trade out of a place, but in doing so lose it altogether.

The upshot was that the young secretary went clean past his Penang masters, and wrote such a letter to Lord Minto, the chief of the Bengal Government, that the whole policy was reversed, and the discreditable destruction was never carried through.

Not bad that, for a young fellow's first effort at statesmanship. The small fry who flourished in Penang did not like him for it.

Great events were then on the move in Europe. Napoleon was at the zenith of his power. Holland and all its colonies had come under the French rule. Dutchmen and Frenchmen were laying their heads together to drive the British out of the East Indies. Rumours of projected armaments against various British stations filtered through the gossip of the native bazaars. But the lethargic authorities paid no heed. Raffles felt the

undercurrents, divined the movements of the Dutch, but could get no one to listen to his ideas. At last he took his political life in his hands by a bold move. It was the move of one who by a secret intuition knows the psychological moment has arrived, who sees or makes opportunities. He left his family, embarked in a small vessel for Calcutta (June 1810), and presented himself before his chief, Lord Minto. There had been some talk about Raffles being appointed as Governor over the Molucca Islands, and Minto, thinking his subordinate had come to ask for this, was dismissing him with the remark that the post had been promised to another, when Raffles made reply that it was not about the Moluccas he had ventured to come, but about some other islands, "well worthy of my Lord's attention—Java, for instance." Raffles himself has put it on record that when he mentioned "Java," Lord Minto cast upon him a strange, keen, penetrating but kind look, such as never could be forgotten. His bullet had found its billet. The bold move had found a responsive spirit in the bosom of a real leader of men. Discussion, the shaping of plans, a secret compact followed. Minto had long desired information, and a man. Both had now come to him unexpectedly in the visit of this unusual secretary. So back Raffles came to the Straits Settlements with a commission as Agent to the Governor-General in the Malay States, his headquarters to be Malacca. For several months Raffles worked under this commission. Not a whisper of his plans reached the Dutch. It was known, of course, that something big was contemplated, but no one penetrated the purposes of the genial, smiling Agent who talked so affably to everybody and seemed so free from state anxieties. At last all was ready. Minto himself arrived. When consulted upon the project of an attack upon Java, even the Naval Commander-in-Chief thought it madness. Raffles was able to override even that opposition. In June 1811 the fleet sailed, choosing a channel which all the naval experts condemned, but recommended by Raffles from

information given to him by the natives. The attack took Java by complete surprise. The battle of Cornelis crowned the daring adventure with success, and the vast territory of the world's loveliest island became a British possession.

It was only fitting that the one man whose genius had seen and seized the opportunity should now receive the responsibilities and honour of the adventure. Minto was big enough and generous enough to see that. And thus, by one step, the obscure young secretary (thirty years old) became the ruler of the new conquest as Lieutenant-Governor of Java. For the next five years Java was under Raffles's care. This undoubtedly was the greatest period of his career. The full strength of his genius expressed itself in the immense problems of those years.

We may gather up the influences of Java upon the man Raffles under three heads. These will tell us how he was prepared and made perfect for the one imperishable act which was to outshine even the glory of Java in his career.

In the School of Tyranny he learned the hatred of evil and perceived the real destiny of Britain in Malaya.

In the School of Slander he learned how bitter must be the pathway of the man who is determined to truckle to no evil.

In the School of Sorrow he learned that vastness of patience and certainty of touch which is the crowning supremacy of human gifts.

Only after his character and his work had passed through the three-times-heated crucible of such training did the Power, who disposes of what man is and of what man does, deem Stamford Raffles ready for the deed that was to make his memory immortal.

The School of Tyranny left its deep mark upon Raffles, burning into his soul a hatred of hate and kindling a very deep passion for liberty. It has been said that tyranny is suicide, and there is not a story in all history surpassing, in proof of this, the story of Java. Its rich volcanic soil, combined with the patient labour of a

simple and contented people, had made Java a natural paradise when the Dutch entered it as traders and conquerors in the seventeenth century. They came as children of light and liberty, for, during the century previous to this, Holland had been the supreme bulwark in Europe against the cruelties of Spain and the Inquisition. By a strange fatality this excess of success in the cause of liberty seemed to slay liberty in their souls. The Dutch were traders rather than statesmen. They made the mistake of thinking colonies should exist for the benefit not of the natives, but solely of the colonists. This mistake was a guiding principle in their national policy. Against this policy of colonising plunder when it was at its full ripeness Raffles came up, and it revolted him. He found many of his own race advocating it, and the revulsion hardened into a granite opposition. There can be no doubt that much of the bitterness he encountered from the inner circle of the Company that employed him was due to their hatred of his policy of fair play and freedom for the natives.

The lessons he learned in the School of Tyranny have a direct bearing upon his eagerness to found Singapore. The new trading station was a deliberate blow at tyranny and monopoly and racial prejudice. "You cannot go on with tyranny beyond a certain point," he would say. "The kris and the bullet finish the story. You may clothe the acts of tyranny in careful official language, you may cover the deeds of cruelty with the plea of commercial necessity, and it may all seem safe and plausible on the pages of your reports and ledgers, but the ink of the writing is blood-red, and the shadows on the screens are shadows of ruined villages and debt-ridden peasants, and after that, the bodies of white men lying gashed and hidden in the jungle. Whereas the prosperous effects of fair and statesmanlike dealing come to the surface every time." Such thoughts were not the mere vapourings of an eloquent tongue. In actual experience conduct and character crowned the precepts. Raffles ruled Java for five critical years. He was able to claim

that in these years a revolution was effected which two centuries of Dutch administration had scarcely dreamed of. Slavery was abolished ; the use of torture in the law-courts was abolished ; trial by jury was instituted ; a system of land tenure was devised which made the Government's income depend upon the people's prosperity. The removal, in these various directions, of shackles that hampered free development of a people's resources and energy sent the revenue up to seven times the highest total reached under the old *régime*, and inspired those feelings of confidence and just dealing in the native mind which are the best guarantee of loyalty and peace.

When the island was restored to the Dutch in 1816 all these changes were quietly accepted and continued. Tyranny itself had been taught a lesson of enlightened statesmanship. And the gulf between the old and the new is bridged by the work of a man whose courage and genius could neither be denied nor prevent him from being hated.

Hated ! of course. No man can do work which overturns other men's policies and deprives rascals of ill-gotten gains without being hated. Such hate, however, may be a clean thing. There is, besides, an unclean and slanderous hate, and Raffles found this to his cost. "A man's foes shall be they of his own household," says an ancient manuscript. Raffles found the saying all too true. His slanderers were his associates. There were two of them : one was Blaggrave and the other was Gillespie. Blaggrave was proceeding to the Moluccas in the Company's service shortly after the British were established at Batavia, and, attracted by the new Colony, readily accepted a temporary post as secretary on Raffles's staff. A very brief experience of him was sufficient to prove his unsuitableness. His personal habits were disagreeable, and his talents were not brilliant enough to compensate. So Raffles told him he was no longer wanted in Java, and should go on to his own billet at the Moluccas. Blaggrave declined to take such instruc-

tions, and was summarily dismissed. Instead of going on to the Moluccas he made his way to Calcutta. In Calcutta he met General Gillespie, who also was chafing with anger at Raffles. Gillespie was a man of considerable influence and achievements. As commander of the troops in Java he had been given a seat on the Council when Raffles was made Governor of Java in 1811. The two never pulled together. The military mind collided with the political. Raffles wanted to reduce expenses and send away some of the troops as unnecessary. Gillespie always stood out for a full military establishment, pleading the possibility of a re-invasion by the French from Europe to recover their lost island. Some costly appointments on the military staff were made by Gillespie, and Raffles, with his hand on the money-bags, would not sanction them. These, however, are just the ordinary and perpetual collisions found everywhere between the civilian and the soldier ; and had the disputes remained within that official atmosphere, there never need have been serious trouble. It is always the personal rather than the official conflict that stirs the muddy depths of enmity. After the battle of Jogyakarta in June 1812, the troops under the command of Gillespie got out of hand, and plundered the captured town. Gillespie apparently acquiesced in this breach of British rule, and Raffles as Governor strongly protested. The General was compelled to admit his error, sheltering himself with the weak excuse that he had been wounded, and consequently discipline in the army had been allowed to slacken. After the work of military subjection was completed, Gillespie went to live at Tjipanas, in the mountains beside the mineral springs. There he lived in luxurious retirement, developing an extensive estate. Being head of the army he claimed exemption from the taxes imposed by Government ; he also hired labourers, but refused to pay them wages, thus claiming to be a law to himself, in spite of the definite assurance of the Government to the natives that all labour would be duly paid for. It was indeed an insolent

attempt to reintroduce for his own personal benefit the feudal system which had been the widespread evil of the former Franco-Dutch rule. Raffles made sure of his facts, and then drew Gillespie's attention to the misconduct. To such a man as Gillespie interference like this was unheard of, and intolerable. That a civilian should meddle with a military officer's privileges ! What rudeness and indecency was this ! He sputtered out his rage. But against the calm, suave, studied politeness of Raffles he made no more impression than spray against a rock. This point, too, had to be yielded. Something still more serious came out in the controversy. At Samarang there was an orphan school for girls. The General had used the terror of his name and office to demand for immoral purposes a girl from that school. Misconduct of this kind in Batavia itself had before this tarnished the General's reputation. Evidently he belonged to that school of thought where selfishness and lust override the ten commandments. When these things came to Raffles's ears he refrained from pushing enquiries to an extremity, for the publicity of an open rupture between the Governor and the General would tend to weaken the Government's authority. And so Gillespie escaped.

In the career of Raffles one has frequently to encounter quarrels of this kind. Wherever he went undercurrents of enmity ran strong. In Penang it was Bannerman, in Java it was Gillespie, in Singapore it was Farquhar. One wonders who was to blame. It certainly looks bad when the same one quarrels with many ; and the immediate judgment suggests that the one could not always be innocent. Why did so many of his compeers hate him ? Did his ability provoke their jealousy ? Was it the fact that he had come into the service of the Company, not by the usual way of family tradition and favour, but by the force of sheer merit, and so always seemed an outsider and an upstart ? Was it——? There are many surmises easy to make. But this may be said, that in all the quarrels one can recognise a high,

clean, disinterested earnestness over against the loose morals and the slack, proud disdain of those who despised the natives and who thought themselves born to rule, ruling being interpreted as arrogance. Iago said of Cassio: "The daily beauty of his life makes me ugly," and Shakespeare thought that a sufficient seed of hate and tragedy. Such a saying may be the key to the mystery of Raffles's frequent quarrels.

It happened that Lord Minto retired from supreme office a few weeks after the fuming Gillespie arrived in Calcutta. He was succeeded by Lord Moira. The new "Pharaoh" did not know "Joseph"; and it was easy for Gillespie to drop poison into his chief's mind.

Blagrove and Gillespie laid their heads together, and on the 1st January 1814 Lord Moira's Council had before them formulated charges against the administration in Java. All the proceedings were conducted by the Secret Department. Seventeen definite charges were examined, the chief being that Raffles had been a private purchaser of Government lands at the time he was Governor of Java; that he had rejected a tender of a higher sum in one lot than the price he and his friends were willing to offer; that he had rewarded his chief friend and co-partner in these transactions with the lease of a mountain famous for its edible birds' nests (a Chinese delicacy) at an unduly small sum. A cunning mixture of truth and falsehood held these charges together. It was true that Raffles had privately purchased some Government land, and this was against the rules of the Company. But the situation was exceptional, and critical for the whole future of the Colony. In the chaos of the times public confidence had to be restored. The commercial leaders would not purchase unless they had the Government in some way behind them. To meet the case Raffles took his reputation in his hands and became a joint-purchaser with others at a public sale of land. This gave the necessary confidence, and the commercial future of the Colony was assured. Lord Minto, in his original instructions to Raffles, had fore

seen the possibility and sanctioned it. Gillespie himself, as a member of the Council, had given his consent at the time. Of course the fact that the Governor became a private purchaser of land was open to very grave objection. It was a risk incurred to encourage timid purchasers, and it attained its purpose. Why did Gillespie not protest at the time? He was present at the sale. He was silent when he should have spoken; now he spoke when he should have been silent. What motive prompted that?

The other charges were mostly false. The birds' nests were mares' nests. A fair price had been paid for the lease. No one save those who wished to besmirch Raffles ever thought of saying otherwise. As a result of the secret enquiries a letter containing the whole string of charges and demanding explanations was drawn up with unseemly haste, and on the 24th February 1814 it arrived in Java, without previous warning of any kind. It fell like a thunderbolt from a clear sky.

A dramatic scene, partly vouched for by eye-witnesses, partly revealed in private letters, partly guessed at by the sympathetic imagination, enables us to see far into the workings of Raffles's mind. The day the letter arrived a large party of British and Dutch residents had assembled at Government House, Buitenzorg. A play was to be performed by the members of Raffles's staff, and a ball was to follow. After three years of strenuous toil Raffles had attained the pinnacle of his success, and had so gained the confidence of all that even the hereditary enmity between Dutch and British had vanished. There did not seem a cloud in the sky; and this brilliant assembly celebrated his achievement. In the midst of the festivity the blue packet with its red tape and seal was handed to the host, and, excusing himself to his guests, he retired for a few minutes to peruse the message. When he returned no visitor could perceive the slightest alteration in his manner. He went in and out among his friends and guests with that alluring smile Abdullah speaks of, engaging, animated, losing himself in the

happiness of his companions. Only Olivia, his wife, saw the look of suppressed pain that lingered in his eyes. It was very late when all the guests had retired, and relaxation was possible. He sank into a chair, for a moment felt as if he would faint; a sudden pang stabbed him somewhere in the centre of his skull. Then he recovered, felt calm, and looked up at Olivia, smiling. The smile did not deceive her.

"What has happened, Stamford?" she asked. "Something is wrong. Tell me."

"Oh, it's only a letter that I have received from Calcutta. I must answer it at once. Here it is. Read it. While you are reading, I will think out my reply."

She took the big blue packet from his hand, opened it, and slowly read. But as she went on, a surge of feelings welled up within her and clouded her eyes so that she could not see the words. Suddenly she burst out:

"Oh, I can't stand it!"

"Stand it? Stand what?" Raffles quietly asked.

"I cannot stand your quietness in face of this slander. You ought to be raging and stamping!"

As she spoke, she herself crumpled up the papers in her hands, crushing them with passionate gestures; then she threw them on the floor and stamped on them with her foot again and again and again.

"Don't, Olivia, don't! That's Government paper. You must show it proper respect." His raillery was lost on her.

"No!" she cried hysterically. "It's a viper—a slanderous viper—a cold-blooded, stinging viper, and you ought to be battering and slaying it.—Oh, I'm so sorry!"

The wave of indignation had spent itself as suddenly as it had risen, collapsing into womanly weeping. For a time the room was perfectly still, save for the convulsive beating of her sobs. When she recollected herself he was saying, "That's better, my dear. You are a good wife to me. You have helped me and cleared my brain by exploding rage for me. Now I can write my

reply clearly. See, I will get pen and paper and write it here. We shall write it together, and slay this viper of slander before we go to bed. Then we shall both feel better in the morning."

And the letter that was written may be read on page 225 of Mr. Boulger's most excellent biography.

The sequel to all this is very sad reading. Before Raffles's reply reached Calcutta General Gillespie was dead ; a brave soldier's fate had overtaken him in the battle of Kalunga. The Government Secret Department which had been so hasty in accepting the charges became very slack and slow in considering their refutation. Thirteen months passed before Lord Moira's very stiff and unyielding minute on the subject was issued. Meanwhile many things had happened. The great European war was ended. The British had given Java back to the Dutch. Olivia was dead. And (but very grudgingly) Raffles had been appointed as Governor of Bencoolen.

Before taking up his new duties he went to England for his first furlough. There he memorialised the Supreme Council at Leadenhall Street for a full acquittal. Then it was found that so averse to Java and its value (although it was the richest of the Eastern Islands and more valuable at that time than British India itself) were the nincompoops in office that despatches from Java had not even been opened. The complete justification of the policy and work of Raffles came very tardily on the 13th February 1817. He had been in the School of Slander for three bitter years.

When Raffles was saying good-bye to his Java staff in March 1816, he did what great men, who are also men of deep feelings, on rare occasions have been known to do—for a brief moment he dropped the official reserve, and spoke words that gave a vision of his innermost sanctuary. "You have been with me," he said, "in the days of happiness and joy—in the hours that were beguiled away under the enchanting spell of one of whom the recollection awakens feelings which I cannot suppress."

It was of Olivia he spoke. Whoever would understand the soul of Stamford Raffles must ponder over the element of enraptured romance he hints at in the words "enchanting spell" which then escaped from his lips, loosened for an instant.

The spell had lasted twelve years when the words were spoken, and, though he married again and had all the diverting allurements of a family of young children to dim the memory of Olivia, it is undoubted that she was for ever to him as one who had been buried in his heart.

She was ten years his senior, and a widow when he first met her. One day in August or September 1804, a tall Irish lady with flashing black eyes, calling herself Mrs. Olivia Fancourt, presented her petition at the East India House for the pension due to her late husband, who had been an assistant surgeon in India from 1791 until his death in 1800. It fell to Raffles to receive and arrange the lady's business. So, across the counter, talking prosaic details of finance, our Romeo met his Juliet. Love cares nothing for conventional barriers. Difference in their ages and widowhood created no difficulty. Some six months later, when Raffles received his appointment to Penang, the two were married in the Parish Church of St. George, Bloomsbury, and sailed away together for life's adventure in the Far Eastern seas.

And it was not only upon Raffles that the enchanting spell of Olivia lighted. In the highest circles she shone as a star. Among the ladies of the Court at Calcutta Lord Minto distinguishes her as "the great lady with dark eyes, lively manner, accomplished and clever. She was one of the beauties to whom Anacreontié Moore addressed many of his amatory elegies." John Leyden, in a letter, called her "my dear sister Olivia," and, in a poem written immediately after a visit to Penang during which he had been the guest of Raffles and Olivia at "Runnymede," and had been tended through a time of severe sickness by his hostess, apostrophising the

departed year (1805), this great scholar and friend of Sir Walter Scott thus expresses the soul of friendship—

But chief that in this Eastern isle,
Girt by the green and glistening wave,
Olivia's kind endearing smile
Seemed to recall me from the grave.
When far beyond Malaya's sea
I trace dark Soonda's forests drear,
Olivia ! I shall think of thee
And bless thy steps, departed year.

Abdullah, whose reminiscences are our chief authority for the personal touches in Raffles's career, speaks of Olivia as one "in every respect co-equal with her husband's position and responsibilities—when buying anything he always deferred to her. Thus, if it pleased his wife, it pleased him. Her habits were active—sewing—writing—always at work with diligence, as days succeeds day. Unlike the Malayan women who, on becoming wives of great people, increase their arrogance, laziness, and habitual procrastination, Mrs. Raffles kept her hands in continual motion, like chopping one bit after another. She did the duty of her husband ; indeed, it was she who taught him. Thus God had matched them as King and Counsellor, or as a ring with its jewels."

This moulding influence of Olivia upon her young husband was supplemented by the even more remarkable influence of John Leyden. They were a trio of friends. Three months in Penang under Raffles's roof welded them all together in a friendship that was passionate and lifelong. The great dream of a Malay Empire under British guidance was stimulated in Raffles's mind during the intercourse of those memorable days he spent with the spacious and fiery mind of the amazing Scottish scholar. There had been an ancient Malay Empire. Even to-day the Malay bears the marks of an imperious and dominant race. Aristocracy, like the perfume of a faded flower, hovers about many of their ways. But luxury and success spoiled the hardihood of the imperial race. Long centuries ago, the crowd of States had been united under one suzerain. He was the Bitara, or Lord

Protector, and ruled in Java. Why not revive the ancient title under the British flag? asked Leyden. Might not the Governor-General be the "Bitara" of a new Malayan Confederation of States? Let the rights of individual rajahs be respected. Let the freedom of the seas be established. Let piracy be swept from the avenues of trade. Let slavery be abolished. Let the Chinese, or any others who came only to oppress the honourable citizens, feel the power of a strong, just rule. Under such a "Bitara" as the good Maharajah of Bengal (as Leyden suggested to Lord Minto himself) this could all be done. Away with the Chinese tax-farms! Away with the Dutch monopolies! Away with the Americans who recklessly introduced firearms! Malaya for the Malays! Let kindly civilisation, with freedom of trade, freedom of religion, freedom of education, bring peace to the torn and plundered islands of ancient Malaya!

Raffles, Olivia, and Leyden were welded together into a triple chain of noble ambition as such thoughts as these were melted and moulded in the furnace of their friendship.

Together the three of them went to Java in 1811. The success of Minto's expedition seemed to herald the fulfilment of their vision. Alas, two days after the battle of Cornelis, Leyden died! His eager mind had drawn him immediately to the archives of Batavia, and he commenced a study of the papers for help in the scheme. He went into a room that had long been closed up, spent some time examining the musty insect-bored volumes on the shelves. When he came out of the room he was a stricken man. Two days of fever and he died in Raffles's arms. This was a cruel stroke of sorrow. One of the friends would never see the dream fulfilled. But two were left. So, as we have seen, Raffles and Olivia carried through their great Java work. Three years they toiled together, and then Olivia followed Leyden into the shadows. Raffles was now alone. And when the crash came in 1816, and the

British removed from Java, the dream seemed completely vanished.

The next three years, till 1819, must have been bitter and solitary. Many a day, had we been able, we might have interpreted his feelings in some such way as this : He is stationed at Bencoolen ; as his enemies sinisterly think, shunted there out of the way. When we look in upon him he is in a reminiscent mood. The day has been nerve-racking and tiring. He has closed his eyes, and the paper he was reading lies idly upon his knees. This, as Abdullah has told us, is his favourite attitude for meditation. Abdullah knew not to disturb his master when he fell into such an attitude. This time, however, the tired mind has dropped into something deeper than reflection. The weary brain has stolen a march upon his will, and he sleeps. In his sleep reminiscence becomes a vision. The miracle of ancient times repeats itself, and the shadow on the dial has gone back several degrees. The years are abolished. He is back in Java again. Java ! His lost Paradise. Olivia and Leyden are with him. He and they have just been talking of their Malayan dream. Somehow, every time Raffles felt himself sorely pressed with cares of state and out of touch with the harmonies of things, every time the petty, tantalising demands of life jarred him, it was always to these two his soul reached back. Oh, how full and glorious had been those Java days ! Olivia is sitting beside him at the table. Across the room, with his back towards them, stands Leyden ; he is searching for some book on the shelf. That is like him ; like the eager student and the friend of the great Sir Walter. Leyden turns, his big eyes shine out of his round, boyish face. He has found the book he wanted. Then he talks. How gloriously Leyden talks ! . . . Then, with a slight shiver, the dreamer awakes. The paper falls from his knee. He makes a quick gesture to catch it, and the movement brings him completely back to his lonely world. " Dear me ! I must have been asleep. Are they gone ? quite gone ? Where are they ? They

were here so vividly a moment ago. Where are they—my friends, Olivia and Leyden? Their bodies are in Java. But they, where? And the great dream of Malaya we dreamed together! Is that completely vanished too?"

It seemed vanished; but it was not so. The School of Sorrow had now completed the work commenced in the Schools of Tyranny and Slander; and of Raffles, as of Charles Lamb, S. T. Coleridge might now have said: "I look upon you as a man called by sorrow and anguish and a strange desolation of hopes into quietness, and a soul set apart and made peculiar to God!"

A soul set apart, indeed! An instrument now completed, tempered, and ground and set! And when 1819 arrived, the hour of Singapore's destiny struck, for the man of her destiny was ready.

II. STEPS TOWARDS SINGAPORE

When the fatal decision was made that Java was to be handed back to the Dutch, it seemed the knell of British ascendancy in Malaya. Nothing was able to stay the encroachments of the monopolists. Pontianak and Malacca fell into their hands. Experienced British traders prepared to withdraw. The Native States began to accept the inevitable. Driven from honest trading, and made desperate by the extreme severity of the white man's punishments, pirate parties increased all along the coasts, until the seas became infested with danger. Devotion and patriotism, which might have been the pillars of racial virtue, became crimes. Soon Raffles was driven to say, "I much fear the Dutch have hardly left British traders an inch of ground to stand upon."

On the 20th March 1818 he arrived at Bencoolen to take up his new work as Governor there. Difficulties beset him on every side. It was known that he was in great disfavour with the London Secret Committee. His friends on the Governing Board had to use their utmost influence to prevent his being recalled altogether and

put out of the service. The fact was that the authorities had accepted the Dutch ascendancy in the Far East as settled, and were in terror lest any fresh collision of trade interests in the Straits might involve trouble and war in Europe. Now Napoleon was crushed they were determined at all costs to maintain peace. But Raffles had come back to Malaya with a clear policy in his mind. He saw farther into the future than any of his contemporaries, and to his mind the time had come for a supreme stroke. It was now or never. Singapore was the point of action he had secretly determined on. His secret was known only to one or two.

His first step towards Singapore was the winning of Lord Hastings, who had succeeded Lord Minto as Governor-General in Bengal, whence all movements of policy were directed. In a letter intimating his arrival at his post as Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen, Raffles asked permission to visit Calcutta to lay before the Supreme Council there his ideas concerning Sumatra and the Archipelago. He was cordially permitted. Hastings was big enough to apprehend and accept his brilliant subordinate's daring suggestions, and Raffles came away from the interview with a special twofold commission: to settle the Acheen dispute and to occupy or create a trading station somewhere south of Malacca, Rhio and Johore being indicated as possible places. But even as he sanctioned this new move, Hastings, remembering the opposition to Raffles at home, had some misgiving. Raffles instinctively had an inkling of this wavering in the mind of his chief, and determined to act with lightning promptitude. On the 5th December he received his completed instructions. On the 12th December he sailed in the *Nearchus* for Penang. On the 31st December he arrived at Penang. Here, however, he was beset with a myriad obstacles, and an extraordinary and dramatic duel of interests and wit ensued during the next three weeks between Governor Bannerman of Penang and the newly appointed Agent, seeking at last the realisation of his life's long dream.

Again a little imagination is needed to get inside what happened. New Year's Eve at the dawning of 1819 opens the drama. The arrival of Raffles dropped like a stone into the peaceful pool of official life in Penang. Plottings and small ambitions were violently upset by his coming. Governor Bannerman, either because he had accepted the supremacy of the Dutch in the Straits as an irretrievable fact, or, more probably, because jealousy prompted him to resent the new commission which made Raffles independent of the Penang Government, did his utmost to upset the new scheme. The affairs of Acheen and the establishment of new trading stations had hitherto been in Bannerman's hands. It was natural for a small man to feel resentment at the intruder who poached upon his preserves. And these preserves, especially in Acheen, were in very delicate condition at this juncture. Johor, the legitimate King of Acheen, was a highly educated man, but had fallen under evil influences and drunken habits. There had been disputes in the royal house, and a band of chiefs wished to depose Johor and make Saif king. Saif was the son of Syed Hussain, a wealthy Penang merchant. The security of the rival claimants depended upon which of them could win the support of the British authorities in Penang. By lavish gifts and secret intrigues the Penang merchant had so wormed himself into favour that the Penang Government had joined the plot to dethrone Johor and establish Saif as King of the Acheenese. Six months before this, both claimants had sent representations to Lord Hastings, and it was the settlement of this dispute that had been put into the hands of Raffles. Raffles, it was rumoured, favoured strongly the claims of Johor, the legitimate king. His coming was very untimely for the plans of Syed Hussain and the officials of Penang, who were involved. These had got round Governor Bannerman, and roused his already jealous feelings against one whom they called an interloper.

The other item in Raffles's new commission was distasteful to the entire policy of the Penang officials.

Any trading station further east than Penang would be bound to threaten Penang's prosperity and leading position. For many years it had been the policy of the Penang Government to prevent this. And now that the Dutch had taken over Malacca, it became a fixed policy that no British trading station should be established as a rival to Penang. Raffles was the one man in the Service who had all along stood up against this traditional and parochial policy. At last, by his persuasive tongue, he had convinced the Chief in Bengal that a larger policy was possible as well as expedient. Unless the British secured a station somewhere on the main trading-route round the south of the Malay Peninsula, the Dutch would soon have entire control of all the Far Eastern commerce.

The Dutch were pressing in everywhere. The supine, not to say scandalous, attitude of the Penang officials gave the Hollanders chances they were quick to seize. Malacca itself had been given up to them in September 1818, and Major William Farquhar, the late British Resident, was actually in Penang waiting for a home-ward-bound ship, disgust at the futility of opposing the Dutch encroachments making him irritated at the whole Service. When Raffles reached Penang he immediately found a kindred spirit in Farquhar. The news had just arrived that Rhio had been occupied by the Dutch. To Farquhar's mind the only other available spot for a British station was the Karimon Islands. Any day the Dutch might land there. No one mentioned Singapore. It was a decayed and forgotten place. Yet already Raffles had settled in his mind that Singapore was the destined place. Among so many enemies he kept his own counsel.

The Dutch were pushing into Acheen affairs. A Dutch brig sailed into Teluksamoy and sent a present of three guns to King Johor, saying they would become his protector and restore his authority if he gave the word. Johor was tempted, but answered that he would wait first for the reply now daily expected from the

British. The truth was, he had received a private letter from Raffles sent even before Raffles went to consult Lord Hastings in Calcutta, and he trusted in that. Still, if the British failed him, he would put himself under the Dutch flag. Knowledge of this crisis made Raffles feel that there was no time to lose. Both in Acheen and in the search for a new trading station in the south, days, if not even hours, might turn the scales.

In both directions Governor Bannerman was blocking the way. He would not consent to give Raffles the ships and men he needed, neither for the one part nor the other of the double commission. He persisted in urging delay. There were difficulties, he said. They had better refer the whole matter again to Bengal. The new Dutch encroachments raised new questions. All of which was simply a clumsy effort to keep Raffles kicking his heels in Penang, and prevent him going either west or south.

Raffles, as we have seen, found a kindred spirit in Farquhar. Let us listen to them talking over the breakfast-table at "Runnymede," where Raffles and his wife, Dr. Jack, and Farquhar were gathered one morning during the first week of 1819.

FARQUHAR : " What do you think you will do ? "

RAFFLES : " I haven't made up my mind yet. Things seem to be very crooked here. Even bribery and corruption are afoot. Do you know, yesterday a string of pearls was left here as a present to my wife from some wealthy Arab—Hussain himself, I think. Does he think he will bribe me ? I can't make out what the Governor wants. He will neither consent to my going to Acheen nor to my going south. And he knows very well that every hour is precious. We are likely to be ousted from the whole country if we do not hurry up."

FARQUHAR : " Well, I am done with it. I want to get home. Now that the Hollanders have Malacca and Rhio, we may as well retire. There is only one small chance left. That is, to get Karimon. Karimon is the

only possible key out of our prison. Once let them get Karimon, and the whole trade route by the south is theirs."

RAFFLES (bending his head down upon his hands, with finger-tips pressed together, and a faint flicker of a smile hovering on his lips): "Then you think Karimon is the place. Well, will you join me in securing it? I am commissioned by Lord Hastings to settle the Acheen affair first, and after that to go south and find a site for a new trading station. From what you say, and from what I know, delay is fatal. If you would go on to secure Karimon, I could go to Acheen, settle that, and then come on to join you. In that way we might foil the enemy in both places."

Farquhar was persuaded. Raffles, of course, had no intention of making Karimon the place. But he felt himself in the midst of plottings. He remembered his misgivings about Hastings. As a matter of fact a countermanding letter was actually on the way prohibiting him from making the effort to found a new colony. Nothing but the promptest action could gain the day. He went to his desk and wrote to Bannerman:

"My commission is to go first to Acheen and settle the dispute there. After that I have to proceed south and make a stand for British interests at some point beyond Malacca. The Dutch have taken Rhio. This was anticipated by Lord Hastings. My commission tells me to find a spot the Dutch have not yet occupied. In my mind I have such a spot where we may maintain the British flag flying. I cannot disobey my instructions, and therefore must go to Acheen first. My decision is made. Give me the necessary facilities so that I may send Farquhar to search for likely places down the Straits, until I am ready to join him."

This was exactly what his enemies wanted. Bannerman and those around him now thought they had Raffles in their net. Arrangements were hastily made,

and on the 18th January, Farquhar, in charge of a little squadron of ships, left Penang Roads and sailed towards the south. Farquhar's ships were hardly out of sight when Governor Bannerman wrote to Raffles earnestly urging him to postpone his Acheen mission, on the plea that a reply to a reference which had been made to the Bengal Authorities was due in a few days. Raffles was to be held up idle in Penang. This was what Dr. Jack sarcastically called "Bannerman's master-stroke."

The moment Raffles received the Governor's communication, he took action. Official sanction now covered the apparent disobedience to the order of his commission, which was Acheen first and then the new colony. A special messenger was secretly sent to Farquhar, whose ships, outside the harbour, were at anchor waiting for the tide that would enable them to pass through the shallow south channel. Farquhar was instructed to proceed slowly, and expect Raffles to make up on the squadron. It was well on in the afternoon when that message was delivered and Farquhar sailed. The ship which had been waiting in readiness to take Raffles to Acheen was in the harbour. All that night busy men were carrying Raffles's baggage on board. Before daybreak the eager dreamer, now on the verge of his great adventure, was in his study writing a reply to the Governor, and saying: "I agree to your request to delay my journey to Acheen. Meantime, not to waste time, I am off to join Farquhar and to carry out the second part of my commission, and to found the new colony in the South."

When Bannerman, and the various officials and others who had duped him, got up on the morning of the 19th January, it was to find that the bird had broken the meshes of the net and flown at daybreak, not to be recalled. The memorable voyage had begun. There were six ships in the little fleet. It is worth while recalling their names: two cruisers, *Nearchus* and *Minto*; and four merchant ships, *Mercury*, *Indiana*, *Enterprise*, and *Ganges*. The *Minto* carried Raffles.

To please Farquhar they halted and inspected Karimon. It was found to be impenetrable jungle and quite unsuitable. On the evening of the 28th January they cast anchor at Pulo Skijang, and the moment for the glorious beginning had arrived.

III. THE GLORIOUS BEGINNING

Mr. Buckley, with his characteristic painstaking, has arranged for us a host of minute details by which we are able to follow the movements of Raffles almost step by step when he landed in the morning. The entrance to the river was thick with mangrove trees. The little canoe, carrying Raffles and Farquhar and one sepoy soldier, was rowed up the stream some 400 yards. On their left was a slight hill covered with jungle, and beyond that a wide stretch of marsh. No inhabitant was to be seen on that side of the river. On their right appeared a clearing with some forty or fifty Malay huts and one larger house. A few coconut palms stood in the foreground. Boats, swarming with men, women and children, retreated up the river as the strangers advanced. Opposite the big house the canoe halted, and the two adventurers landed. Farquhar sat down under a tree, saying: "I'll wait here and keep my eye on the boat." Raffles walked up to the house. Farquhar then followed and came to the edge of the verandah. The Tumungong came out and gave them some rambutan. Then Raffles went inside. The conversation that followed made a favourable impression upon the Tumungong, and about four in the afternoon Raffles and his companions returned to the ships lying at anchor near St. John's Island.

Next day the work of colonising was begun. Tents and baggage were brought ashore. The scrub that filled the plain was cut down to make room for the tents. A well was dug, and, as a token of friendship, all drank of the water. Raffles spent most of that day with the Tumungong, and a preliminary treaty was made. More than this the Tumungong was unable to do, for

though he was chief of the island of Singapore, he held his rights under the Sultan of Johore. A difficulty arose because of this, for the Sultan had recently died, and the succession was in dispute between two sons. Hoosain, the eldest son of the late Sultan, was on the island of Pinigad, near Rhio, waiting there till the dispute should be settled. According to Malay custom, no Sultan could be enthroned without the necessary regalia, and the regalia was in the jealous possession of Tunku Putri, the widow of the late ruler. Farquhar was therefore dispatched to interview this spirited old lady. When he landed in Pinigad, he found Sultan Hoosain quite willing to follow the lead of the British. Abdullah gives a gross and graphic picture of this potentate. He was a fleshly man, shapeless with fat, as broad as he was long ; his head was so sunk in his body that he seemed neckless. He walked with feet wide apart as if balancing the mass he had to carry. The voice that issued from his wide, sensuous mouth was husky and toneless. When he sat, he slept. This was the man Farquhar returned with on the 5th February. Meantime, Raffles had made considerable progress with his scheme. The ground of the coming city had been surveyed. " Here I am in Singapore," he wrote to Mr. Marsden, " true to my word and in the enjoyment of all the pleasure which a footing on such classic ground inspires. It is the very seat of the ancient Malayan Empire. There will be violent opposition on the part of the Government of Penang. But if I keep Singapore I shall be satisfied." On Saturday, the 6th February, the fruits of Raffles's survey appeared. A careful treaty was drawn up, inscribed on sheets of rough, thick, white foolscap. The British were authorised to establish a factory, and in return the Tumungong and Sultan both agreed that no other nation should receive trading rights in the place. Full protection of the Malays was guaranteed by the British, and ample income allowances for the two chiefs were ratified. To this document the seal of the Honourable East India Company, on thick,

red sealing-wax, was attached. Raffles signed. The chops of the Sultan and the Tumungong were made by holding the brass seal in the smoke of a lamp until it was covered with lamp-black, and then pressing it upon the paper. That same day Raffles, as Lieutenant-Governor of the new station, handed to Major Farquhar a long letter he had drafted, conveying minute instructions about the future development of the city. At last the dream was becoming a visible reality, and the quick spirit of Raffles saw already the crowds flocking to create a fair and flourishing colony. That lonely week of thought planted the seed of a hundred years. Even to-day the plans he conceived for the future of the city he loved to call his "political child" make wonderful reading as they are unfolded in minutes, and proclamations, and speeches fortunately preserved. In them we see the dreamer as a practical statesman. He foresaw the amazing mixture of races that would gather at the new port upon the highway of the seas. To meet this unusual condition he laid aside both the idea of maintaining by law the customs of the natives and the idea of imposing European laws with their civilised but foreign processes. His guiding rule was to reach after first principles, and to make the government of the Settlement stand simply for the suppression of crime, the security of property, and the encouragement of the free growth of moral and mental gifts in the whole populace. The Malays were compelled to lay aside the kris; gambling and cock-fighting were made illegal because they induced quarrels and robbery; slavery was prohibited; the use of opium and spirituous liquors was strictly regulated in order to suppress intoxication; the far-reaching principle was laid down that if a woman debased herself by prostitution, no one save herself was to be allowed to trade upon her sin—a brothel was to be an impossibility in Singapore! The whole trade of the port was to be free and open to all. A keystone was placed upon this arch of civic life by the establishment of a college, founded and generously

endowed for permanent generations, in which Malayan and Chinese literature was to be fostered, and education afforded for the sons of the higher classes of natives and others. "Education," said Raffles, "must keep pace with commerce in order that its benefits may be insured and its evils avoided. However inviting and extensive the resources of a country may be, they can best be drawn forth by the native energies of the people themselves. Singapore is the most eligible situation for an educational establishment. It is a place, central among the Malay States, hallowed by the ideas of a remote antiquity, venerable in its associations and memories as the seat of their ancient government and the home of their ancient line of kings. If commerce brings wealth to our shores, it is the spirit of literature and philanthropy that teaches us how to employ it for the noblest uses. It is this that made Britain go forth among the nations strong in her native might to dispense blessings to all around her. I am sanguine in my hope that Singapore will stand foremost in effecting that grand object of Christian civilisation."

Under the sway of such elevated and imperial thoughts the foundations of the Lion City of Malaya were laid a hundred years ago.

It is somewhat disconcerting at first to remember how few of the days of his life Raffles really spent in the city which for ever embalms his fame: in 1819, from the 28th January to the 7th February, ten days; in 1820, from June to September, barely four months; in 1822-3, from October to June, another eight months. That was all, just one year, in three broken visits; and three-fourths of the time he suffered from headaches that seemed to split his skull. Yes, it is somewhat disconcerting to think of it. But he came to his work, an instrument set to perfection. Time is not needed for great work, if the hand that works is a master-hand. One has seen a painter, after long brooding, moving backward, forward, to this side, to that side, standing

abstractedly as if doing nothing, while the onlooker grew weary of waiting, suddenly step up to the canvas and with the quick flick of his hand put just one tiny speck upon the painting ; no more ! but all the skill of concentrated genius appeared in the wonderful and glorious effect of that divine touch. The picture lived. And one has seen a golfer address his ball with flourishes and glances and measurings until it seemed as if nothing but palaver was in the game, and then, a subtle swerving of the lithe body, a sudden complicated jerk and stroke, and the ball rose from the grass as if inspired and ran like a live thing straight for its hole, and disappeared. Such a master-painter and such a golfer was Raffles, only he painted upon the canvas of an empire's life and struck the golf-ball of an empire's destiny.

In one of his letters he said that he liked to look " a hundred years ahead " ; and during that week in February 1819, and during the brief visits he made afterwards to see how his political child fared, his eyes always had the far-away look of the dreamer who dips into the future far as human eye can see, though his hands were always those of the practical worker. Over Singapore, therefore, as over few of the cities of the world, hovers the glory of an ideal.

Raffles foresaw that there would be violent opposition to the new colony, and sure enough the storm came from almost every quarter. The Sultan and the Tumungong funked, and sent cringing letters of explanation to the Dutch ; the Dutch Governor of Malacca wrote to Governor Bannerman of Penang that Singapore had been seized by force, and threatened to attack the new station. Bannerman replied deprecating any acts of war, pleading that he had written the Governor-General denouncing Raffles and all his doings. It was a base despatch, from a man who looked into the future with fluttering and cowardly heart. At the moment he wrote this letter of trembling fear, Bannerman had in his hands an urgent appeal from Farquhar

asking for reinforcements in view of the expected Dutch attack. Bannerman replied: "Give up this mad adventure. Are you justified in shedding blood? You have the cruiser *Nearchus* and the brig *Ganges* with you. Remove your party in them. You must not expect help from me till I have heard from Bengal. A force from here could not oppose the overwhelming armament at the disposal of the Batavian Government." The letter to Bengal had ridiculed the founding of Singapore as one of "Raffles's aberrations," and so, on the 20th February, Lord Hastings wrote: "Raffles was not justified in sending Major Farquhar. If the post has not been obtained he is to desist from any further attempt to establish one." Had Raffles gone first to Acheen, as his original commission instructed him, Singapore would never have been founded. Fortunately, the post had been secured three weeks before that despatch was penned. In a later despatch Hastings said that since the station had been occupied and the British flag hoisted, the inevitable had to be accepted and the flag maintained. When the news reached London the Secret Committee at India House could not restrain its fear. They seemed frantic with anxiety, and wrote Hastings as if in immediate dread of a war with Holland: "Any difficulty with the Dutch will be created by Sir Stamford Raffles's intemperance of conduct." And these were our practical statesmen! But the practical mystic had baffled them. Events proved that the "political child" was safe. In July 1820, to his cousin, Raffles summed up the situation: "Instead of being supported by my own Parliament I find them deserting me and giving way in every instance to the unscrupulous and enormous pretensions of the Dutch. . . . The great blow has been struck, and though I may personally suffer in the scuffle, the nation will be benefited. I should not be surprised were the ministers to recall me."

IV. THE CRUSHING OF A TITANIC SOUL

While Singapore was thus lifting up its sunrise head the shadows of sunset were grimly gathering on the pathway of its founder. Bencoolen was the headquarters of the Settlements under his care, and thither he went when he left Singapore on the 9th June 1823.

The East had now lost its fascination for him. No wonder! He who had been the proudest and happiest of fathers was suddenly bereft of all his children. Leopold, "the handsomest and most princely little fellow that ever lived," just two years old, sickened, and after scarcely a day's illness, died in June 1821. Charlotte (the "Water-Lily" he called her), four years of age, and Stamford, eighteen months, both died in January 1822. In an effort of desperation to save her life it was hastily arranged to send Ella, the only remaining child, home to England. Under the strain of all these griefs he collapsed. "I have been desperately ill," he wrote in February 1822, "and confined to a dark room the last ten days. A severe fever fell on my brain, and drove me almost to madness. . . . All our thoughts and all our wishes are now turned homewards. . . . Left without a single child! and how recently we had a round and happy circle!"

Death struck at friends as well as children. In September 1822 Dr. Jack, the companion of many travels, the chief enthusiast with Raffles in amassing the huge collection of fauna and flora and curios now packed in the Bencoolen sheds waiting for the homeward journey, Jack, who was to have accompanied him to England, was struck down with acute malaria, and died in Raffles's house. "All my future views of life," said the bereaved friend, "were intimately blended with plans and projects which we had formed." In 1823 another letter tells of another blow. "My dear and valued friend, Captain Salmond, is no more. . . . I have just opened his will and find he has nominated me as his sole executor in the following words:—'I appoint

my only friend, Sir Stamford Raffles, to be my executor; and I pray God he will take charge of my estate and children.' The loss of poor Salmond is quite a death-blow to the Settlement. How is it that all we love and esteem, all those whose principles we admire, and in whom we can place confidence, are thus carried off while the vile and worthless remain? "

All this accumulation of woes fell upon a nature of wonderful natural buoyancy. Raffles always impressed people with his bright enthusiasm. Abdullah said of him: "He spoke in smiles." One can see the slightly stooping figure of middle height, with fair hair crowning a massive and shapely head, coming forward, eager to talk, the spontaneous smile, like the flame of a lamp, lighting up the whole face. Little things gave him delight. He would go into lively laughter at the gambolling of a monkey or the prattle of a child. People were always on the watch about his house to sell him curios. The discovery of a rare plant or an unusual animal was certain to draw his interest and make him happy. He loved to have people about him, and in any entertainment that was afoot he was the centre of life and spirit. Simplicity, energy, courage, hopefulness were the secrets of his character. Yet he never was physically strong. It was his spirit that carried him through. Attacks of illness crippled him all his days. In his later days one of his hands became cramped. He suffered agonising pains in the head. It was observed that his delicate and sensitive mind was easily thrown into moods of depression. "Sir Stamford is a very bad patient," wrote Dr. Jack once, "there is no keeping up his spirits when he is ill." Of religion he rarely spoke, but he went far into the heart of things when he said: "To me Christianity is the simplest of all religions, and therefore the best." In the eyes of the natives he seemed a king. He loved the Malays, and they in turn worshipped him. Of Henry Esmond, Thackeray said that if he had gone into the woods the wild tribes would at once have hailed him as

Sachem. That is the kind of man we have in Stamford Raffles. Men marvelled as they saw him controlling business. He would write a despatch himself, and at the same time keep two assistants going to his dictation upon other business. His personal staff toiled for him, responding with eagerness to the energy of that brain and the sympathy of that great heart.

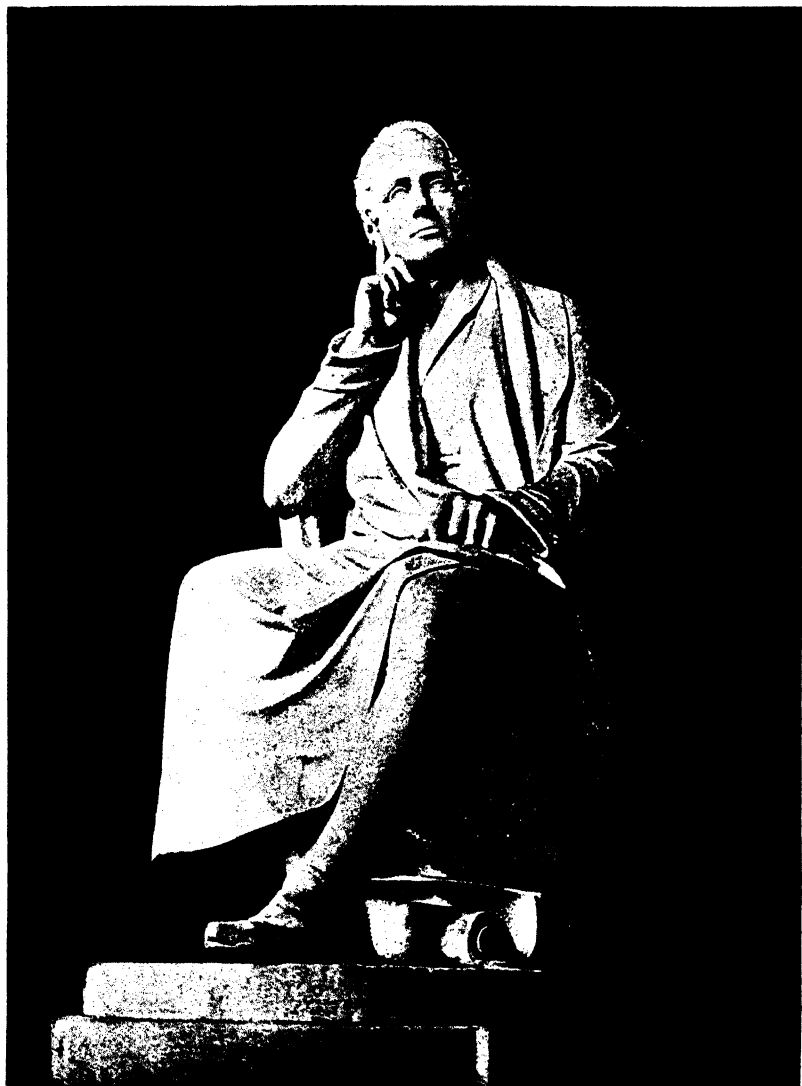
As last he was ready to leave the East for ever. All that remained to do was to gather together the accumulations of natural and literary memorials of his Eastern life. Between Raffles and the Company that employed him there were many causes of quarrel. One of the chief was his expenditure of the Company's money in collecting objects of natural history and scientific interest. The fat merchants of Leadenhall Street saw no gain in securing quadrupeds and birds for a Zoological Garden, or in dried specimens of tapir and sēladang for a museum, or in manuscripts of ancient Malayan learning. Raffles, therefore, had to put his personal fortune into his scientific collection. And when the chartered ship *Fame* was ready at daybreak in February 1824 to stand out to sea, she carried as her cargo a perfect menagerie and museum, animals and plants and curios, as well as some three thousand drawings and maps, one a great map of Sumatra on which he had spent years of labour. Many of these things were priceless because they could not be replaced, and the whole was reckoned by Raffles to have cost him something like £30,000.

How peaceful his mind must have been that day as the ship glided on! The long struggle of ambition was crowned with success. With work well done he was returning home, bringing his sheaves with him. The garnered treasures of the long years were safely stored beside him. Everything promised a quiet voyage, and after that retirement and well-earned rest. Alas, one day's sailing was all that ship attained! The night came down, and most of the passengers had retired to rest when, at 8.20 p.m., the alarm of "Fire!" shrieked

through the ship. A careless steward had gone down to the store-room with a naked light in his hand to draw off some brandy. He slipped, the light fell, the liquid took fire, and in a few minutes the whole ship was in flames. Ten minutes after the cry of alarm, all the crew and passengers, most of them in the scantiest of hastily snatched garments, were out on the sea in two frail, small boats : and Raffles saw his life's work blaze to the heavens in blue saltpetre flames, and then vanish in a cloud of dull smoke. Eighteen hours later it was a very faint and famished company that landed on the beach of Bencoolen, glad to escape with the bare possession of life. It was two months before another ship could be ready. During that time, by dint of incredible labour, Raffles had gathered again an immense store of specimens to make up as best he could his heart-breaking losses. The titanic soul was stunned and bruised, but not yet beaten.

So, behold him again on his way home, halting at St. Helena, where he receives the news that his mother is dead, landing at Portsmouth on the 22nd August, shaken, but "in better health than could have been expected."

A few months later we find him settled in his new farmhouse at Hendon, with William Wilberforce as his neighbour, and deep in the counsels of Sir Humphrey Davy, who was promoting the Zoological Gardens at Regent's Park. But every bit of work now takes virtue out of him. Headaches of the most violent nature render him useless for days. A stroke that looked like apoplexy pointed a dismal and grim finger towards the end. He recovered, and again became full of schemes. Many of his friends urged him to take up Parliamentary life, and the prospect of this dangled alluringly before his eyes. First, however, he must get his financial affairs settled. There were several accounts between him and the Honourable Company in a state of uncertain abeyance, some of them old accounts reaching away back to the days of his administration in Java ; complicated items that we need not tarry to explain.



STATUE OF SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY

Enough that they were financial vexations ; and that Raffles hoped the Directors, remembering his services and his losses on the *Fame*, would treat him fairly, if not generously. A poor pension of £500 was mooted. In case of possible demands, should the Directors harden their hearts, he had placed his Eastern property in the care of the great banking house of Palmer in India.

On the 12th April 1826 the bolt from the blue fell. The Directors revealed themselves as flinty, hard as steel. A peremptory demand for the refunding of moneys up to the sum of £22,272 was made. The total was worked out with mathematical minuteness in petty percentages and extra charges, in disputed " out-of-pocket " expenses and so forth—one item being " house-rent in Singapore," as if they were dealing with some runaway tradesman. A few days after this demand was delivered the mail arrived from India with the news that the great banking house had failed, and in the wreck £16,000 of Raffles's property disappeared. He was driven to the necessity of craving indulgence until he could sell the investment he had put aside for his family. Without doing this he could not meet the claim.

Take a last imaginative look at him. He is sitting at his table in Highwood, the Hendon house, one arm limp at his side, the other flung across the table upon a heap of papers all covered with weary figures and writing : " a little old man, all yellow and blanched, with hair pretty well bleached." The smile is wintry now. How old is he ? Feelings would say something like a century. The years say forty-five, if he lived till the 5th July. On the 15th June, in a letter to his clergyman cousin, he wrote : " I have had a good deal to annoy me since I saw you last, but it is a worldly affair, and I trust will not materially affect our happiness." The hay harvest drew him out to his fields, and a few sunny days seemed to banish his cares. After that he was sick and low for several days with a bilious attack. On Tuesday, the 4th July, he retired about eleven o'clock. The household had planned a special day for the morrow ; it would be his birthday.

Early on the summer morning his room was found empty. Search was made. At the bottom of a flight of stairs, struck by a stroke of epilepsy, lay the worn-out body. The mighty spirit had at last escaped to its well-earned rest.

The Life is the Man. What a man does reveals what he is. Simply in the record of his shining achievements, with no embellishment save the colouring brought by eyes of sympathy and admiration, conscious of his limitations but wishing only to remember his amazing and sterling virtues, his stirring and golden example, we hail across the century that great soul whose permanent monument is a living and noble city, and whose memory will abide as a true empire builder and a great Christian statesman, in the name Raffles of Singapore.

CHAPTER III

THE GOVERNMENT

SOME ACCOUNT OF OUR GOVERNORS AND CIVIL SERVICE

By Bernard Nunn, Resident of Malacca

THE subject is undoubtedly one which finds fittingly a place in a book commemorating the Hundredth Anniversary of the foundation of the Settlement of Singapore. For the history of a place is the history of the men who make it and live in it; so that if we could portray the lives of our governors and civil servants fully and accurately, there would result a complete record of Singapore during her hundred years of life. That would be, however, not the history of Singapore as a single town or settlement, but as the capital (if not the mother city) of British Malaya. For though the Settlements rose one by one and remained for a time under separate governments, and though Singapore was the latest founded of the original three, they were very soon welded into one whole, at the head of which, almost at a bound, stood Singapore. And the prescient settlers of the Straits, official and unofficial alike, were ever labouring towards a further end—that of intimate relationship with the neighbouring Native States of the Peninsula. This article will show that the history of Singapore from a time very soon after her starting-point was that of her sister Settlements, and that gradually, imperceptibly, but inevitably it became entwined with that of the Malayan States, until the two main groups formed the British Malaya of to-day.

And we cannot confine ourselves to an account of the

lives and careers of governors and civil servants merely in their relation to Singapore history and local politics, omitting reference to their actions in the other Settlements and in the States. Our most modern claim is that we have one Civil Service, and the Straits Governors have been connected with the Native States from the first inception of British relationship with the latter.

It is proposed, then, to give a brief account of the leading officers of the Civil Service, whether their careers were mainly connected with Singapore or not, and, in doing this, reference will be made to their idiosyncrasies as well as their talents, their personal characteristics at the same time as their politics, all with the deep respect due to good and honest men who have deserved well of their mother country and of British Malaya. The history of our progress is so complicated that, in order duly to set our stage and marshal our actors, some division into act and scene is necessary. This may, perhaps, be effected by separating the story into four main periods, as follows :—

THE FOUR PERIODS

- I. The founding and early History of the Settlements to the date of Combination, 1826.
- II. The Combined Settlements under the East India Company to the date of the Transfer to the Colonial Office, 1867.
- III. The increase of intimacy with the Native States of the Peninsula to the date of the Federation of the Malay States, 1896.
- IV. Modern Times.

PERIOD I, 1786–1826

The First Period presents the initial difficulty of being remote, and the books from which information is gathered all betray to a somewhat marked extent the personal feelings and predilections of the writers rather than the clear, cold facts of the true historian. But this method in many ways commends itself to us who pry for personal detail and local colour amid the dull precisions of fact.

And the real romance and glamour of those days cannot fail to attract, as one by one the actors take the stage, just as the first view of the Straits, even in this matter-of-fact age, does still impress and charm the new-comer.

Of course Malaya had endured a long and chequered past ere ever the British came to know or have dealings with her. But of the old warrings of Malay, Portuguese and Hollander, tales and legends of Sang Superba, Wertemanns, Francisco d'Albuquerque, and their like, ancient captains and seafarers in the Golden Chersonese, we have not to tell. At the time our First Period opens the Dutch were the European nation most in view in this part of the East, for they held Malacca and many a territory and island in the Straits, while the famous East India Company, whose name is even now used by natives as the designation of the British Government, was content with one poor station at Bencoolen in Sumatra. Up to 1786 the British had no foothold in the Straits.

CAPTAIN FRANCIS LIGHT, 1786-94

Then our first actor comes on the stage. Mr. Francis Light, a shipmaster and friend of Warren Hastings, arranged the cession of Penang, in those early days known as Prince of Wales's Island, in honour of the then heir to the throne (afterwards George IV), whose birthday fell on the day succeeding the formal taking over of the new Settlement in 1786. The other contracting party was the Sultan of the neighbouring State of Kedah, with whom Captain Light was on excellent terms, though it appears that there is no ground for the tradition that he married the Sultan's daughter and received Penang as his wedding-portion. Captain Light became Superintendent of the island and Settlement, and will always have the glory of having founded the first successful "Colony" of the East India Company. So we find him approved even by that sarcastic chronicler, Mr. J. T. Thomson, F.R.G.S. ("late Government Surveyor Singapore"), after whom is named Thomson Road, who cites him as an example of the superiority of the "uncove-

nanted " over the " covenanted " Civil Service of the (by him) very much detested and execrated Company. We shall allude to Mr. Thomson's views later ; in this instance his rare praise is thoroughly deserved.

Captain Light's plans and dreams were not limited to the furtherance of British interests in Kedah and the northern portion of the Peninsula. His guiding idea was to establish his country's influence in this part of the world, and so curb the aggressive policy of the Dutch ; and he perceived that the means to this end included the securing of the Straits, an achievement which would also safeguard our trade with China and the Farther East. But it was necessary for him to deal first with Kedah in order to establish Penang, the new Settlement designed by him as the taking-off place for later advances ; and it turned out that the inevitable problems and difficulties that ensued formed his life's work. He is a romantic and a great figure, and he undoubtedly laid the foundation of British authority here, thus obtaining for us the nucleus of what is now British Malaya.

Penang remained a Settlement subordinate to Bengal until 1805, and in these years was ruled by Superintendents and Lieutenant-Governors. During this period government servants were largely dependent for their salaries on private trading, and about this Mr. Thomson has much trenchant, and in some instances well-deserved, criticism to make with reference to the acts and speeches of certain of the higher placed officials, one of whom, the last Superintendent, Major MacDonald, he quotes as saying, with reference to the non-official colonists, who in those days were only present on sufferance or licence from the East India Company : " As merchants only should Europeans be permitted to settle ; if to their convenience a few acres of ground for a house, garden, and a few cows were thought necessary, I certainly am of opinion it [*sic*] should be granted ; and, where a spirit of industry—a love of improvement—is evinced in Europeans, worthy of indulgence, I should have no objection to an extension of grant." No wonder that

Mr. Thomson styles him "a grammarless, inflated, and insolent puppet in power!"

After this gentleman we find a Lieutenant-Governor at Penang, Sir George Leith, who arranged the purchase of Province Wellesley from Kedah in 1800. This even then fertile tract of country was later benefited, as was also Penang, by the Siamese invasion and devastation of Kedah in 1821, the fleeing population of the latter making excellent settlers in British territory. But in those days unfortunate Kedah was ceaselessly ravaged by the Siamese and by internal strife, while at the last even the British appear to have assisted her enemies, with the result that "the Province" was replenished with colonists, and "Englishmen speculated and grew rich on the troubles of their neighbours" (Thomson). That historian is content to leave the responsibility at the door of the East India Company rather than at that of the Home Government, and modern writers have concluded that the Company's blame lies only in failure generously to assist an old and friendly neighbour.

Mr. Robert Farquhar was Lieutenant-Governor of Penang in 1803, and Mr. Dundas was first Governor in 1805, when the Settlement became an independent Presidency of India. As such she continued under several undistinguished Governors until 1826, when she formed one of the "Incorporated Settlements of Prince of Wales's Island, Singapore, and Malacca."

MALACCA, 1795-1826

Between the years 1795 and 1818 the British were in occupation of Malacca. We had taken over that Settlement in the first place nominally as protectors of legitimate Dutch rights usurped by Napoleon, and were prepared to restore the place to its real owners at the Peace of Amiens in 1802. But the war went on, and the cost of administration became heavy, trade having been largely diverted to Penang. It was under these circumstances that Mr. Robert Farquhar, Penang's Lieutenant-Governor, recommended that Malacca

should be abandoned and her fortifications destroyed. This proposal was sanctioned by the Court of Directors, and the historic monuments of the past razed to the ground at great expense! And Malacca would have been deserted by the British had it not been for the efforts of the greatest of our pioneers in Malaya, Thomas Stamford Raffles, who strongly urged on Lord Minto, the Governor-General, the fact that such betrayal of the local population would be a reflection on British credit. Raffles had come out to the employment of the East India Company in 1805 as Assistant Secretary at Penang; he afterwards became Colonial Secretary there under Governor Dundas, and later, after a visit to Calcutta in 1807, was given by Lord Minto a special commission to act as "Governor-General's Agent in the Eastern Seas." The wisdom of his advice to continue the Settlement of Malacca was soon proved, for the expedition which assembled for the conquest of Java used the town as a base in 1811.

By the Treaty of Vienna in 1818 Malacca was given back to the Dutch; but she was again taken over by Great Britain in 1824. In 1826 she joined her sister Settlements as above stated.

RAFFLES, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF JAVA
(1811-16)

After the conquest of Java Raffles became Lieutenant-Governor of that island at the age of thirty, and after only six years' service in the East. He stayed there for five years and then went home to recuperate. On his return he was appointed to the charge of Bencoolen, the mean original Settlement of the Company in Sumatra. He had been knighted at home, and Bencoolen was made a Presidency in order to give him the title of Lieutenant-Governor. It was about this time that he laid before the Governor-General, Lord Hastings, his scheme of occupying a central station in the Straits south of Malacca. Two treaties were made, the first with the Temenggong of Johore on the 30th January

1819, the second with the Sultan and Temenggong on the 6th February of the same year, as a result of which Singapore was founded and placed under the Government of Fort Marlborough, Bencoolen. Colonel (then Major) William Farquhar was associated with Raffles in the quest for a suitable barrier to Dutch influence in the Straits, and he, and others on his behalf, have claimed the honour of founding Singapore. It is remarkable that one of his supporters is the famous Abdullah (as chronicled in the Hikaiat), but later historians, notably Sir Frank Swettenham, after examination of the evidence, have convicted the Munshi of hearsay, and on the exhibits—the two treaties—have given judgment in favour of Raffles.

EARLY DAYS OF SINGAPORE, 1819-25

There followed a period, 1819-25, when Singapore was a struggling Settlement: for the first five years subject to Bencoolen, with Raffles at the latter seat of government; for the next two subordinate to Bengal, after the retirement of Raffles to England.

During the early part of this time she had to strive against attacks and discouragement, which fortunately Raffles was near at hand to combat. Lord Hastings even, at one time, bade him desist from his enterprise for fear of Dutch susceptibilities; at another, Colonel Bannerman, Governor of Penang, tried to wreck the new foundation, and counselled the Calcutta authorities to that effect. This sisterly jealousy was no doubt caused by Penang's failure to found a Settlement at Rhio. As Swettenham sums up the situation—"Had it not been for Raffles, his insistence, his arguments, his labours to secure supporters for his scheme, it is certain that Singapore would have been abandoned by the British, and equally certain that it would now be a Dutch possession." And with Raffles's final triumph he associates the mercantile community of the Settlement, who exerted all their influence to aid him.

Raffles went home in 1824, and, after having been

attended by almost every imaginable misfortune, died there two years later, "a little old man, all yellow and shrivelled, with hair pretty well bleached," as he himself records—and only forty-five years old. Among his many and varied acts in Singapore he furthered the administration of justice by appointing magistrates, founding Residents' courts, and instituting trial by jury. He did much towards the planning of the new city, and he instituted a system of land revenue. He was ardent in the cause of education, and founded the famous institution, now known by his name, to which succeeding generations owe so much. He abolished slavery in Singapore and Malacca. He left behind him the outlines of a constitution for the Settlement for the guidance of Mr. John Crawfurd, a new Resident of his selection, thus laying the foundation of that enlightened administration which has admittedly secured her lasting prosperity.

Raffles and Light were the first of our nation to recognise the importance of introducing British influence into the Malayan Peninsula and Archipelago in order to counteract that of the Dutch in Java. And, as the former himself wrote in the early days of Singapore: "You may take my word for it, this is by far the most important station in the East, and as far as naval superiority and commercial interests are concerned, of much higher value than whole continents of territory."

It was his prescience and persistence only that secured for us what we have termed the capital city, the centre and starting-point from which sprang, first the Straits Settlements, and later British Malaya. Sir Frank Swettenham expressed it in another passage: "To him we owe Singapore, the gate of the Farther East, a naval base of the highest importance, a great commercial centre and the most prosperous of British Crown Colonies. Indirectly, the foresight which secured Singapore for the British Empire led also to the extension of British influence through the States of the Malay Peninsula. . . . In this no British party and no

British Government can claim to have taken any part. . . . The man to whom the credit belongs gave his talents and his life to achieve an end which he believed to be necessary to the prestige, the power and the trade of England in the Far East."

It is some consolation to us, as it must have been to him, to know that, when he left Singapore for the last time, the esteem and affection towards him of all nationalities was shown in the most heartening farewell address.

COLONEL WILLIAM FARQUHAR, FIRST RESIDENT

A word must here be said of Colonel William Farquhar, the other outstanding figure of the earliest period of Singapore's history. He was an officer of the Indian Army, and was present at the surrender of Malacca in 1795. He was in charge of that Settlement as Resident on several occasions, and there has been some difference of opinion as to whether it was he or Mr. Robert Farquhar of Penang who destroyed the fortifications in 1807. The discredit for this act of vandalism probably belongs to the latter. He was Resident at Singapore between the years 1819 and 1823.

At this period Singapore was regarded by the Supreme Government as a military station. The Resident, among his other duties, was the police magistrate. Other Government officials were, apparently, an Assistant Resident, a master attendant, a chaplain, a police officer, and a survey officer. Farquhar's term of office was not specially noteworthy. It is understood that it was he who first suggested the establishment of a Court of Requests, a name that survived up to modern times. He also at one time inquired of Raffles whether European merchants could be permitted to correspond with the Native States! He vied with Raffles in town-planning, paying especial attention to the left bank of the river. And he is responsible for the magnificent esplanade, the land there being preserved on his protest

to Raffles, who seems to have been inclined to give away the lots rather freely. He is described by Abdullah as "a man of good parts, slow at fault-finding, treating rich and poor alike and very patient in listening to the complaints of any person who went to him."

But in the end he was not considered by Raffles to be the right man to be left in charge of the growing Settlement, and, in writing to Calcutta before his retirement, the latter reported that, if the two offices of Governor-General's Agent in the Eastern Seas and of Resident, Singapore, were to be united, he must have a more capable successor than Colonel Farquhar. The truth was that Raffles believed Singapore had got beyond Farquhar's management, and he explained that the Colonel's views were confined, owing to his long experience of Malacca and her Dutch associations and form of government, and that he therefore did not believe him competent to deal with the affairs of a new and live Settlement. As a result of these recommendations Farquhar was superseded, and at the same time Singapore was placed under Bengal. The reason for the last-named change was doubtless a well-justified fear of injury to the infant Settlement if placed under the care of her jealous elder sister Penang!

Raffles, in his memoirs, has stated that his one object in view in removing Farquhar was the interest of Singapore. "If a brother had been opposed to it," he says, "he must have acted as he did to Colonel Farquhar, for whom he had a warm personal affection and regard. He upheld him as long as he could, and made many sacrifices to prevent a rupture."

Farquhar died in Scotland in 1839, in his sixty-ninth year, then a Major-General. He was possibly too antiquated in his ideas to fit in with a new era, but, if he was not the founder of Singapore, he was the founder's first and staunchest aide-de-camp, and he deserves well of the generations that have followed him.

MR. JOHN CRAWFURD

He was succeeded as Resident by Mr. John Crawford, an officer who, both while on service in the Straits and after his retirement at home in 1826, was always a good friend to Singapore. His term of office as Resident lasted from 1823 to 1826. He was formerly in the Bengal Medical Service, and had served in Penang and Java. As stated, Raffles on leaving gave express instructions for Crawford's guidance, which formed the outlines of a constitution for the Settlement. It is in this connection that we notice his advice that there should be no fixing of the relative ranks of officers, "the peace of small Settlements being frequently disturbed by disputes concerning rank, particularly of the ladies." As to the personal characteristics of Mr. Crawford, an excellent comparison is given of Raffles, Farquhar, and the new Resident in that valuable work of Mr. C. B. Buckley, the *Anecdotal History of Singapore*, from which much information has been gained and many quotations borrowed herein for the early history of the Settlement up to the date of the transfer. "Crawford," says Buckley, "was famous both as an administrator and an author, but he was not a popular man; he succeeded two men of singular popularity. Raffles especially was a great favourite with all classes of the community, his easy manners and courteous demeanour captivating all hearts; and Farquhar was very much liked. Mr. Crawford's manner was against him and obscured the great qualities he undoubtedly possessed. He was a typical Scotsman, and it was said of him that frugality which is a virtue in a poor but high-spirited people is apt to degenerate into parsimoniousness. He was very cautious, but managed the affairs of the Settlement with energy and ability." According to Munshi Abdullah he was not popular with the natives.

As an author Mr. Crawford published in 1820 a *History of the Indian Archipelago* and, later, accounts of Embassies undertaken by him to Cochin-China and

Ava. He also wrote papers on scientific subjects, and contributed to *Logan's Journal*. In 1856 he published a *Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Isles*. He was first President of the Straits Settlements Association formed in London in 1868, the year of his death. Among the principal acts of his Residency the one perhaps most discussed at the time was his effort to legalise gaming in order to produce revenue. Here Raffles was against him; but Buckley states that the preponderance of European public opinion was with Crawford, on the ground that a Farm could control gambling, whereas an inefficient police force could not. Mr. Crawford also laboured to establish a system which should separate executive and judicial authority. But the most important historical events of his term of office were the two treaties of 1824.

THE TWO TREATIES OF 1824

The first, made with the Johore authorities, obtained the complete cession of Singapore and the final alienation of all native claims to title thereto. The other was the treaty between Great Britain and Holland, under the terms of which the British gave up all their possessions in Sumatra, with an agreement that no future settlement should be made there, while the Dutch gave up Malacca and agreed to abstain from all political interference in the Malay Peninsula. They also withdrew their objections to our occupation of Singapore. So at this date we see not only our capital city finally and completely established, but also the scope and field of her ambitions and future enterprises clearly and distinctly defined.

Mr. Crawford was succeeded by a Mr. Prince, who had been in the Bencoolen service, where he kept a private river for the purpose of private trade, and, according to Raffles himself, maintained himself for many years without any charge to Government.

THE THREE SETTLEMENTS UNITED

The three Settlements became the "Incorporated Settlements of Prince of Wales's Island, Singapore, and Malacca" in 1826. They also formed a fourth Presidency of India. This event closes the First Period of our history. Until 1826 there were no Governors of the Colony, only Governors of Penang since 1795 (succeeding Superintendents and Lieutenant-Governors), while there were Residents at Singapore and Malacca, with Raffles as Governor-General's Agent and Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen in the background. Nor was there a Civil Service proper to this country, the only civil servants being a few covenanted officers of the East India Company, drawn from the Bengal and Bencoolen services, together with military officers and a larger number of the "uncovenanted" taken into government employment from other occupations. But there were signs of the formation of a local Civil Service in the fact that young officials from the Company's service in other places were being appointed to junior posts of Assistant Resident and the like in the Straits, and there, by various stages of promotion, were rising to the higher ranks of the administration. One of the first of these was Mr. S. G. Bonham, afterwards to be Governor of the Incorporated Settlements, and, later still, Governor of Hongkong.

PERIOD II, 1826-67

Our Second Period describes the history of the Combined Settlements under the East India Company. During this time the country must have been at least happy, if the old proverb is true, as there is really little to record. Gradually but surely Singapore asserted herself as the most important of the Settlements, and it is therefore with her domestic politics, her small local bickerings (usually of unofficials versus officials), her slow but sure climb upwards to prosperity, that (after the first few years at any rate) historians have mainly concerned themselves.

MR. ROBERT FULLERTON, FIRST GOVERNOR

The first Governor of the Straits Settlements, Mr. Robert Fullerton, a Madras civilian, resided at Penang, which in those days ranked as senior—witness the order of the names in the title of the Colony and its Court of Judicature at that time. Under this arrangement there was a Resident Councillor in charge of Singapore, and probably one at Malacca, though little is known of the last-named, except that Mr. Fullerton at one time desired to make it the capital for some reason unexplained. His term of office was not a particularly auspicious one. He discouraged freedom of the Press, and, like some of his predecessors, objected to the presence of "Settlers" without licence from the East India Company. The latter, however, on reference made, decided that as the persons then in question had obtained "respectable employment," there was no objection to their continuance at the Settlement so long as they would "conduct themselves with propriety!"

Mr. Fullerton also had difficulty with the Chinese agriculturists over a land-tax which he wished to introduce, and, worse than that, he got into trouble with the Company because the revenue of the Straits did not increase as the expenditure certainly did. So the Governor-General himself, Lord William Bentinck, arrived in 1827, and remodelled the system of government. Mr. Fullerton was swept away, and Mr. Ibbetson, once Resident Councillor of Penang, reigned in his stead.

Soon afterwards the Straits ceased to be a Presidency, and came under the Government of Bengal. We may say here that in 1851 they passed to the control of the Supreme Government of India, whence they finally emerged as a Crown Colony in 1867.

There is nothing of importance to note with regard to the Civil Service during this administration. A Recorder was appointed from home, and various civil servants sat in the Court of Requests, notably Mr. Bonham and Mr. Presgrave, the latter a name later well-known in the Straits. We also learn that civil

servants were expected to pass examinations in Chinese and Siamese, an admirable rule tending towards efficiency, though one may doubt the wisdom of selecting Siamese as the second language while no mention is made of Malay. The junior officials of the Service were apparently described generally as " Assistants " at this time.

MR. IBBETSON

Little is known of Mr. Ibbetson, who held office till 1833. But during his period occurred the two Naning wars, the result of unrest among the natives of that district, now part of Malacca, upon the British taking over suzerainty from the Dutch. There was also considerable friction between the Executive and the Judiciary, and in the years 1831-3 the Governor presided over the courts in the absence of a Recorder. Mr. Ibbetson himself held Assizes.

MR. MURCHISON, 1833-7

He was succeeded by Mr. Kenneth Murchison, who also presided in the Courts until the arrival of a Recorder. Mr. Murchison had served previously in Penang, where he had cultivated a very remunerative hobby, to wit, land. For the Indian Government still, it seems, encouraged their Straits officials to invest their savings in this manner; and in this connection, we may note, from criticism of the class for their keenness in this direction which has been recorded, the existence of a recognised Civil Service in the Straits, which had come into definite being since the combination of the Settlements. It was no doubt still but an offshoot of the E.I.Co.'s service, but the remarks of Mr. J. T. Thomson refer to that variety of the species domiciled in this country. According to him the sea-front in Province Wellesley was the property of " the Company's chief official," who planted his two rows of coconut trees in front of the ancient plantings of the natives. The same individual maintained private ferries over the rivers, and between Georgetown and the Province, also appro-

priating the holdings of the inhabitants and driving them from their patrimonies. And as to proof of these charges ? Mr. Thomson, apparently, had none to bring. His information seems to have been drawn from native sources, for he was evidently at least as much under such influence as the officials he chastised. Nor does he ever name the persons he attacks. On the whole, it seems that several pinches of salt are needed for the digestion of his narrative.

But as we are on the subject of the Civil Service of this period, and of Mr. Thomson, a few final quotations from that mordant writer may not be out of place. Writing in 1865 he says :

“ Thirty years ago the E. I. Co.’s Civil Service was rapturously named the finest Service in the World. To live in it for twenty-one years and to do nothing, either good or bad, but merely to beware of committing oneself, was all that was necessary for the attainment of fortune, pension, and honour. . . . Once nominated, the Civil Servant had no further care in this world, for had he not talents for the political or revenue department, he was always fitted for the sacred office of a Judge. And were he not fitted for that even, it was of little consequence—he could always draw his monthly salary bill and take his pension in due course.”

He explains this by saying, “ In early days the E. I. Co. were mercantile adventurers, and their servants adventurers of all grades,” for early civil servants were “ merely nominees of the Directors ; the service was closed to talent.” And in bitter conclusion he remarks that while civil servants were “ privileged classes ” in India, they were not drawn from the “ privileged classes ” in England, the Service being not confined at all to the aristocracy.

MR. S. G. BONHAM

Mr. Samuel George Bonham, whose name as a civil servant has already been mentioned, succeeded Mr.

Murchison in 1837. He, like his three predecessors, resided at Penang, at least at the commencement of his term of office. Of him Mr. Thomson remarks : " He was an upright man judged according to his lights, forgetting how power might have been abused by an incompetent or dishonest successor. As a good Company's servant he was desirous to relieve Government from the heavy burden of instituting a Court of Judicature, in which he saw no use when such men as himself and Thomas Church were there to perform the offices of judges of the people. He retired from charge of the Government respected and beloved by all who were so fortunate as to have access to him. With him was not found any of the repulsive hauteur of the Bengal Civilian." One wonders what personal feelings lie behind these remarks, which do not altogether disguise the powder in the spoonful of jam.

Mr. Bonham is also singled out for praise as having allowed unofficials to serve the Company's Government. He afterwards became Governor of Hongkong, and was created a baronet for his services. As already stated, he was one of the first Straits civil servants, having been appointed Assistant Resident in Singapore in 1823. He had originally come out to the Bencoolen service at the age of fifteen. During his Governorship " the last remnant of Slavery which existed in the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca has been for ever abolished by the unanimous accord of the inhabitants themselves." So Buckley quotes from a Government notification signed by Mr. Bonham in 1842. We must also record that during his twelve years of office, first as Resident Councillor and later as Governor at Singapore, he saw that Settlement, which now became the seat of the Straits Government and the residence of the Governor, increase in importance every year until it was recognised among the first of the commercial ports of India. Mr. Bonham was distinguished for his liberal hospitality, especially exhibited during the continual passage of troops and men-of-war on their way to the various China expeditions.

MR. THOMAS CHURCH

A prominent civil servant of his time was Mr. Thomas Church, who became Resident Councillor in Singapore in 1837. He also had been a member of the Bencoolen Civil Service, and, on the abolition of that Government, was transferred to Penang. In 1828 he was Deputy Resident at Malacca, and in that capacity had some dealings with the Chief of Naning before the war of 1831. He retired in 1835, but, changing his mind, came out again and actually administered the government for a time in Singapore, displacing Bonham (who was then acting) owing to some uncertainty as to their relative seniority. Afterwards he served under Bonham; but his hopes of succeeding him were disappointed, a rumour, according to Buckley, being current at the time that it was known in Calcutta that he did not give good dinners, which difficulty was felt to be insurmountable. He was in charge of Singapore during a part of the next Governorship, but he did not act as Governor, Mr. Blundell directing the Government from Penang. Mr. Church was renowned as a diligent worker, disposing, *inter alia*, of the greater part of the civil business of the Singapore Courts, visits of judges being then rare and hurried. The verdict of the time was that he was a very useful public servant, unaffectedly anxious for the welfare and advancement of Singapore, which owed him much. He was also thanked by the rulers of Johore for his help and advice, which helped to make that country "populous again." He seems to have had a reputation for a certain closeness, but he was at times generous if not liberal. His wife, who survived him, died in Singapore as late as 1884. "Singapore may well wish to see his like again, . . . one of the most hardworking, conscientious men that ever came there."

MAJOR LOW, *circa* 1850

Another famous civil servant of this time was Major Low, who was employed as magistrate, chief of police, etc., mainly in Penang, till 1850. He was also a writer on

the agriculture, geology, and history of the Straits and the Malay Peninsula ; one of the first in a field in which our Civil Service has since so greatly distinguished itself.

MR. E. A. BLUNDELL, *circa* 1843

Another officer of outstanding eminence at this period was Mr. Edmund Augustus Blundell. It was confidently expected that he would succeed Governor Bonham, but the powers that were willed otherwise, and Colonel Butterworth held office from 1843 to 1855.

At the time of Colonel Butterworth's appointment there was considerable criticism directed against Lord Ellenborough, the Governor-General, who seemed " to place his special delight in depressing and mortifying the Civil Service, and bestowing all the lucrative and honourable posts on the Military." Thus Buckley quotes the *Singapore Free Press* of the time. And stress was laid on Blundell's claims to office as being familiar with the language and customs of the people, and a keen agriculturist who might have encouraged cultivation and opened up new districts in the Settlement.

Mr. Blundell went to India for a time on transfer, but he returned as Resident Councillor, Malacca, in 1848, at which date the same paper hoped that his appointment there was only preliminary to his restitution as Governor of the Straits, and that " our present worthy Governor " would receive an appointment in his own profession. Mr. Blundell did come back in that capacity, but not till 1855, a sufficiently long wait.

COLONEL WILLIAM JOHN BUTTERWORTH

Colonel Butterworth entered on his duties in a blaze of unpopularity, not of course directed at him personally so much as against the Company for passing over Mr. Blundell. But, though thus handicapped at the start, before he left Singapore he had won the good opinion of the inhabitants, who gave him a most handsome address on his departure. His twelve years of office saw several improvements and innovations. He

did a great deal in the cause of education, and he established the Volunteer Corps, which boasts the proud motto "Primus in Indis." The trade of Singapore also during this period continued largely to increase. Governor Butterworth has been described as "a perfect gentleman, though a good deal of a military Bahadour." He was also, it seems, an *arbiter elegantiæ*, who attempted to introduce black as the social evening wear instead of the white of that fortunate day. And his efforts in this direction have, to a certain extent, undoubtedly been successful, though there appears to be some tendency nowadays towards a counter-revolution.

An address of the Chamber of Commerce on his retirement, which Buckley quotes, leaves no doubt that he earnestly advocated every measure calculated to promote the interests of Singapore, that he did not perpetuate the fault of some of his predecessors in making personal access a difficulty, and that he was truly appreciated by the mercantile community.

One noteworthy event of his administration was an epidemic of Chinese rioting, indirectly due to troubles in China, but probably the work of secret societies, with which he dealt firmly, his proclamations pointing out that the Government would not put up with such behaviour from alien sojourners in the country. In his work the Governor was well supported by Mr. Thomas Dunman, who had been appointed Superintendent of Police, and had already placed that establishment on a sound basis. He held this post from 1843 to 1871. Mr. Thomson also instances him as a type of the useful "uncovenanted servants" of the Company.

Another notable civil servant of this time was Mr. William Willans, who became a clerk in the Land Office in 1842 and retired in 1882 as Colonial Treasurer. He was a nephew of Mr. Church, and held at various periods nearly all the official posts of the Service. On his appointment as Coroner, in addition to being Chief Clerk of the Treasury, Official Assignee, etc., etc., the *Free Press* said: "He is a young gentleman of great activity,

but how he will be able to attend to all the duties of his multifarious employments we are quite at a loss to conceive." Several young gentlemen of the Civil Service have probably since broken his record ! Mr. Willans died at Brighton in 1903, and the *Free Press*, in an obituary notice, praised his kindness of disposition, remarking that his friends noticed in him a likeness to Thackeray's Colonel Newcome.

The paper also recorded that he cultivated a nutmeg plantation of 1,600 acres, which is now the site of Tanglin Barracks. He is also worthy of note as having drawn a pension for twenty-one years after a service of forty in the Tropics.

MR. E. A. BLUNDELL

Mr. Blundell succeeded Colonel Butterworth as Governor, after having been out in the cold for twelve years. He had been a Penang civil servant since 1821, and had served in India for a time after Mr. Bonham's retirement from the Straits. He acted as Governor on several occasions before his permanent appointment. Curiously enough, when he did succeed to the highest post of government, he disappointed expectations. During his administration there was constant friction between the official and unofficial elements. At one time the whole of the "independent and unpaid" Justices of the Peace resigned office on a question as to the appointment of the police, who were termed "disgracefully inefficient." There was also an attempt to introduce port dues on shipping, to which the merchants made successful opposition. The government effort was described at a public meeting as "in direct violation of the principles upon which the Settlement was established and calculated to endanger the very existence of its trade." There was trouble, too, in the enforcement of new Police Acts, ending in riots, and the policy of the Governor and conduct of the authorities in afterwards failing to support their subordinates was severely criticised by the unofficial public. It was even

threatened to report the Governor to the Supreme Government, but this idea was not proceeded with. Mr. Blundell was, however, rather roughly handled by the Press, and before his retirement became even unpopular.

In connection with Mr. Blundell's term of office, Mr. Buckley has pointed out that, on the authority of persons present at the time, the Governor was consulted by Lord Elgin, then British High Commissioner in China, and on his way thither, in the old Government House on Fort Canning, as to the advisability of diverting the troops bound for China to India, on the news just received of the outbreak of the Mutiny. Mr. Blundell, as we know, had Indian experience, and on being questioned as to whether in his opinion the trouble was likely to spread, answered in the affirmative. He is undoubtedly, then, entitled to a share of credit for a decision which probably saved Calcutta. Major McNair, who was present at the time as Private Secretary, is one of Mr. Buckley's authorities for this account of the matter.

An interesting light on the condition of the Civil Service about this time is thrown by a petition to the Secretary of State in 1856, which claims that "Several of the officers discharge duties which are not implied in the designation of their offices." Thus the Resident Councillors of Penang and Singapore were Treasurers and Auditors of their own accounts, Accountants-General of the Court, Superintendents of Lands, Registrars of Shipping, Vendors of Stamps, and Presidents of Municipal Commissioners, while at Singapore the Resident Councillor " was also Registrar of Imports and Exports, and it was utterly impossible with such multifarious duties to give them the attention they required. The Resident Councillor at Malacca, however, has ample time for the performance of the duties incident to the various offices he holds as stated." It appears, then, that at this time there were Resident Councillors at all three Settlements. But we think that a later generation



SIR W. ORFEUR CAVENAGH, K.C.S.I

will scarcely now endorse the remarks as to the leisure of the official head of Malacca.

COLONEL CAVENAGH

Mr. Blundell was succeeded in 1861 by Colonel Orfeur Cavenagh, a Mutiny veteran, who came to the Straits expecting to stay a short time only, but actually endured till the transfer to the Colonial Office in 1867. He had the reputation of taking a great personal interest in his work, and he identified himself with the life and the progress of Singapore. He stood out against attempts to impose prejudicial taxation, such as income tax and tonnage dues. He was especially known for the readiness with which he invariably made himself accessible to all classes of the community, and was in all respects a most popular chief. He died in 1891 as K.C.S.I.

THE COMING TRANSFER

At the very commencement of his administration it was evident that the transfer of the Settlements to the control of the Colonial Office was imminent. And it is here that a brief account of the reasons for the transfer, taken largely from Mr. Buckley and Sir Frank Swettenham's book, to both of which we are indebted for many (not all acknowledged) quotations, may be given. The principal cause of the transfer was the feeling in Singapore, which had been growing for years, that the Supreme Government in Bengal was able to give very little attention to the affairs of the place, so far from Calcutta and so different from India in many respects. It was also certain that but small interest was being taken in the now rapidly extending relations of the Straits with the Native States, the ultimate aim of Raffles's policy and the goal of the hopes of all thinking citizens of Singapore. Matters of foreign policy also, dealings with neighbouring powers, such as, in particular, Holland, were being delayed by having to pass through the office of the Governor-General.

Another most important reason for the change was

urged by Lord Canning, the Governor-General at that time. This was the necessity of providing a Civil Service which should, *ab initio*, become acquainted with the language and customs of the Malays and Chinese of the Settlements, rather than a collection of Indian officers who must commence the study after different experiences elsewhere. Lord Canning insisted that if the Straits Settlements were to remain under India it would be necessary to devise a system by which its servants should receive a special training, and that without such a provision the Indian Government would not be doing justice to this country.

In spite of these strong reasons for transfer, opinion on the subject, even in the Straits, was not unanimous. But one of the chief deciding factors in its favour was clearly the belief that under the Colonial Office there would be more encouragement for the cultivation of intercourse with the Native States of the Peninsula. And, as Buckley reminds us, the strongly expressed desire of Europeans in India after the Mutiny to have their government placed directly under the Crown gave the Straits Settlements, then part of India for administrative purposes, an opportunity of raising the same question.

To cut a long story short, the transfer, which had been discussed throughout most of Mr. Blundell's administration (he, it may be noted, was not in favour of it) and all of Colonel Cavenagh's, finally became settled in 1867, after multitudinous references, reports, speeches in Parliament, etc., etc. The most vexed question at this time was as to the extent of the military contribution to the Imperial Government.

Some remarks of an author writing just before the transfer, Mr. John Cameron, F.R.G.S., may be of interest here. He described Colonel Cavenagh as "a most painstaking Governor," one who made himself acquainted with the most minute affairs of government, and was well acquainted with the character and peculiarities of the population. "But," he comments, "the limited

power of the Government of the Straits was little calculated to develop administrative capacity. Though surrounded by important interests, the Governors have but too often found that they can interfere neither with dignity nor with effect. It is to be hoped that, under the direct control of the Imperial Government, the Governor will be vested with full powers as Her Majesty's Representative and Plenipotentiary in the Malay Peninsula and Indian Archipelago."

As to the accomplished fact, the same writer also made some valuable remarks. He admits neglect of the Settlements by India, who had nothing in common with so distant a Province, but adds that Raffles founded Singapore on so liberal and enlightened principles, that, in spite of neglect, the enterprise of her merchants and excellent geographical position gave her a high commercial importance. "Penang and Malacca prospered with her, though not to the same degree." He claims, however, that the Indian Government never sought to make a profit out of the Straits, and only tried to raise sufficient funds to cover civil and military expenditure. He eulogises the care of Raffles and Crawford, who watched over early development, and did not try to hurry on enactment after enactment in ill-directed haste, and he finally sums up by saying that "the Indian Government will hand over a trust honestly kept."

With this measure of praise and blame to the past incumbents of the hegemony of the Straits, we come to the end of our Second Period. A very important stage in our history has been reached. That nucleus of British influence in the Malay Peninsula, the Straits Settlements, was now ready to expand and develop on the lines dreamed of by Raffles and laboured for by the energetic citizens of Singapore who followed him. To aid that expansion and development it was necessary, as Lord Canning, Mr. Cameron, and others foresaw, to possess Governors with less hampered powers and civil servants specially trained and educated for the task in hand; the former to be responsible directly to the

Home Government, and not through the medium of Governor-Generals in India. The latter to be "Our Civil Service," not a collection of military officers and gentlemen sent haphazard from Bengal.

PERIOD III, 1867-96.

Our Third Period comprises the years between the date of the transfer and the date of the federation of the Native States.

During this time the aim of Light and Raffles, and of all those foreseeing citizens who had fought for and brought about the transfer, was definitely achieved—the extension of British influence from the Straits to the Malay Peninsula. The foregoing periods had seen the first foundations of scattered Settlements gradually formed into one edifice; seen this edifice shed the scaffold-poles of India's protection which it had outgrown, and stand at last firm in its own strength and inspiration. The present period sees the Governors, officers, and private citizens of the Crown Colony no longer content with a starting-point of British influence in the Middle East, but ever insisting on the establishment of that influence throughout the whole of Malaya. And, in examining the history of this important stage of development, we see, bound up with it, the growth of the Civil Service, that necessary instrument to aid the progress of the great idea, advancing on the lines advocated by Lord Canning, Thomas Braddell, and others who had the country's interests at heart.

COLONEL HARRY ST. GEORGE ORD, 1867-73

The first Governor under the new *régime* was Colonel Harry St. George Ord, of the Royal Engineers, who came to the Straits from the West Coast of Africa. He was an unpopular Governor, being regarded as masterful and overbearing, and extravagant in his views of what was due to the dignity of his office. He did not seek advice, and did not accept it when it was tendered. On his arrival the usual Crown Colony constitution, com-

Thomas Scott. Dr. R. Little. Thomas Braddell. H. F. Plow. W. Willans. J. W. Birch. H. A. K. Whampoa. Major J. F. McNair
 (Atty.-Gen.). (Clerk of the Council). (Colonial Treas.). — (Colonial Sec.). (Colonial Engineer).



Sir Thomas Sidgreaves
 (Chief Justice). Major-General Sir Harry St. George Ord, G.C.M.G., C.B.
 (Governor).

prising an Executive and a Legislative Council, came into being. The new Governor's character being what it was, it is not surprising that the unofficial element was soon in opposition. All the same, Ord was a man of strong character and ability, the latter especially financial, for, coming to a country which had always been a burden on Indian finances, he made it pay its way, and even accumulate a credit balance. But it must be admitted that his administration did little to advance the dominating aim of this period. Herein he differs from the majority of his successors. And in the end, it may have been an advantage that the first Governor should have let the Colony first settle down to the changed order of things, and see the worst points as well as the best, in order that, after reaching social and financial stability, she might be in a position to develop her plans farther afield, *reculer pour mieux sauter*.

Sir Frank Swettenham, in his *British Malaya*, has selected Governor Ord as an example of the evils, criticised by Lord Canning as above described, incident on the recruitment of officers from India or elsewhere, men wholly ignorant of Malay customs and affairs, for service during the early period of the country's history. He accuses Ord of having used all his influence to have the arrangement carried out by which the British abandoned their treaty obligations in Sumatra in return for Dutch concessions in West Africa, a result of which was to let in the former for the costly Ashanti expedition and the latter for the interminable war in Achin. He goes on to say that Penang in particular suffered severely from the consequent hardship and misery in Northern Sumatra and the anarchy and piracy that followed; adding that, as Raffles's object had been to secure for Great Britain the keys of the Straits of Malacca, Achin in the north and Singapore in the south, it looks rather like the irony of fate that the first Colonial Governor should have devoted much of his time and all his influence to undo part of the work of the Founder of Singapore!

Sir Frank also criticises the lack of interest shown by Governor Ord in the Malay States, and remarks that, except for some visits to the East Coast in his yacht and some intercourse with Johore, he did little towards the cultivation of that friendship with the States by which, according to Raffles's injunctions, British influence was to be there advanced. And he adds that, in the early days of this period, the knowledge of Malaya and things Malay, which had been Raffles's guiding force, and had inspired Marsden, Crawford, Logan, and Braddell, was gradually dying out. For Braddell only remained, and he at that time, as Attorney-General of the new Colony, was too much occupied for such researches. So during the years 1867-74 little was actually known of the independent States of Malaya. Government was not sympathetic to commercial enterprise in that direction, and it appears that piracy and oppression, strife and bloodshed, were the order of the day in those countries. When Ord did on one occasion attempt to use his influence to settle matters in the State of Selangor little good was effected. Disturbances there and also in Perak continued. For, as Sir Frank remarks, "Where all classes and nationalities are fighting, where neither life nor property have safeguard, where crime meets with neither inquiry nor punishment, the wisest counsels unsupported by power to enforce them will be in vain."

COLONEL MACPHERSON, FIRST COLONIAL SECRETARY,
STRAITS SETTLEMENTS

Among the principal officials of this time was Colonel Macpherson, formerly Resident Councillor at Singapore, who became the first Colonial Secretary, S.S. Mr. Willans was Treasurer, and held that office till 1882. Major McNair was Colonial Engineer, and Mr. Braddell was Attorney-General. Colonel Henry Man was Resident Councillor at Penang, and acted as Governor in the interregnum before Governor Ord's arrival.

MAJOR McNAIR

Major McNair is famous as the builder of St. Andrew's Cathedral from the design of Colonel Macpherson. He also built Government House. In both cases convict labour was employed, as described in his interesting book, *Prisoners their own Warders*. He also put into order and completed the waterworks of Singapore. In 1875 he was Chief Commissioner in Perak during the disturbances, and he was later Resident Councillor, Penang, being created C.M.G. in 1879. He acted on several occasions as Colonial Secretary, and was noted for his consideration and courtesy.

Governor Ord went on leave in 1871, and the newspapers hoped he would not return after his "restless, turbulent four years." He did come back, however, and in 1873 three Unofficial Members of Council resigned as a protest against the uselessness of their membership. The Press ascribed this action to Sir H. Ord's "inordinate greed of power and personal vanity, which kept the community in a perpetual state of ferment." Yet 1873 is described as a very prosperous year, and there is little doubt that the Governor's good management of revenue and keen regard for government money-making placed the public finances in a sound position.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ANDREW CLARKE, 1873-5

We have said that there was little in Governor Ord's administration to advance the dominating aim of this period of our history. But, though for a while in the background, the dream of Raffles, the purpose of his successors, was still alive. All that was required now was the man—someone to lead and encourage our colonists on their journey to the much-desired goal. Good fortune sent Sir Andrew Clarke. Then really began the great period of progress in the history of Malaya, a period marked by the tenure of office of some of her most distinguished servants.

Major-General Sir Andrew Clarke arrived in Singapore in 1873 with definite instructions from the Secretary

of State, Lord Kimberley, to make a new departure in policy. He was expressly directed to ascertain the actual condition of affairs in each of the Native States, and to report what steps could be taken by the Colonial Government to "promote the restoration of peace and order and to secure protection to trade and commerce with the native territories." He had also orders to give attention to the provision of British officers to reside in the States.

These instructions practically conceded the whole point on which the Straits commercial community had for long been insisting. Fortunately, Sir Andrew was the right man in the right place. He had an excellent way with natives, especially of the ruling class. One of his interests in this part of the East was his personal friendship with King Chulalongkorn of Siam. As Governor Sir Andrew was most popular, and succeeding Governors have paid tribute to his great qualities, perhaps the highest praise possible. As the first actual builder of British Malaya, of which the Straits Settlements form but a part, he was a pioneer of Empire ranking next in eminence to Light and Raffles.

Sir Andrew lost no time in dealing with the situation, and he proceeded to pacify the States of Perak, Selangor, Sungei Ujong, and Rembau in turn. Among other great qualities, he possessed the happy capacity for picking out the right men to serve as his instruments, and for giving them his unswerving support. This encouragement was undoubtedly a determining cause of the fruitfulness of this period in capable and distinguished officials.

The first State to be dealt with under the new policy was Perak. There strife was rampant, not only between the Malay chiefs, but between the Chinese settlers, who engaged in constant clan dissensions, so that, in order to prevent anarchy, it was necessary to deal with both.

MR. WALTER PICKERING, FIRST PROTECTOR OF CHINESE

It was Sir Andrew Clarke's good fortune to find ready to his hand Mr. Walter Pickering, who at that time was

in charge of Chinese affairs at Singapore. He was the first "Protector of Chinese," and his name survives to this day as a designation, among the coolie class at least, for the Chinese Protectorate at Singapore. Mr. Pickering had had an adventurous career, having been wrecked and practically enslaved for some years in the island of Formosa. He came to Singapore as a Chinese interpreter in 1871, at the age of thirty, and retired in 1889, five years after being created C.M.G. He possessed the greatest influence with the Chinese of the Straits, many of whose dialects he spoke, and he is famous not only for his work in the Native States, but for his later collaboration with Governor Sir Cecil Smith in the abolition of Chinese secret societies. It has been said of him that he succeeded in proving that the object of the Chinese Protectorate was to defend the Chinese, not against possible foreign aggression, but against exploitation by their own countrymen. A writer in 1885 said that his qualifications for the post of Protector of Chinese were "of such an exceptional character that it is in the highest degree unlikely that the office can ever be filled by another." Later history may perhaps question the truth of this conclusion; it can only endorse the implied tribute. It is not surprising that Pickering's work roused the opposition of the worst elements of the Chinese races in the Straits, and several attempts were made on his life.

THE TREATY OF PANGKOR, 1874

Mr. Pickering died at home in 1907, famous as the first of a line of officers, expert in Chinese language and custom, who have formed one of the most valuable of Malaya's assets, and whose record has entirely proved the wisdom of Lord Canning's demand for civil servants specially trained and shaped for service in this country of so many peoples, manners, and creeds. His mission in Perak was entirely successful, and, as a result, a conference was arranged between the Malay chiefs and Chinese headmen on the one side and the Governor on

the other. So came about the Treaty of Pangkor, the 20th January 1874, the legal foundation of the Federated Malay States of to-day. Under its provisions a British Resident in Perak was appointed, whose advice should be asked in all questions save those of Malay religion and custom, and who should oversee the collection of revenue and the general administration of the State.

Messrs. Arnold Wright and Reid, in their book *The Malay Peninsula*, describe this policy of Sir Andrew Clarke as a bold one for a pro-Consul to follow without definite instructions from home, the British Government being, by a stroke of the pen, committed to an active intervention in Malay affairs from which they had previously shrunk. The Governor was, however, enthusiastically supported by the best mercantile opinion in the Straits, and this step was characterised by the Straits Settlements Association as "the most important that had for years been taken by the British Government in the Straits of Malacca." Sir Frank Swettenham also remarks that Sir Andrew was a man of energy and decision, ready to take any responsibility, who decided that this was no time for talking; the situation demanded immediate action, and he would take it, reporting what he had done, not what he proposed to do.

MR. J. W. W. BIRCH, COLONIAL SECRETARY, 1870-4

At the signing of the Treaty the Governor was accompanied by his Colonial Secretary, Mr. James Wheeler Woodford Birch, who, after a mission in Perak in the same year, was appointed first British Resident of that State, a post which it is said he was anxious to obtain. Mr. Braddell, who was throughout largely concerned in the settlement of the Native States and appointment of the first Residents, was also present, and so was Major McNair. Mr. F. A. Swettenham was there, too, having been employed about that time in many missions among the various disputants, and being immediately after the Treaty associated with Mr. Pickering in seeing

that the Chinese kept their part of the agreement. Among his various comments on the event is the following: "Lord Kimberley gave Sir Andrew Clarke the right to open the door of the Malay Peninsula, he even suggested where he might find the key. The permission was entrusted to the right man, and Sir Andrew put the key to the lock, opened the door, and left the rest to his agents and successors."

But, as he also remarks, the new departure was not plain sailing, for the real difficulties had not even begun. And "only after the loss of many valuable lives, the expense of infinite persistence and resource, did the experiment end in complete success." For (he goes on) it was one thing to send two or three white men into this new unexplored country, telling them to give good advice and to regulate its finances and administration, "with no force behind them but their own courage, tact, and ability, and the spectacle of British power miles away." It was quite another thing to evolve peace, order, and prosperity out of these difficult conditions.

We repeat that Sir Andrew was skilled in finding men, and emphasise his good fortune that there were such men at hand as he found. He next proceeded to the negotiations by which Selangor obtained a British Resident in Mr. J. G. Davidson, with Mr. Swettenham as Assistant, also in 1874. And affairs in Sungei Ujong and Rembau were, at any rate temporarily, settled by Mr. Pickering after a very stormy time, the former State obtaining an Assistant Resident in Captain Tatham, R.A.

Our account of the Governors and Civil Service has now reached the period when their history is concerned with that of the Native States rather than with that of the Colony. All the leading officers of this time were more or less connected with the big events of the Peninsula. The domestic politics of the Straits Settlements towns are rather in the background. And we are left with an impression of Sir Andrew Clarke as a great man, popular and sympathetic, to whom belongs the

fame of being the first founder of the Federated Malay States. His features, as preserved in the splendid bust in the entrance hall of the Singapore Club, are a mirror of courage and determination. The names of the leading civil servants of his time have already been mentioned. During the remainder of his administration there is not much to chronicle. But Swettenham warns us that all the reports of the Residents showed that there was abroad a feeling of unrest, and that those whose profits and influence were threatened were not taking kindly to the new order of things.

Sir Andrew Clarke left the Straits for a seat on the Council of the Viceroy of India in 1875.

SIR WILLIAM JERVOIS, GOVERNOR, 1875-7

He was succeeded by Sir William Jervois, also of the Royal Engineers (the third of our Governors in succession to belong to this famous Corps), and the new administration was to witness the inevitable outbreak against the changed order of things. And we may well contrast the policy of these two Chiefs of the State, who, though undoubtedly aiming at the same result, yet strove to achieve it in widely different ways. Sir Andrew Clarke's policy with respect to the Native States was to prepare them gradually to take their place in the British Empire by giving them advisers who should guide the chiefs, but not dictate to them, and, while pointing out their duty, refrain as much as possible from interfering with their authority. Sir William Jervois, on the contrary, was not fond of the native rulers, and he tried to hasten the development of the country by making the States "protected"; he designated the officers stationed in them as "Queen's Commissioners" instead of Residents, and his policy, instead of being one of "advice," became one of "control." It has, however, been doubted whether time enough had been allowed for Clarke's policy to justify itself, and whether to hasten a new one, which smelt so strongly of annexation, was not more than ill-advised.

Sir William, at any rate, immediately on succeeding to office, became engrossed in the Malay problem.

TROUBLE IN PERAK IN 1875

At this time the Resident of Perak was finding difficulties in his official dealings with Sultan Abdullah, who had gained his throne under the Pangkor Treaty. Means to enforce the Suzerain's demands were wanting. It was doubtless for this reason that Governor Jervois decided on the appointment of Queen's Commissioners, and prepared agreements to carry the change into effect, to which Abdullah, on ascertaining that his rival would sign them if he refused, finally assented.

The negotiations were conducted by the Resident, Mr. J. W. Birch, and Mr. Frank Swettenham. Proclamations necessary to give effect to the new arrangement were handed to them to distribute in the principal Perak villages. It was while engaged in this duty that Mr. Birch was murdered by the Malays at Pasir Salak on the 2nd November 1875, Mr. Swettenham narrowly escaping.

Then, of course, ensued a general flare-up, in the course of which the Governor came in for official censure as having taken the new measures entirely on his own initiative. The Home Government appears to have been apprehensive that the troops of the necessary punitive expedition that followed might be employed "for annexation or other political objects," and to have realised with horror that the Governor's action had committed them to onerous responsibilities.

The immediate result of this "curious experiment in administration," as Swettenham calls it, was that Mr. Birch was avenged, and the lesson taught that British authority could not be flouted with impunity. But Sir Frank draws the moral that twenty years of "good advice" would not have accomplished for peace and order and good government what was done in six months by force of arms. So, by precipitating an inevitable crisis, Governor Jervois's policy may perhaps be rated as above

that of Governor Clarke. At any rate, "from this point," say Messrs. Wright and Reid, "may be said to date the introduction of the *Pax Britannica* into Malaya." Though for some years more there were isolated incidents to disturb the peace, the country as a whole acquiesced in the arrangement which brought her directly under the ægis of British control.

Sir William Jervois has been described as "a man in a hurry," and his policy of haste has been criticised. Yet, again to quote Swettenham, the means by which he relieved the situation in Perak, which had reached an impasse, were as far from those he had devised as the end was better than any which his proposals could have secured.

MR. J. W. BIRCH, FIRST BRITISH RESIDENT,
PERAK, 1874-5.

Mr. Birch also had the reputation of being rather hot-headed; but it is certain that his only error (if such it can be called) was in allowing his zeal to outrun his discretion in his eagerness to right the wrongs of the country which had been committed to his charge. For he displayed the greatest energy in travelling far and wide, and inquiring into the complaints of the poor and oppressed. He set his face firmly against the odious practice of debt-slavery and other evils of the time, and it was undoubtedly on account of his efforts in this direction that he became unpopular with the chiefs. For, while Abdullah and his party had gained the end for which they had invoked British assistance, his adversaries, of course, regarded the British Resident as their natural enemy. All these causes led to the untimely death of one of the most devoted and energetic officers Malaya ever possessed, and one who left behind him a brilliant example for his successors.

There is really little to record of the history of the Colony during this period, in which the stirring events in the Native States naturally overshadowed everything else.

SIR WILLIAM C. F. ROBINSON

Governor Jervois retired in 1877. He was succeeded by Sir William C. F. Robinson, who remained in office two years. Apparently during this brief term he never visited the Malay States. He did, however, issue "Instructions to Residents," warning them that they had been placed where they were as Advisers and not as rulers, and would be responsible if trouble were to spring out of a neglect of this principle. But, as Mr. Arnold Wright points out in his *Twentieth Century Impressions*, the then Secretary of State, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, realised that at this stage much must be left to the discretion of the men actually on the spot. The Residents were selected specially for their knowledge of the Malays, and they could not merely stand by and look on. It was fortunate, indeed, that the head of the Colonies recognised this fact, and to him therefore falls a share of credit for the successful result of the labours of these early years, in which a lack of courage would have militated seriously against the chances of such an achievement.

The outstanding happenings in Singapore during Governor Robinson's administration were such homely events as the completion of the waterworks, the forming of the Straits branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the opening of Tanjong Pagar graving-dock ; and in Penang, the laying of the foundation-stone of the Town Hall. During the rule of three Governors, between the years 1873 and 1879, there is really nothing of more importance than the above to record as regards the Colony. But, all the same, she was continually if slowly increasing in importance and prosperity, and Singapore had by this time assumed a fitting garb in which to reign as the capital city of a British Malaya which was clearly soon to be.

And in the Malay States these few turbulent years comprise the total sum of her unhappiness under the new conditions. With the troubles safely over, a

better time quickly came, and an era of consummate peace and prosperity followed hard on the bad old past.

SIR FREDERICK A. WELD, GOVERNOR, 1880-87

Undoubtedly the most important administration of this latter part of our Third Period was that of the next Governor, Sir (then Mr.) Frederick Weld. His term of office, which was longer than that of the three last Governors combined, was full of importance and benefit to the whole Peninsula. Again, however, as is natural in the light of then recent events, it was not with the Straits and Singapore that the new Governor's dealings were primarily concerned.

His efforts were mainly directed towards the consolidation of the welfare of the Malay States, and he was also fortunate in having the assistance of excellent officials to look after the Colony during his frequent tours of inspection. His age, as we shall see, was again one of great civil servants, both in the Colony and the States.

Mr. Weld, before he came to Malaya, had been Governor of West Australia and of Tasmania, and had at one time been Prime Minister of New Zealand. At the time of his arrival here the Residential system in the States was in full swing, and the country was increasing in riches and prosperity; but there was still building and buttressing to be done. The traditions of many years had to be broken through and the way made clear for the smooth running of the machine of to-day. Here Mr. Weld scored, just as did Sir Andrew Clarke, owing to his personality. He had the faculty of inspiring affection in those who served under him, and he also won great influence among the native races.

To the excellent *Life of Governor Weld*, by Lady Lovat, there is an interesting preface by Sir Hugh Clifford, who at an early age was one of Weld's officers. He sums up the Governor as follows: that he was more of a statesman than an administrator; he saw the brilliant

future of the protected Malay States, and he ordered all things for the attainment of it. He displayed great energy in acquainting himself with the country and what was going on in it, making frequent journeys in all parts of the States. He recognised that their internal administration would have to be assimilated closely to that of the Colony, but he made it his business to ensure that that assimilation had a slow, gradual, and natural growth. It was owing to this policy that there came about the cordial understanding between Malay chiefs and British officials that is the rule to-day. For he saw that anything like annexation would have turned the native rulers into enemies, and he showed his statesmanship in his absolute avoidance of it.

While engaged in the affairs of the Native States, Sir Frederick (for he was created K.C.M.G. early in his administration, and became G.C.M.G. a few years later) left the direction of affairs in the Colony to his principal officers, Mr. Cecil Clementi Smith being Colonial Secretary, Singapore, and Sir A. E. H. Anson Lieutenant-Governor of Penang. Among the outstanding events of the time in the Colony was the resettlement of matters connected with land. The Governor also encouraged Indian immigration, which he favoured in preference to Chinese.

Sir Cecil Clementi Smith was Colonial Secretary from 1878 to 1885, and, as he succeeded Sir Frederick as Governor in 1887, a fuller account of him will be given later.

Major-General Sir Archibald E. H. Anson was Lieutenant-Governor of Penang, being the last officer to hold the ampler title, one which is still coveted for its chief official by the citizens of the Northern Settlement. He administered the government of the Straits on occasions during the term of office of Governor Ord and during the intervals between those of Governors Jervois and Robinson, and of Robinson and Weld. He was a Crimean veteran, and took an active part in the Sungei Ujong War of 1875-6. He became Major-General in 1879,

and retired in 1882. But as is natural considering its history, the best-known names of the Weld period are those of the officers employed in the Native States. At this time the system of appointing cadet officers for the Civil Service of the S.S. by open competition was in force, but had not assumed its present shape. Be it whispered that Governor Weld was not of opinion that the young officers of the establishment were suited for the early spade-work in the Native States. As he wrote on one occasion : " It is too much to expect young officers of the Cadet S.S. Class to manage the affairs of Sri Menanti and Johol. They have not the experience, nor do they carry weight enough, and no amount of cramming or success in competitive examinations will teach a man to manage natives and win their confidence." He therefore relied on the men of experience whom he most fortunately had at hand, such famous officers as Low, Rodger, and Martin Lister. Yet it is a little difficult to understand the real meaning of Sir Frederick's comment. For when he came to the Straits, as we shall see, the first competitive scheme had presented Frank Swettenham, C. W. S. Kynnersley, and others who had already won distinction, while the second (to which he probably referred) has produced many more really great men to whom the country continues to owe a debt of gratitude. We may also, perhaps, respectfully interpolate that, in spite of his remarks, Sir Frederick still did make use of a very young man for an exceedingly difficult and dangerous service when he sent Mr. Hugh Clifford on a mission to the State of Pahang at the age of twenty-one. True the latter had then been in the country for over three years, and his selection was entirely justified by its success ; but may we not surmise that one of the other young officers might not have been trained and used in the same way ? Some of them and their successors have done a good deal in the same line since. As a result of Mr. Hugh Clifford's mission, Pahang finally asked for and was given a British Resident in 1888.

SIR HUGH LOW, RESIDENT, PERAK, 1877-89

Sir Hugh Low was Resident of Perak from 1877 to 1889, and there earned the right to be considered one of the most successful of our administrators. He was famed for his tact and consideration to the natives, and one of his greatest reforms was the final abolition of debt-slavery. It was during his term of office that the immense prosperity of the State of Perak had its beginning. As Swettenham points out, when Low arrived in Perak the State was overwhelmed by a heavy debt, with no visible resources to meet it. He left it with a flourishing revenue and a large credit balance. The same writer adds that Sir Hugh understood, what those in authority should never forget, that the only way to deal with a Malay people is through their recognised chiefs; moreover, they should be consulted before taking action, not afterwards. He died in 1906, having on his retirement been created G.C.M.G.

Mr. John Pickersgill Rodger was appointed first Resident of Pahang in 1888, a post he held for eight years. Later he became Resident in turn of Selangor and Perak, and he was appointed Governor of the Gold Coast Colony in 1903. He became K.C.M.G. in 1904.

The Hon. Martin Lister, a brother of the present Lord Ribblesdale, was Superintendent of Negri Sembilan in 1887, and afterwards first British Resident till 1897. He died on his way home on leave. He is cited by Sir Frank Swettenham as an example of those Residents and District Magistrates who gave of their best to secure the success of the country, and died while still holding offices of great trust and responsibility therein, one of those English servants of the Government to whom "the present prosperity of the Malay States is mainly due."

When Sir Frederick Weld left Malaya in 1887, the goal of Sir Andrew Clarke's efforts, the bringing to the country of civilisation and a higher position in the scale of humanity, was nearly in sight. The work was carried

along on the same lines by Weld's successors until Federation was attained in 1896.

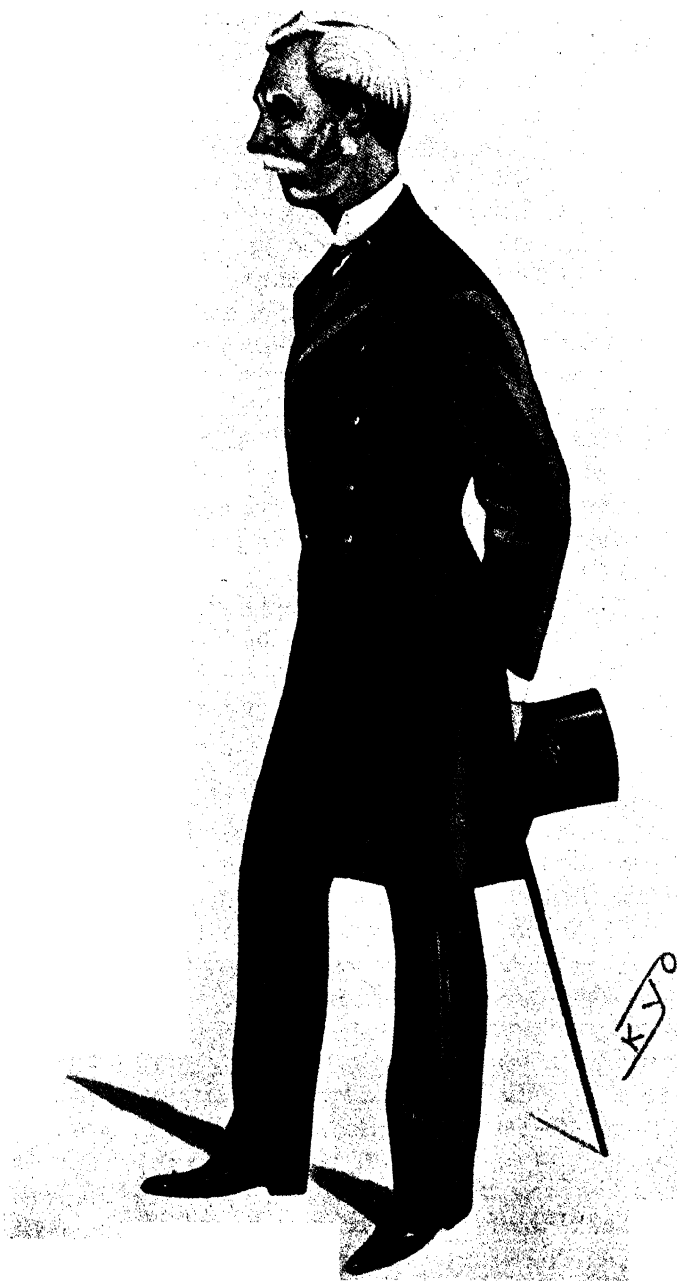
We see, then, that Sir Frederick's term of office was mainly devoted to a fostering care of the States of the Peninsula, while the administration of the Colony was entrusted to his officials. The natural trend of events made it inevitable that while the Settlements were comfortable and prosperous, the chief acts of the heads of the administration were connected with an attempt to bring about the same happy state in Greater Malaya.

SIR CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH, GOVERNOR, 1887-93

Sir Cecil Clementi Smith succeeded Sir Frederick Weld as Governor. He had had a brief period of service in Ceylon before he returned as Governor to the Straits. As regards the Native States he continued the policy of his predecessor, and always sympathetically regarded the idea of federation, which was beginning to loom large on the horizon. He also strongly supported railway development, which was making great strides at this highly progressive time.

When he first came to the Straits he had seen service in Hongkong, whence he obtained his knowledge of Chinese character and custom. He is described as a tall, stately personage, dignified, and a fine debater, and after his retirement was held in high esteem by the Home Government. During his term of office here there was remarkably good feeling between Government House and the community at large, as the Press of the time remarked. Public matters were carried out in a moderate and sensible manner, and "with attention, if not always in concurrence with, the views of the public"; and, when Sir Cecil left the Colony for Ceylon in 1885, everyone was unanimously in favour of his returning to the highest post.

In every way in which interest could be shown in the domestic problems of the place Sir Cecil was conspicuous: he had all the interests of Singapore and the Colony near at heart. He was a strong advocate of the cause of



SIR CECIL, CLEMENTI SMITH, G.C.M.G.
Vanity Fair Cartoon by R. W. Braddell.

education, herein following Raffles's example, one of his aims being as far as possible to educate Malays with a view to employment in the administration. It was largely through his efforts that there has grown up that body of Malay officials now taking an "active and responsible share" in the government of the F.M.S.

Sir Cecil was also a firm supporter of the Singapore Volunteer Corps, of which he was Honorary Colonel from 1890 to the time of his death. Perhaps the most important measures passed during his terms of office, as Administrator and as Governor, were those which abolished secret societies, to the great satisfaction of the Chinese community at large. In the *Straits Chinese Magazine*, of a date some years after his retirement, there appears an article by a Straits-born Chinese on the subject, praising him for an action for which "present and future generations of Chinese must feel ever grateful." The actual debate on the first Societies Ordinance, passed during his administration of the Government in 1885, is described as a model of force, in which the Administrator; Mr. Bonser, Attorney-General; Mr. W. E. Maxwell, acting Colonial Secretary; Mr. A. M. Skinner, Colonial Treasurer; Mr. Shelford, Mr. Adams, and others took part. The measure was carried by ten votes to seven, and has been cited as an instance in which the official vote, although utterly opposed by the unofficial, has amply justified itself in the years that followed. Sir Cecil, in his speech, "tore to pieces" the description by one speaker of the societies as "cherished institutions," characterising them as the "cherished institutions" of a lot of scoundrels and blackguards, and he announced his intention of seeing the measures proposed carried through, and not left as a *damnosa hereditas* to his successors. During his term of office as Governor in 1889 a revised Ordinance was passed, improving on the former one; and it was in his administration that a Chinese Advisory Board, consisting of representatives of all Chinese races, was appointed, "an institution which has to the present time proved of the greatest

utility and benefit, not only in affording facility to the Government for ascertaining the feelings of the Chinese community on any question it may choose to raise, but in securing for the Chinese an easy and inexpensive means of ventilating their views on any subject which might be considered by them inimical to their interests."

Sir Cecil died in London in 1916; he had since his retirement visited the Straits on his way out to Shanghai to preside over the Opium Commission in 1909. As was evident on that occasion, from his reception by his former officers, he was among the most popular of our Governors.

SIR J. FREDERICK DICKSON, COLONIAL SECRETARY, 1885-92

During a brief absence of Sir Frederick Weld in 1887, Mr. John Frederick Dickson administered the government. He had been appointed Colonial Secretary in 1885 after Sir Cecil's transfer to Ceylon, and he held that office till 1892. He was a good debater and a man of much ability, but he was much criticised at the time for an order that no foreign transport nor man-of-war should go into New Harbour without leave of Government, a prohibition which it was said would do Singapore irreparable mischief by driving away the lucrative business of coaling French transports during the Annam War. This rule was, however, soon modified, no doubt to the satisfaction of the mercantile community. Mr. Dickson was created K.C.M.G. in 1888, and again administered the government in 1890.

Mr. William Edward Maxwell succeeded Sir Frederick Dickson as Colonial Secretary in 1892, and held office till 1895. His record is to be found elsewhere in this volume.

THE FIRST CADETS

Mr. Dudley Francis Amelius Hervey, who was Resident Councillor in Malacca from 1882 to 1893, had been appointed a Straits Cadet in 1867, the year of

the transfer, the first officer of that class in the Straits. During a long career he held many and varied appointments until he settled down at Malacca. In his earlier service he accompanied several expeditions, among others, proceeding to Acheen to inquire into the treatment of British vessels there. He also went on political visits to Kedah, Pahang, Trengganu, Kelantan, and Selangor in 1870. In 1883 he accompanied Sir F. Weld to Negri Sembilan to pave the way for opening up the Residential system there. He became C.M.G. in 1892, and remained at Malacca till his retirement in 1893. He died in 1911.

MR. A. M. SKINNER

Mr. Allan Maclean Skinner held the substantive appointment of Colonial Treasurer from 1881 to 1887, when he became Resident Councillor in Penang, an office which he retained till 1897. He was the second Cadet to be appointed, coming out in the year after Mr. Hervey. In his early years he took an active part in the bombardment of Selangor in 1871 and the Perak negotiations in 1874, and in the proceedings generally which established British influence in the Peninsula. He was created C.M.G. in 1890 "in recognition of good work done." He originally helped largely to found the Straits branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and edited and contributed to its Journal for several years. Ill-health forced his retirement in 1897, and at the time of his death he was engaged in writing a history of the Straits Settlements. He acted as Colonial Secretary on several occasions between 1884 and 1888. He was the first Inspector of Schools in the Colony, and the originator of its educational system. He died at home in 1901.

LIEUT.-COL. SIR C. H. B. MITCHELL, R.M.L.I., GOVERNOR, 1894-9

After a short interregnum, in which Mr. W. E. Maxwell administered the government, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Charles Bullen Hugh Mitchell succeeded Sir Cecil Smith

as Governor in 1894, and died at Singapore on the 7th December 1899. He was an officer of the Royal Marines, and had seen service in the Crimean War. There is an unconfirmed tradition that his sudden death in December 1899 was partly due to the shock caused by the losses of the British army, and his old corps in particular, in the early days of the South African War. He had had varied colonial experience in Honduras, Fiji, Natal, and Zululand, and there earned a reputation for earnestness and sincerity, shrewd judgment, practical sagacity, and uncompromising straightforwardness of character. His period of administration was noteworthy both in the Colony and in the Malay States: in the former for the famous Retrenchment Policy which it was his mission to carry out, and also for the opposition of the unofficial community to the decision of the then Secretary of State, Lord Ripon, as to the military contribution; in the latter for the final adoption by the Home Government of the scheme for federation.

As to the characteristics of his administration in the Colony, it must be remembered that he came here at a time when our finances were at a very low ebb and business very unsatisfactory. The reason for this state of things has been given as the result of a bad year in 1890 and early 1891, when "the balances at the disposal of the Colony were all but exhausted." A loan was bruited, and a serious decrease in revenue rendered the strictest economy necessary. The year 1892 was not much better, and in 1893 the pruning-knife came into operation. The dollar also came down to a low point, and in 1894 some European salaries were raised to compensate for the fall in exchange. Even in 1895 the trade returns showed a steady decrease. Hence, then, the policy of rigid economy which it was Sir Charles Mitchell's mission to inculcate.

Some excerpts from an article in the *Straits Chinese Magazine* of 1898, written at a time when Sir Charles Mitchell was going on leave, after four years' service in the Straits, well sum up his policy, personality, and

the estimation in which he was held, in spite of the difficulty of the tasks it was his mission to carry out. The writer says :

“ Sir Charles Mitchell came to our Colony when the question of the Military Contribution was the burning topic in official and commercial circles. To enable Government to carry on its work efficiently retrenchment became necessary, and Sir Charles braved the adverse criticism of the time and did his duty to the best of his ability. Naturally this retrenchment was not pleasant to those who suffered by it. Hence arose complaints against the austere rule of the Governor.”

But the writer goes on to say that, as usual, the sterling qualities of a sincere man were recognised in the long run.

“ In Sir Charles Mitchell we have a frank, impartial, honest, sincere, and strong Governor, and a most genial gentleman. . . . It is not easy to steer one's course through such a maze of conflicting interests as our Colony presents. Firmness and impartiality are necessary, in the first place to maintain the Civil Service efficient, and in the second place to afford alien races the protection of our just laws. It is not only in making principles of economy felt in the administration that Sir Charles has made himself known as a determined man. He will always be remembered as the first High Commissioner for the Federated Malay States, the union of the Malay Residencies having been hastened by his support of Sir Frank Swettenham's exertions.”

He was also praised for the prompt manner in which he prepared to deal with threatened Chinese riots about this time.

At his death the same magazine said of him : “ He was in every sense of the word an ideal gentleman. Perhaps one of the best Governors this Colony has ever had.” The writer continued to the effect that, though Sir Charles Mitchell possessed little actual knowledge of

local racial problems when he first arrived here, he very soon acquired the necessary insight to deal successfully with races such as Malays, Chinese, and Eurasians. For his personal traits were fairness and frankness ; he never flinched from duty, however disagreeable. He was watchful also to prevent uncalled-for restrictions of the privileges hitherto enjoyed by Asiatic settlers. He was benevolent, though firm and decisive. Though he was often, on his arrival, criticised for love of economy, and he used to boast of having " an economic soul," critics soon recognised his sincerity, and in the end became his admirers. And the writer concluded : " We feel confident that the Colony will long cherish the memory of Sir Charles Mitchell." A tribute of this kind given with such obvious sincerity in a paper published by our Chinese fellow-citizens may worthily form a Governor's *in memoriam*. The sentiments expressed in it were shared by all other sections of the community.

There were no other events of outstanding importance to Singapore or the Colony during Sir Charles Mitchell's administration. Her history was one of peaceful and prosperous development, after the indignation aroused by the question of the military contribution had died down, and the financial position had begun to improve about the year 1895.

THE FEDERATION, 1ST JULY 1896

But Sir Charles Mitchell had entered on his term of office with a still more important mission than those detailed, being no less than to report on the advisability of federation for the four chief Malay States. His report was in favour of the scheme if the Malay rulers approved it, and this they did. So federation came into being on the 1st July 1896, when the Governor of the Straits Settlements became High Commissioner for the Federated Malay States and Consul-General for British North Borneo, Brunei, and Sarawak.

Mr. Frank Swettenham, who had been British Resident of Perak since 1889, was appointed First Resident-

General, F.M.S. He was created K.C.M.G. the next year. In *British Malaya* he deals at some length with the reasons that made federation desirable and indeed necessary. One of the principal of these was the difficulty of the Governor at Singapore exercising any really effective control over men so circumstanced as the British Residents of the States, and this had led to a system of journals transmitted by them to Singapore from time to time, together with estimates of revenue and expenditure submitted yearly, with an annual report on administration. Sir Frank points out that in ten years the Residents found they had no time to keep journals, and so that method of supplying information to the Governor was abandoned. Also that, being in those days separated from correspondence with each other by lack of means of communication, they were inclined to follow their own lines without particular reference to their neighbours, while, save in the years from 1876-82, when there was an Assistant Colonial Secretary for the Native States stationed in Singapore (Sir Frank himself for the greater part of the time), there had been no real attempt from headquarters to secure the much-needed uniformity. In fact, each individual Resident was beginning to go his own way and to resent interference. So differences of system and policy grew as the States developed, and, after being only irritating, became unbearable, until federation became a necessity. The weak point of the Residential system, Sir Frank concludes, was that it placed too much power in the hands of one man, and this made it desirable that a satisfactory arrangement should be evolved under which a bad man could not "do an infinity of harm without hindrance." And so "a system which on the whole worked admirably for twenty years had to give place to the natural outcome of that system."

It was Sir Frank himself who drew up a scheme of federation and submitted it to Sir Cecil Smith before his departure. He also visited the States, explained the scheme to the Malay rulers and British Residents, and

secured the consent of all. He states that the Malay rulers cordially approved the scheme because it did not touch their status in any way, though it formally recognised the right of the Resident-General to exercise a very large control in the affairs of the States. He was not styled an Adviser ; his authority, both in the general administration and as regards the Residents, was clearly defined. He was plainly declared to have executive control under direction of the Governor of the Straits, who would in future be termed High Commissioner for the F.M.S. The Malay rulers believed that federation would make them stronger and more important, and the rulers of the richer States were large-minded enough to welcome the opportunity of pushing on the more backward ones for the glory and ultimate benefit of the whole Federation. They clearly realised the great advantage of an arrangement by which they should stand together as one, with inter-state friction and jealousy banished, and in possession of a powerful advocate who should voice their requirements to headquarters far more efficiently than any Resident could do. As to the Residents, Sir Frank says that, though they realised that the scheme would deprive them of some authority and status, they welcomed federation because they saw that the existing arrangement was unsatisfactory and becoming impossible, while the new one would make for unity, efficiency, and progress.

The names of the Residents in the year of federation may here be recorded : Mr. W. H. Treacher, C.M.G., Selangor (news of his death at home came the other day) ; Hon. Martin Lister, Negri Sembilan ; Mr. J. P. Rodger, Pahang ; Sir (then Mr.) Frank Swettenham, C.M.G., was, as we have seen, Resident, Perak.

So the Federated Malay States " arrived," and, with the new order of things, Kuala Lumpur in Selangor, then a little mining town, was, on account of its central position, selected for the seat of the Resident-General and the heads of Federal Departments. As Messrs. Wright and Reid write, it was an insignificant place,



RT. WOR. BRO. H.E. SIR CHARLES MITCHELL, K.C.M.G.
District Grand Master 1895-9.

with apparently no future. And they continue that "in the last seventeen years there has been called into being a new capital, well worthy to take its place among the leading cities of the Empire."

We close our account of this period with the dream of Raffles well on its way to realisation, and all the labours of our pioneers during all the years of our history amply justified. There has never been any looking-back: the Federated Malay States from this point have only gone on increasing in years, riches, and honour.

PERIOD IV, 1896 TO PRESENT DAY

Our Fourth Period, which tells of modern times, commences with British Malaya fairly established and ready to work out her destiny. Just as the bickerings and strugglings among chiefs and peoples in the Malay States were happily over and done with, so also the great Colony of the Straits Settlements found herself well set on the prosperous course which she has continued to follow without interruption until to-day.

The years of which we shall now narrate the happenings will merely show milestones on the path of progress, no less in the Colony than in the nowadays famous Federated Malay States. The labourers on this well-trodden road will be found to include among their number the names of many men who deserve well of the commonwealth, not least, by any means, among them being those of the Governors and Civil Servants.

In this article, treating as it does of Governors and Civil Service, with the history of the country displayed as the environment of their lives and deeds, one cannot any more divide the tale of the development of the two halves of British Malaya, the Straits and the States. For the Straits Governor commences this period as High Commissioner for the F.M.S., and the two Civil Services in the course of it become united. So, for once, speaking of the Civil Service before we tell the story of the individual Governors of modern times, we give a brief sketch of the history of the Civil Service of the two divisions

of British Malaya, the Malayan Civil Service as it now begins to be called.

HISTORY OF THE CIVIL SERVICE IN BRITISH MALAYA

In early days our officials were recruited from the ranks of the Indian Civil Service, the Presidency of Bencoolen in particular being drawn upon, as in the case of Messrs. Bonham and Church. These two officers came to Malaya early in their careers, after some experience of the natives of kindred races, and proved in all ways more sympathetic and more successful than their brethren brought in direct from India or the Indian army.

We have noticed that the latter appointments were constantly and severely criticised, and have recorded Mr. Thomas Braddell's advocacy (in 1858) of a close Civil Service, specially recruited and leavened by the admission of qualified members from among the "people outside," as a leading Straits official once designated the unofficial element. We have applauded, too, the stress which Lord Canning laid on the importance of the provision of such a service of our own, which he made one of the first reasons for severance of the Straits from India and placing them under the Colonial Office. It was this insistence, doubtless, that prompted the first appointment of a Straits Cadet (for that title then came into general use) in the actual year of the transfer, when Mr. D. F. A. Hervey joined our Civil Service. At this time appointment appears to have been by selection without examination: only two Cadets came out under this early system, the other being Mr. A. M. Skinner, who joined in the following year. Who shall deny that in these two cases the method of appointment was justified?

FIRST COMPETITIVE SCHEME

In 1869 Lord Granville made certain alterations in the arrangements "for the selection, etc., of such Cadets

as might be required for recruiting the Civil Service of the Straits Settlements," and a scheme of competitive examination by the Civil Service Commissioners was started. This fixed the age of candidates as between twenty and twenty-three, and directed obligatory and optional subjects as the test of fitness. A similar scheme was approved for the sister services of Hongkong and Ceylon about the same time.

The first Cadets under the new system included Mr. F. A. Swettenham, and it remained in force till 1882, the Cadets coming out in these years including Messrs. J. K. Birch, C. W. S. Kynnersley, A. P. Talbot, H. A. O'Brien, E. C. Hill, F. G. Penney, E. M. Merewether, and W. Egerton. Mr. E. W. Birch came out also during this time, but was apparently excused examinations, as he had previously been employed for a time in the Colonial Office.

SECOND COMPETITIVE SCHEME

In 1882, when Lord Kimberley was Secretary of State, open competition for the services of the Straits Settlements, Hongkong, and Ceylon was initiated, successful candidates being allowed to choose in their order among the vacancies in the three Colonies. There was a preliminary (qualifying) examination, followed by competition under a more advanced scheme. Candidates under this system appear at first to have spent a time at one of the universities after the qualifying examination. The Cadets first appointed under it were Messrs. R. N. Bland and W. Evans, followed in the next years by, among others, Messrs. R. G. Watson, A. W. S. O'Sullivan, J. O. Anthonisz, G. T. Hare, E. L. Brockman, and J. R. Innes. The limits of age for candidates were between twenty-one and twenty-four on 1st August, the month in which the competition was held.

It must be remembered that the system of entrance examinations for Cadets then applied to the Straits Settlements only of the two parts of British Malaya, appointments of officers of the same class in the Malay

States being made by nomination. During part of this time, from the later 'Eighties onwards, they were appointed to the several States and entitled Junior Officers.

THIRD JOINT SCHEME

In 1896 Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, decided to cancel the scheme in force since 1882 in favour of the examination prescribed for the Home and Indian Services, and in that year the system of joint examination and selection of successful candidates between the three main services, Home, Indian, and Eastern Cadetships, was instituted. The services which the term "Eastern Cadetships" then comprised were Ceylon, Hongkong, Straits Settlements, and Federated Malay States, the last-named coming into line upon the federation.

This system continued in force until interrupted by the Great War, and was resumed, with some modifications caused by war conditions, on its termination. As was clearly inevitable, the two Malayan services after 1896 became gradually interchangeable. It had always been stated that an officer in any of the three last-named services (not Ceylon) might conceivably be changed from one to another, though this rarely happened in practice. About the year 1906 it was definitely laid down that the Cadet Services of the Straits and the F.M.S. were to be regarded as one for purposes of promotion. So, in a few instances earlier, and constantly after 1908, Cadets originally gazetted to one of the two services have been transferred from one to the other; and it is now expressly stated in "Rules and Regulations" that they must distinctly understand that they "will be liable to be transferred at any time from the service of one of these Governments to that of the other," such transfer taking place in practice, in the majority of cases, on promotion of a Cadet officer to a higher class.

A later development has been the admission of the Unfederated or Protected States into the confraternity, for Cadets of the S.S. and F.M.S. Services have

for the most part been seconded for the executive, judicial, and administrative posts in the new countries. Supernumerary appointments in the two elder services have therefore been created in order to provide a number corresponding to that of the seconded officers.

“ THE MALAYAN CIVIL SERVICE ”

Our Civil Service, then, embracing as it now does the three main branches of Straits, F.M.S., and Unfederated States, among which the Cadet officers are interchangeable (though Cadets are still gazetted to either S.S. or F.M.S. on first appointment or on promotion), has clearly reached a stage when some common title is desirable, and the recently elicited feeling of the majority of its members has proved to be in favour of the name “ *Malayan Civil Service*,” a most worthy and important appellation, as well as a very gratifying proof of present unity and friendship.

THE CIVIL SERVICE AND THE WAR

Before leaving the subject of the Civil Service and its past and present constitution, we think it will be recognised as fitting and proper that some mention should be made of the part played by its members in the Great War. At the end of the year 1914 there were in the Malayan Civil Service, composed of Straits and F.M.S. Cadets, together with the junior officers and one or two others appointed to the F.M.S. Civil Service before federation, 211 names. This number includes a few Cadets who came out in that year. Of these 211, no less than forty-five served in the War. Ten of these were killed in action, or died on or as a result of service. Their names are :—John Beach, Tom Lewis Bourdillon, George Eric Cardew, William Stanley Eames, Robert Claude Hawker Kingdon, Harold Evelyn Pennington, Harold Stedman Richmond, George Hawthorn Minot Robertson, Guy Hatton Sugden, and Alan Austin Wright. They were all officers of the junior classes of the Service.

Of these, T. L. Bourdillon was awarded the Military

Cross ; other recipients of this honour, happily surviving, being Meadows Frost, Alan Custance Baker, Thomas Perowne Coe, and George Montgomery Kidd. The first-named is now an officer of twenty years' service, having come out originally in 1898.

Truly a glorious record, and one of which the Civil Service may well be proud, holding as it undoubtedly does a foremost place among those of other professions in all parts of the Empire. It must be remembered that a wise decree allowed only the younger and fitter of those actually in Europe to join the Army, it being considered that the King's Service in this country required the others to remain at their posts.

THE PERIOD OF BRITISH MALAYA

Throughout we have to bear in mind that, though the Colony and the Federated Malay States still remain absolutely distinct, yet the Governor of one is the High Commissioner of the other, and the officers of their two Services are interchangeable. Henceforth we are speaking of British Malaya, and it is her history that we relate in telling the stories of our Governors and Civil Service. And apart, of course, from the Great War, whose horrors scarcely touched us and whose far-reaching consequences, even, failed to divert our unswerving course, the most important historical fact of this our final period of development is the admission of the Protected or non-Federated States into the confraternity, the dreams of our founders and forerunners becoming thus fully and finally realised.

After the death of Sir Charles Mitchell there was an interregnum of nearly two years, in the course of which Sir James Alexander Swettenham, who was Colonial Secretary during the latter part of the late Governor's term of office, and Sir Frank Athelstane Swettenham, then Resident-General, F.M.S., successively administered the government. It is a remarkable and unprecedented fact that two brothers should have held in turn this high office.

SIR J. A. SWETTENHAM

Mr. James Alexander Swettenham, C.M.G., as he was when he came to the Colony, was appointed a writer in the Ceylon Civil Service in 1868, and served there till 1883, when he was transferred to Cyprus. He was made Colonial Secretary S.S. in 1895, and created K.C.M.G. in 1898, when administering the government during the absence of Sir Charles Mitchell, on leave. His service in the Straits was spent entirely in Singapore. In congratulating him on the honour of K.C.M.G., the *Straits Chinese Magazine* said : " The strict and incessant attention that he always gave to the multifarious duties of his post as chief of the Secretariat has indeed become proverbial. By a happy coincidence his brother, Sir Frank Swettenham, is at the head of the affairs of the neighbouring F.M.S., between which and our Colony there exists such close intercourse. We may fairly hope to see, during the administration of the brothers of the two countries respectively, a greater interdependence and mutual intercourse resulting from a stronger community of interests between them." The same magazine, after Sir Frank's subsequent Governorship and retirement, in mildly criticising what the writer considered to be a lack of sympathy on his part with the Chinese population of the Straits, compared the different attitude of Sir Alexander, especially in respect of matters such as Chinese education. Sir J. A. Swettenham became Governor of British Guiana in 1901, and he was afterwards Governor of Jamaica between 1904 and 1907. During his second administration of the Government of the Straits the Singapore—Johore railway was commenced.

SIR FRANK SWETTENHAM

In September 1901 Sir F. A. Swettenham was appointed Governor. Earlier in the year he had, as Administrator, entertained our present King and Queen on their visit to Singapore during the *Ophir* voyage.

Sir Frank's career has been touched upon at various times throughout this article, but we may here sum it up. He passed into the Straits Civil Service after competitive examination, under the first scheme for Cadets, in 1870. After some years spent in various posts in Penang, he was Assistant Resident, Selangor, and Deputy Commissioner with the Perak Expedition in 1876 and 1877. He then became, successively, Assistant Colonial Secretary for Native Affairs from 1876 to 1881, Resident, Selangor, in 1882, Resident, Perak, from 1889 to 1895, and first Resident-General of the F.M.S. from 1896 to 1901. After his retirement from the Straits he was created G.C.M.G., and has performed various war services, being appointed, during 1915, Joint Director of the Official Press Bureau in London. He has been made a Companion of Honour, one of the few to hold that distinction.

One of the most noticeable points in connection with his record is that he was the first Governor of the Straits, and the only one up to the present whose career has been entirely spent in our Civil Service; and his appointment to the highest office here must have been most pleasing to him, not only because it kept him in the country which he knew and loved, but on account of his views, already quoted, as to the necessity of a Malayan Civil Service for Malaya. We should note, however, that his later years of service had little intimate connection with the Colony until his administration of the government in 1901. For, as we have seen, his time was spent mainly in the Native States, and it has been justly stated that their enormous prosperity after the federation was largely due to his efforts. On his promotion to the Governorship, an English weekly paper remarked: "Never was a big appointment better deserved," and, in allusion to his selection as first Resident-General, "it was only fitting that this post should be given to the man who directly effected the federation."

During his brief Governorship, from 1901 to the end



SIR FRANK ATHELSTANE SWETTENHAM, G.C.M.G., C.H.

of 1903, nothing of great importance befell either Singapore or the Colony. In the F.M.S., on the other hand, forces were already at work, which led to the final result of attracting the other Native States of the Peninsula to British suzerainty. To allude very briefly to this development before turning to Sir Frank's administration in the Colony, it may be noted that in the early years of the twentieth century British influence began to show in the State of Kelantan, where Mr. R. W. Duff had, with the approval of Government, started his "development" enterprise. As a result of some friction with the Siamese authorities, Siam being then Suzerain of the State, Sir Frank went to Kelantan in 1902, and brought about an agreement limiting the Suzerain's powers, and at the same time arranging for the appointment of a British officer to act as Adviser to the Sultan. This was the first step towards the extension of British influence in the Unfederated States, the main historical event of this our modern period.

In a speech, at a farewell banquet given to him on his retirement in 1903, Mr. John Anderson, the Chairman, summed up the principal acts of the departing Governor's term of office. As the *Free Press* reports it :

"The scheme commonly known as Mr. Matthews' (of Coode, Son and Matthews) Harbour Scheme was really projected by Sir F. A. Swettenham, to whom the Colony was also greatly indebted for the currency conversion scheme, now in its first stages of introduction, to give stability to the gold value of the Singapore dollar. It was his strength and influence that led to obtaining sufficient money for the construction of the Victoria Memorial Hall, as the Town Hall was not large enough for the growing community. Sir F. A. Swettenham had had to do with the completion of the first effort of this Settlement in railway working, with an aim to promote and contribute to a trunk line from Singapore to Burma and India."

Mr. Anderson also advanced the suggestion of a bridge across the Johore Straits, to be called Swettenham

Bridge. And he remarked on the unique record of the Governor's service in the Straits, of which we have spoken. He, too, tributed Sir Frank's labours in the F.M.S. and his policy there, which "has contributed so much to the welfare of the Colony."

A writer in the *Straits Chinese Magazine*, lamenting his early retirement and praising his eminent fitness to direct the government of the Colony and the F.M.S., remarked that "with an accurate and extensive knowledge of the history and language of the native population of these lands, Sir Frank has been able to use his keen critical judgment, his sharp sense of humour, and his business acumen with most fruitful results in the administration of the most prosperous of British Crown Colonies." All expressed opinions draw us to a conclusion as to the service of this, our own Governor, that he was one of the principal benefactors of British Malaya, not only as a pioneer, but as an administrator as well.

Yet he is even more widely known as a real lover of the Malay country, an expert in the language and customs of its people, and one of a band of literary men whose writings have introduced Malaya to the world outside. His books, *The Real Malay* and *Malay Sketches*, are put in the hands of all intending visitors to these parts as a guide to the country's life and legend. And the personal element which enters into the character sketches and studies makes them all the more attractive, especially when he describes the early efforts of the British officials in the new country, their difficulties and dangers. Who that reads is not thrilled by the chapter describing the murder of Mr. Birch and the writer's most narrow and remarkable escape from the same fate? Besides this, Sir Frank is a lexicographer and a grammarian, as witness his English—Malay Vocabulary and the part-written Dictionary, both of which have served as first aid to the new students. And a historian as well, for the work herein so often quoted, *British Malaya*, contains chapters on the old

history of Malaya and on the development of the F.M.S., which cannot be surpassed for interest and knowledge.

MR. C. W. S. KYNNEERSLEY, C.M.G., 1872-1904

Mr. Charles Walter Sneyd Kynnersley was appointed a Cadet in 1872. He held at various times nearly all the posts of the Civil Service in the three Settlements. He also accompanied the expeditions to Perak and Sungei Ujong in 1875, and went with Sir Frederick Weld on a mission to Borneo in 1887. He was Resident Councillor at Malacca in 1895, and held the same post at Penang from 1897 to 1904, administered the government for a few months in 1897 and 1898, and acted as Colonial Secretary for a time before his retirement. He was created C.M.G. in 1899. The *Singapore Free Press* of March 1902, when he went on leave, said of him that it was agreed by all that he had done yeoman service for the Colony, which had been his home for thirty years, and drew attention to his somewhat unique record of having been at the head of each of the three Settlements. The writer added that Mr. Kynnersley had managed to keep himself free from the bonds of the Red Tape, never repulsing anyone who had anything to offer for the good of the Colony worth listening to. And that, as our representative at the Coronation of King Edward VII, he would be a true one, alike for his personal character and his public career. Mr. Kynnersley died at home of heart-failure in 1904, and the same paper then said that "it would be hard to name any Government official who had a higher reputation for quiet, steady work, sound judgment, and courtesy to all with whom he was brought in contact. As Resident Councillor, Penang, he was greatly regretted in the Northern Settlement, and his reign here came to an end amid the regret of all classes of the community."

SIR E. W. BIRCH, 1878-1910

Mr. Ernest Woodford Birch, eldest son of Mr. J. W. W. Birch, first Resident of Perak, was appointed a Straits

Cadet in 1876, though he only came east in 1878. In his earlier years he was for some time Land Officer in Malacca, where his name is still well known among the Malays for his connection with the Ordinances relating to Customary Land and with the perfecting of the Penghulu system. Later he was British Resident in Negri Sembilan and Selangor, and was for a time Governor of British North Borneo. He is best known, however, as British Resident of Perak from 1904 to 1910, being created K.C.M.G. while holding this office. It will be long before his name is forgotten in the State, or indeed anywhere in the F.M.S.

A "Many Happy Returns" column in the *Planters' and Miners' Gazette*, reprinted after his retirement on an anniversary of his birthday, spoke of him as "a shining example of optimism," and ascribed his great success as an administrator to his personal touch with the people, which he did much to impart to every District Officer and Assistant who came under his spell. And the writer quoted from a farewell address to him in a Chinese theatre at Ipoh: "The name of Birch shall never be forgotten amongst us. . . . The example given by you of independence, loftiness of purpose, fidelity to friends, and of patriotism will still shine before us, so that you may know that here in the Malay States, and above all in Perak, you have not lived and worked in vain." The same article lauded his magnetic personality and wonderful influence, all that he did for Kinta's capital and her scattered villages, where his was a "household name" among Malays, Chinese, and Tamils, as well as Europeans. And concluded that in his retirement he still clings to the links that bind the Homeland and Malaya, "but these are nowadays composed of rubber and tin, serving in themselves as a daily reminder of the development that these industries made in Perak during the term of his administration."

Sir Ernest was famous also for his capacity for games, though it has been remarked that he liked to have his own way in "running things," one story going that he

came to Singapore with a visiting team, and took charge of a smoking concert given in their honour by the S.C.C. with great success. We may add that during the War he has especially identified himself with Malayan war charities and schemes such as the F.M.S Hospital and provision of comforts for the crew of the battleship *Malaya*.

SIR WALTER EGERTON, 1880-1904

Mr. Walter Egerton was also a Straits Cadet, being appointed in 1880. His early service was as Land Officer in Province Wellesley; but he afterwards served in all the Settlements, acting as Colonial Secretary in Sir Alexander Swettenham's administration after the death of Sir Charles Mitchell. He was Resident of Negri Sembilan from 1902 to 1904. He had considerable knowledge of engineering, of which he made use when in charge of Sungei Ujong in the pioneer days. He was famous as an organiser and administrator, and was also one of the first to take an interest in rubber-planting in the Straits; for, when Acting Resident Councillor there in 1899, he persuaded native planters in Malacca to try this form of cultivation, to their immense subsequent profit. He was appointed High Commissioner, Southern Nigeria, in 1903, and Governor of Lagos in 1904. Created K.C.M.G. in 1905, he became Governor of the amalgamated Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria in 1906. He was afterwards appointed Governor of British Guiana in 1912, and he retired in 1917.

SIR E. M. MEREWETHER, 1880-1902

Mr. Edward Marsh Merewether came out as a Cadet to the Straits Service in the same year as Mr. Egerton. He served in all the Settlements, and acted for a time as Resident Councillor, Malacca. He was British Resident, Selangor, in 1901, and left Malaya in 1902 to take up the post of Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Secretary to the Government of Malta. He was created K.C.V.O. in 1907, and appointed Governor of Sierra Leone in

1911. He has been Governor of the Leeward Islands since 1916, becoming K.C.M.G. in the same year.

SIR HUGH CHARLES CLIFFORD, 1883-1903

We have already spoken of Mr. Hugh Clifford in the time of Governor Weld. He joined the Perak service as a Cadet in 1883, and was Collector of Land Revenue, Kuala Kangsar, in 1885. His mission on special service in Pahang in 1887 paved the way for the appointment of a Resident in that State. He himself was Assistant Resident there in 1888, and he acted as Resident several times thereafter, displaying much energy in dealing with those discontented with the new order of things, whom he hustled out of Pahang and into the independent States of Kelantan and Trengganu. After a short period as Governor of British North Borneo, he was made Resident of Pahang in 1901. He then left Malaya, and served as Colonial Secretary, Trinidad, from 1903 to 1907, when he was appointed Colonial Secretary, Ceylon. He was created K.C.M.G. in 1909, and was Governor of the Gold Coast from 1912 to 1919. He now holds the appointment of Governor-General of Nigeria. His chief work in Malaya was in connection with Pahang, of which State he is one of the principal benefactors. A distinguished literary man, he has written much about Malaya and her people, both in the form of short stories and longer works. Of the former and best known are *Bush-whacking* and *In Court and Kampong*. Of the latter *Saleh, a Study* and *A Sequel*. He is also joint author with Sir Frank Swettenham of a Malayan dictionary, and he has translated the Penal Code into Malay.

MR. A. W. S. O'SULLIVAN, 1883-1903

Mr. Arthur Warren Swete O'Sullivan was appointed a Cadet S.S. in 1883, and served in many of the posts of the three Settlements. While Assistant Colonial Secretary he was selected by the Colonial Office for the appointment of Colonial Secretary, Trinidad, but before he could

take it up occurred his untimely death at Singapore in 1903. He was a strong supporter of the Royal Asiatic Society, an obituary notice in whose Journal described him as an able and hard-working officer with a talent for languages, being proficient in Dutch, Tamil, Malay, and more than one dialect of Chinese. He laboured to open up the wide field of Dutch learning and research into the Malay language to English readers, so setting an example which later scholars have followed with distinguished success.

MR. G. T. HARE, C.M.G., I.S.O. 1884-1904

Mr. George Thompson Hare was appointed a Cadet S.S. in 1884, and spent his first years in China studying the Hokkien language at Amoy. He was undoubtedly the most notable of the "Chinese Cadets," and a true follower in the steps of the famous Pickering. On the federation he was appointed Secretary for Chinese Affairs at Kuala Lumpur, and in *British Malaya* Sir Frank Swettenham has recorded the unique influence that he established among the Chinese, and the benefit that his knowledge of the revenue farm system brought to the Government finances. In 1903 he took up the newly created post of Secretary for Chinese Affairs, S.S. and F.M.S., the famous old title of Protector of Chinese, Singapore, then falling into abeyance for a time. Ill-health unfortunately soon caused his retirement, and he died at Singapore in 1904. He wrote exhaustive articles on Chinese subjects, as, for instance, those on the Wai Seng Lottery of Canton and the game of Chap Ji Ki, published in the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal. He was also the editor of the *Hokkien Vernacular* and the *Text-book of Documentary Chinese*, which are still in use in the examination schemes for Cadets studying Chinese.

SIR JOHN ANDERSON, GOVERNOR, 1904-11

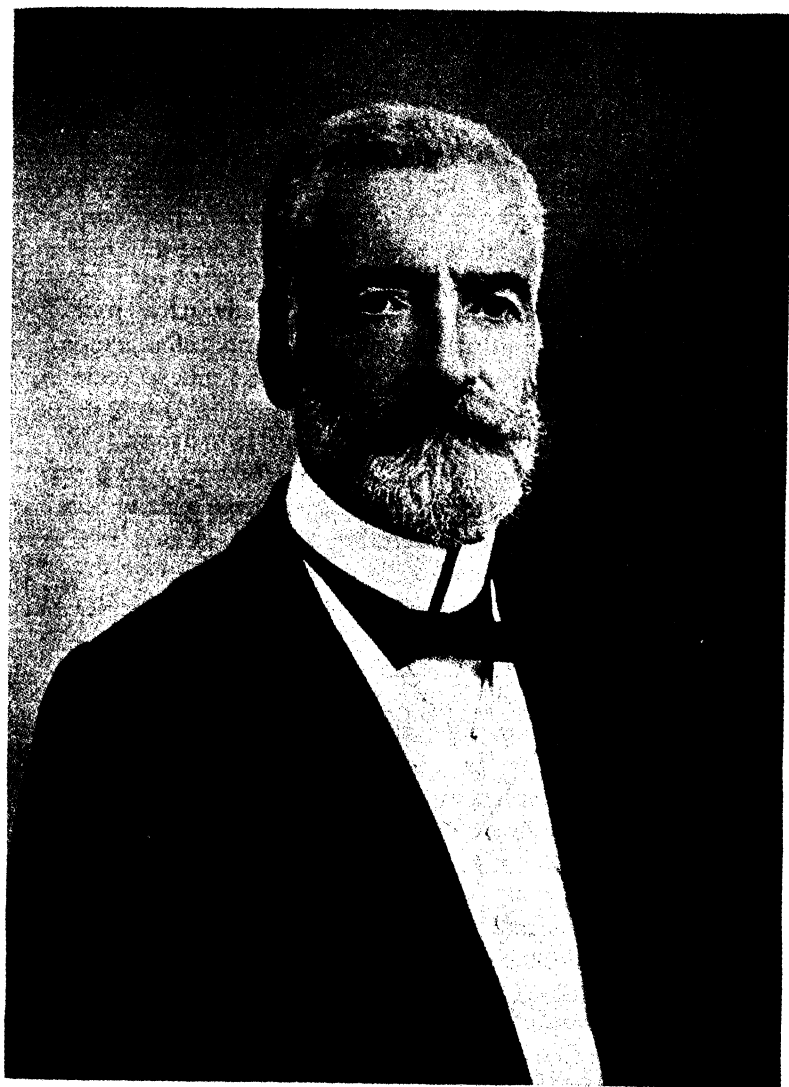
Sir Frank Swettenham was succeeded as Governor by Sir John Anderson in April 1904, and a most eventful era in the history of British Malaya began. We enter

with a certain diffidence on the task of giving a necessarily brief description of the outstanding events of this extremely modern period in the Colony and in Greater Malaya.

Sir John Anderson entered the Colonial Office as a result of the open examination for the Home Civil Service in 1879. He later served on several Commissions, and was Secretary to the Conference of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, then Secretary of State, with the Colonial Premiers in 1902. In the previous year he had accompanied our present King and Queen, in their world-tour in the *Ophir*, in the capacity of representative of the Colonial Office, and it was then that he paid his first visit to the Straits. Afterwards he served on the Alaskan Boundary Commission, and then became Governor of the Straits, where he remained, with two short holidays, till 1911, when he was appointed Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. In December 1915 he came out to Ceylon as Governor at a time of considerable stress in that Colony, and he remained there till his death in March 1918. He was created G.C.M.G. in 1909 and K.C.B. in 1913.

Of his career in Malaya it has been said that "he jerked the Colony out of a rut, and did something," and he has the credit of starting a new order of things. Among the chief features of his administration was his municipal policy, in which he displayed his considerable legal knowledge. He strongly stood out for "back lanes" against an unofficial opposition, which was for a time successful, his attitude being that the state of numbers of native houses in the larger cities of the Straits should not remain a permanent scandal, and that there was a higher point to be considered than that of capital and other interests; in short, that "light and air" must somehow be admitted into such dusty and unwholesome quarters.

Another was the famous expropriation of the great Tanjong Pagar Docks. Here he was quite of the general opinion that the price fixed by the arbitration was



SIR JOHN ANDERSON, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

excessive ; but he had the courage of his convictions, and carried on the work, one of his last public utterances in the Colony being of his firm belief in the future of the port. And, though his policy has been criticised, it has always been admitted that he boldly and in a broad spirit tackled the question of the future. For the acquisition of this property by the Government was but a starting-point in a series of public improvements designed to strengthen Singapore's commercial position. Taken with the construction of the railway through Johore, commenced about this time, it gave a new significance to the port, and opened up for it a fresh vista of achievement.

Yet another of Sir John Anderson's important acts was the fixing of the value of the Straits dollar, a matter dealt with elsewhere in this book. The importance of it was the steadying influence to trade, though there has always remained some criticism as to the wisdom of choosing such a relatively high rate as two shillings and fourpence. Messrs. Wright and Reid remark : " It is contended that the rate is against the interests of the exporters of Straits produce, but as time goes on there will be less grumbling heard, more especially when it is recognised that the fixity of exchange has had a direct influence in bringing capital into the country for personal investment, while the comparatively high rate of the dollar has had an indirect but beneficial influence in attracting much-needed labour to the Peninsula."

Another event of considerable importance for the Colony was the institution of the Government Monopolies Department as a direct result of the Opium Commission appointed in 1907. For its report, while pronouncing against prohibition, suggested a system of proper control " of what, in excess at any rate, is admitted to be a wasteful and seldom beneficial habit," and at the same time pointed out the vital importance of the opium revenue to the local finances.

In this connection we may here quote the remarks of Messrs. Wright and Reid on Sir John Anderson's proposal

to substitute an income-tax for the revenue likely to be lost under a new policy as to opium. "Sir John," they say, "was a sound administrator and a man of exceptional discernment, but in this instance he had miscalculated the forces likely to be arrayed against a proposal of this kind. The European community almost to a man condemned the scheme which was calculated to cast an undue burden upon them, owing to the inevitable evasion of the impost by the wealthy native classes. On the other hand, the natives were up in arms against a tax which seemed to them to carry with it such undesirable possibilities in regard to their personal freedom and the privacy of their business arrangements." And they conclude that "with statesmanlike instinct the Governor bowed to the storm, and income-tax was relegated to the official pigeon-hole, probably never to be brought out again."

Well, *inter arma silent leges*, and the patriotism of all classes of the community during the War has shown that in a time of stress, when there comes a chance of bearing some of the Mother Country's burden, selfish protestations are also silent.

Sir John Anderson also effected various changes in the Civil Service, not all of which were greeted with approbation by its members. It is true that he instituted the practice of appointing civil servants to the Judicial Bench, and continued a new departure by which they were made heads of the Municipalities; but on the other hand he was somewhat criticised for reducing the status of certain appointments during a period of temporary financial difficulty about the year 1910.

EVENTS IN GREATER MALAYA

In 1907 Labuan, after a somewhat varied career as a Colony, independent and dependent, was annexed to the Straits, and became part of the Settlement of Singapore. A further development occurred in 1912, after Sir John's departure, when she became a Fourth Settlement of the Colony.

In 1906 the Governor S.S., who had been Consul-General for Brunei, British North Borneo, and Sarawak, became High Commissioner for Brunei, as the result of a treaty with the Sultan, who had expressed a desire for a more definite form of British protection. In 1908 the Governor became British Agent for British North Borneo and Sarawak, instead of Consul-General, as he had remained since 1896. In 1911 the title High Commissioner for the F.M.S. was changed to that of High Commissioner for the Malay States.

This last change was due to the transfer of suzerainty over the Native States of Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, and Trengganu from Siam to Great Britain, under the Anglo-Siamese Treaty of 1909, the first steps towards which event were taken in the time of Sir Frank Swettenham. And according to *The Malay Peninsula*, the new régime instituted in 1902-3 did not long work smoothly, owing to the existence of jarring elements which were bound sooner or later to come into collision, while a German scheme for a railway connecting Siam and the F.M.S., being brought to the notice of the Foreign Office, was one antecedent of the treaty. On completion of the formal arrangements, Sir John visited Kelantan and announced the assumption of the British Protectorate there. The authors quoted go on to say that the desired goal was then reached, the spectre of foreign interference in the Peninsula being laid for ever.

It was during this administration also that the important State of Johore came into closer relations with Great Britain. Earlier pages of this article have indicated the necessary connection between such near neighbours as Johore and Singapore throughout the history of the latter as a Settlement. In 1885 the then Sultan placed his foreign relations under the control of the British Government, and undertook to receive a British Agent at his court. In our Modern period Mr. C. B. Buckley, author of the *Anecdotal History* so often quoted by us, acted as an unofficial Adviser to the present Sultan; and, in consequence of a request from the Sultan in 1910,

Mr. D. G. Campbell, C.M.G., of the F.M.S. Service, was transferred to Johore to act as Adviser, and on his death Mr. F. J. Hallifax.

THE FEDERAL COUNCIL, 1909

The Federated States also were not unaffected by the changes of this progressive period. In 1909 an agreement between Sir John Anderson, as High Commissioner, and the rulers of the States was signed for the constitution of a Federal Council, consisting of the Rulers, Residents, unofficial members, and some heads of departments, the last-named subject to the recommendation of the High Commissioner and the approval of the Sovereign.

The High Commissioner presides at meetings of the Council, of which the Chief Secretary F.M.S. is, of course, also a member. This latter office was instituted, very shortly before Sir John left Malaya in 1911, in place of that of Resident-General, a post created at the federation in 1896, and, after a history of only fifteen years, swept away by the flowing tide of centralisation.

As we have already stated, Sir John Anderson became Permanent Under-Secretary for the Colonies in April 1911, after a very strenuous seven years' work, when "he left the Colony . . . with a reputation not surpassed by the record of any of his immediate predecessors." Messrs. Wright and Reid continue: "His name will always be coupled in Malayan history with the territorial changes which are to influence so tremendously the political future of the Malay Peninsula." "His rule here," said the *Singapore Free Press* in a memorial notice, "was certainly distinguished by work done, and he was personally deeply respected by all." The same paper recorded that he was confronted by very difficult problems on his appointment as Governor of Ceylon, the chief being the inquiry into the matter of the rising there in 1915. It was extremely tiring and delicate work, "but Sir John, who had ever considered the public service before his own health or feelings, worked

incessantly and thoroughly, and dealt with the whole matter. There is little doubt that the anxiety of this, together with his ordinary duties as Governor, made inroads upon his health greater than it could stand, and, as he refused to quit his post as long as he felt he was able to carry out his duties to the State, it may truly be said that his death is a sacrifice to the interest of the Empire, which has thereby lost one of its most distinguished rulers." In our Legislative Council, four days after his death, the Governor, who had served under him as Colonial Secretary S.S. and Chief Secretary F.M.S., after reference to his brilliant intellect and excellence as an administrator, said: "In addition, Sir John was always willing to assist and to advise. I may say that he was not only a very gifted man, but a very human man. Many here in Malaya have lost a good friend. . . . He died, as he would have wished, at work for the good of his country to the very end." And a leading unofficial member added: "He was a broad-minded and far-seeing man, and I think we can, without offence to those who came before him, say that from the day of his arrival in the Colony we seemed to emerge from a somewhat parochial atmosphere into a clearer, healthier, and freer one."

SIR WILLIAM TAYLOR, 1901-10

Mr. William Thomas Taylor served in Cyprus from 1879 to 1895. He was Auditor-General of Ceylon from 1895 to 1901, and acted as Colonial Secretary there. He was appointed Colonial Secretary S.S. in 1901, and administered the government before Sir John Anderson's appointment in 1904 and during one of the latter's short terms of leave in 1906. He was Resident-General F.M.S. (the last to hold the substantive appointment) from 1904 to 1910, when he retired, having been created K.C.M.G. in 1905. He has latterly been in charge of the Malay States Information Agency in London, and was mainly responsible for the successful administration of the F.M.S. War Hospital in Hertfordshire.

MR. F. G. PENNEY

Mr. Frederick Gordon Penney was appointed a Cadet S.S. in 1876, and was the first Cadet to become Colonial Secretary, in which office he succeeded Mr. Taylor in 1905, after having been Colonial Treasurer since 1898. He retired in 1906. In his earlier years he had experienced the usual varied career of the Straits Cadet, seeing service in all the Settlements, and his retirement was much regretted.

MR. R. N. BLAND, C.M.G.

Mr. Robert Norman Bland was appointed a Cadet in the Straits service in 1882. He held various offices in the three Settlements, and was also in charge of Sungei Ujong from 1893 to 1895. He became Colonial Treasurer in 1904, and was successively Resident Councillor, Malacca, from 1904 to 1907, and of Penang from 1907 to 1910, when he retired. He became a C.M.G. in the latter year. He is the author of the illustrated work *Historical Tombstones of Malacca*, which has done much to preserve the records of monuments of the past, otherwise only too likely to perish, and he was a frequent contributor to the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal.

MR. W. EVANS

Mr. William Evans also became a Cadet S.S. in 1882. He studied Hokkien in Amoy, China, and the greater portion of his earlier service was spent in Chinese departments, he being Protector of Chinese, Singapore, for some years up to 1903. During this service he had on one occasion the unpleasant experience of being detained by riotous coolies when endeavouring to make peace in an immigrant depot, and it is surprising that he escaped with little damage, some of his assailants having to be shot by the police before he could be released. In 1904 he was seconded to South Africa for the purpose of organising Chinese labour for the Rand after the South African War, for which service he received the thanks of the Government of the Transvaal.

On his return to the Straits he was Resident Councillor, Malacca, until 1910, in the course of which service he acted as Colonial Secretary on several occasions. He was the last to hold the title of Resident Councillor, Malacca, officers in charge of that Settlement since his time not being members of the two Councils and being designated Residents. He became Resident Councillor, Penang, in 1910, and retired in 1913.

SIR E. L. BROCKMAN, 1886 TO PRESENT TIME

Mr. Edward Lewis Brockman also started his career as a Cadet S.S., having been appointed in 1886. His early service was spent in various posts in the Colony, where he acted as Colonial Secretary in 1905-6. He acted as Federal Secretary F.M.S. in 1907, and as Resident-General in 1907-8. At various times he has acted as, or held the substantive posts of, Resident in Perak, Pahang, and Negri Sembilan. He was appointed Colonial Secretary S.S. in 1911, and Chief Secretary F.M.S., in succession to Sir Arthur Young, in the same year, an appointment which he still holds. He also administered the government of the Straits for some months in 1911. He became C.M.G. in 1908 and K.C.M.G. in 1912. It was during his term of office as Chief Secretary that the battleship *Malaya* was presented to the Imperial Government by the Federated Malay States.

SIR ARTHUR YOUNG, GOVERNOR, 1911-19

Sir Arthur Young succeeded Sir John Anderson as Governor S.S. At the time of writing he is still our Governor, though he has definitely announced his approaching retirement. It is noteworthy that Sir Arthur (as pointed out by the President of the Singapore Municipality at the ceremony of unveiling of the Raffles Statue in its new abode, in front of the Victoria Memorial Hall, on Centenary Day, the 6th February 1919), has broken all records for length of service as Governor under the Colonial Office, his nearest rival being Sir

Frederick Weld. The record of Colonel Butterworth, who held the post, as we have seen, under the India Office for twelve years, is still unapproached. While holding the Secretaryship since 1906, and since his appointment as Governor, he has enjoyed merely a shadow of leave; for, having gone home a few weeks before the outbreak of war, he immediately returned, and so has remained at his post practically throughout the struggle and all its attendant difficulties and anxieties here. He was created G.C.M.G. in 1916 and K.B.E. in 1918.

The principal happenings of his Administration in the Colony could not fail to be overshadowed by the more stirring events in Europe. Yet Singapore witnessed even so the final completion of the great dock scheme in the opening of the Empire Dock by the Governor in 1917, the opening of the King's Dock having taken place about a year before the War. There were other occurrences of varied importance, mainly, except for the tragic interruption of the mutiny of February 1915, of an (outwardly at least) ordinary "carry-on" description. Certainly the Colony halted not nor stayed in her progress, and the rumblings of the world earthquake, save on that one occasion, left her quite unscathed. Honour and credit for this state of things are undoubtedly due to those who had to con the ship and weather the storm.

As already stated, a tax on income, a war-tax, was introduced. The Ordinance creating it came into operation on the 1st January 1917, and was intended to give an opportunity to citizens to take some share in the financial burden of the Mother Country during the War. This new institution was on the whole most patriotically received, and has produced a very acceptable contribution to our Empire's resources. For the same purpose excise and other duties have come into being both in the Colony and the F.M.S. And we must not omit here an allusion to the magnificent response of British Malaya to imperial needs both in men and money.



SIR ARTHUR HENDERSON YOUNG, G.C.M.G., K.B.E.

It has been said that, taking into account the whole number of British men in our confraternity here, the tale of those who volunteered for active service rivals that of any other country of the Empire. And as to contributions to War funds and charities, the amount subscribed by all races and classes of our people, in Colony and Native States alike, is really immense.

We must notice an increase in prosperity in all the Malay States, Federated and Unfederated, which have, practically without interruption, advanced since their admission to British suzerainty. Through railway communication between Bangkok and Singapore was established in 1918, by completion of the line through Southern Siam, Perlis, Kedah, and Prai. A section of railway is also open in Kelantan.

In 1914, on the initiative of the Sultan of Johore, a subsidiary agreement to that of 1885 was signed, by which a General Adviser, with powers similar to those exercised by British Residents in the F.M.S., was appointed in that State.

In May 1919 the State of Trengganu came into line with the Unfederated States in accepting the appointment of a British Adviser.

Throughout all his various activities of official life Sir Arthur Young has always been noted as an all-round sportsman, though it is, we believe, not even yet generally known that he played twice for Scotland versus England in the Rugby Internationals of 1874. On his first arrival in the Straits he was a regular player in cricket matches at the S.C.C., and he was a winner for several successive tournaments of "the Veterans" at lawn tennis. He is well known as the keenest of golfers, and was President of the Singapore Golf Club for many years, only relinquishing the post on his impending retirement.

In the course of his duties he has travelled far and wide in the Peninsula, and he made a special journey of inspection to Gunong Tahan in 1912 in search of a site for a hill station for Malaya, to which we may

hope it will be decided to give, as he himself has suggested, the name "Arthur's Seat," or some other commemorative designation. His generosity in the cause of all War charities has been most notable, and his unfailing kindness of heart in dealing with the too often tragic (if trivial) affairs of the most humble subordinates of the Government service has been most sincerely appreciated.

We will conclude this very brief account of his administration with an excerpt from another article on the subject: "His rule is too recent to need any more detailed chronicle, but posterity will agree with his generation that in all things he has upheld the honour of the British flag and the great Service to which he belongs."

It is, of course, clearly obvious that the task of a writer dealing with this modern period, in relation to its leading Civil Servants, is not an easy one. We do not propose, therefore, to attempt to speak of more than two or three of the prominent officials of Sir Arthur Young's administration of whom no account has so far been given in this article or elsewhere in this book.

MR. R. J. WILKINSON, C.M.G., 1889-1916

Mr. Richard James Wilkinson has spent his whole career in various offices of the F.M.S. and the Colony. He was appointed a Cadet S.S. in 1889, and served in the Colony till 1903, when he became Inspector of Schools, F.M.S. He was Secretary to the Resident of Perak in 1909, and acted as Resident, Negri Sembilan, in 1910, obtaining the substantive post in 1911. He made his mark in the Education Department, where he introduced modern methods and broke away from old traditions. He was then noted as a ready writer, keener on the scholarly side of the Government service than the Executive, and had no small share in directing public attention to the history and development of Malaya, in the capacity of general editor of a series of handbooks on Malay subjects printed under the auspices of

the F.M.S. Government. Among his various works the famous *Dictionary of the Malay Language* has proved of immense assistance to students and scholars.

But he was not to be left in this, to him, probably most congenial sphere.

Soon after his rather unexpected appointment as Colonial Secretary in 1911, he administered the government of the Colony, and he was doing so for a second time at the outbreak of war in 1914, Sir Arthur Young having gone on leave some two months previously. At this important crisis he had the exceptionally onerous task of preventing panic and disaster throughout Malaya. And the result of his efforts has been well summed up as follows: "Public opinion has endorsed his method of dealing with the food and tin questions in which he went to the best authorities locally, and, having heard their views, brought to bear on them a keen critical faculty, and courageously accepted the responsibility of acting on his judgment." Surely a curious position for a man who had in his early service been considered a somewhat retiring scholar, to find himself in. And may we not comment that the brilliant result reflects some credit on our system and the Service in which he had been trained? Mr. Wilkinson became C.M.G. in 1912. In 1916 he was appointed Governor of Sierra Leone, in which post he is still serving.

MR. F. S. JAMES, C.M.G.

Mr. Frederick Seton James succeeded Mr. Wilkinson as Colonial Secretary in 1916, after a period of service on the West Coast of Africa dating as far back as 1896, in the course of which he was Political Officer with the Aro Field Force in 1901-2. He was created C.M.G. in the latter year for his services. He acted as Colonial Secretary and Deputy Governor of Southern Nigeria on various occasions between 1907 and 1912, and as Governor and Commander-in-Chief in the latter year. On the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria in 1914 he was appointed Administrator of the Colony. Since

his arrival in the Straits he has inaugurated with the greatest success the local "Our Day" movement in connection with the Red Cross, which has obtained in three years well over three hundred thousand pounds sterling, and achieved for Malaya a position among all contributors in which she rivals even the great self-governing colonies.

Appointed to the direction of Food Control in 1918, he was later seconded as Food Controller, and has addressed many meetings throughout Malaya, urging on citizens of all races the duty of making the country self-supporting. At the time of writing he has again assumed his substantive post of Colonial Secretary, and it is announced that he will administer the government on the departure of Sir Arthur Young.

MR. D. G. CAMPBELL, C.M.G.

Mr. Douglas Graham Campbell joined the Selangor P.W.D. in 1883 from Ceylon. He afterwards became a District Officer in the same State, and he made his mark in the development of the land system under Mr. W. E. Maxwell. He was Secretary to the Resident, Selangor, in 1901, and Resident, Negri Sembilan, in 1904, acting also on various occasions as Resident of Selangor and Pahang. Early in 1910 he was appointed by Sir John Anderson to be Adviser to the Sultan of Johore, and he became General Adviser to the Johore Government under the agreement of 1914. He was created C.M.G. in 1912. He died in 1918, at Singapore, after a very brief and sudden illness. An obituary notice in the *Times* tributed the financial success of his administration which made Johore "the envy in a few years of the other Native States," and called special attention to the reform of the land system there carried out under his auspices.

CONCLUSION

We have come now to the end of the story of our Governors and Civil Servants, and of the land which has

been a scene of their labours. And we have shown, we trust in not too wearisome a fashion, though, we are aware, only too inadequately, the gradual development of this great dominion of British Malaya, which has witnessed the growth and expansion of the Service from which its British officials are drawn.

We hope that incidentally we have proved by examples given that the Old Country has done well by the young in providing her with men deserving well of both. And may we not, when we think of the difficulties, doubts, and dangers through which she has been steered, have some confidence in the future skill and judgment of a Service which has already produced such men, to guide her through the years in that peace and prosperity so often promised us to follow after the great world convulsion ?

Before closing, however, we will anticipate a criticism which can hardly fail to be made. What has much of the tale that has been told to do with Singapore and her Centenary ? The answer is, that it must surely be clear that we have paid her the greatest compliment in our power. We have shown her whole history to the present time, not confining ourselves to a " village-pump " chronicle of her petty struggles and squabbles. We hope we have succeeded in displaying her as the absolute rock and foundation on which the whole of our confederation and confraternity depend ; as a city grown-up and dominant, not merely an eager little town ; as, in fact, the centre to which all her more youthful or less important sisters refer, the capital and crown of British Malaya in being, with Raffles, Light, and all the other seers famed for ever as dreamers " whose dreams came true." There is another matter that we must also in our concluding words note and never forget, namely that the stories we have told of distinguished officers are samples only of those of many other great ones of the company of " The Men in the Long Field," as Alfred Lyttelton once termed the Colonial Civil Service.

These are the "lesser stars," of Newbolt, a galaxy that includes many who died at their posts out here, and as surely for their country as ever our young and valiant brothers of the Service who gave their lives in the Great War.

They are men of whose like a well-known novelist, in one of his latest books, made an ex-naval lieutenant, who became a colonial administrator, say: "We have to go about the world and make roads and keep the peace and see fair play . . . that's the job of the Englishman. He's a sort of policeman. All the world's his beat, India, Africa, China, and the East, all the seas of the world. This little fat green country, all trim and tidy and set with houses and gardens, isn't much of a land for a man unless he's an invalid. It's a good land to grow up in and come back to die in, or rest in. But in between, No!"

The following books and papers have been consulted and, in some cases, largely quoted from in preparing this article:

Mr. C. B. Buckley's *Anecdotal History of Old Times in Singapore*; Colonel Vetch's *Life of General Sir Andrew Clarke*; Mr. John Cameron's *Our Tropical Possessions in Malayan India*; Lady Lovat's *Life of Sir Frederick Weld*; Mr. J. T. Thomson's *Some Glimpses of Life in the Far East, and Sequel*; Sir Frank Swettenham's *British Malaya*; Messrs. Arnold Wright and Thomas H. Reid's *The Malay Peninsula*; and the former's *Twentieth Century Impressions*; the *Straits Chinese Magazine*.

To the writers of or in the above my best acknowledgments are due; I also tender thanks to the following gentlemen who have assisted me with their advice or material at their disposal: H. Marriott, R. St. J. Braddell, and W. Makepeace.

THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

By Walter Makepeace

The Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements dates from 1867. It meets generally in Singapore, and the present Council Chamber is the large room of the old Court which was replaced by a new Court House built in 1864; but Council has met on occasion at Government House, and on the 12th September and 28th December 1872 meetings were held in Penang, and at Malacca on the 17th September of the same year. At the Penang meetings Mr. F. A. Swettenham acted as Clerk of Councils, and at the Malacca meeting Lieutenant H. St. G. Ord, 78th Light Infantry. His Honour the Judge of Penang, Sir William Hackett, sat at the meetings later in the year.

The Council first met in Singapore on Monday, the 1st April 1867, when the Royal Instructions dated 5th February 1867 and Colonel Harry St. George Ord's commission under the Great Seal to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief were read. The Chief Justice (Sir Benson Maxwell) administered the oaths to the Governor, and the oaths as Members of Council were then taken by the Chief Justice (Sir Benson Maxwell), Brigadier C. Ireland (commanding the troops), the Acting Lieutenant-Governor of Penang (Colonel A. E. H. Anson), the Acting Colonial Secretary (Colonel Macpherson), the Attorney-General (T. Braddell), the Colonial Engineer (Major J. F. A. McNair, R.A.), the Honourables W. H. Read, F. S. Brown, T. Scott, and R. Little, M.D.

By direction of His Excellency the Governor, the Chief Justice declared: "That the Islands and Territories known as the Straits Settlements cease to form a part of India, and are placed under the Government of Her Majesty as part of the Colonial Possessions of the Crown."

Mr. H. F. Plow was first Clerk of Councils. Acts were

passed for the appointment of public officers, for powers for the Governor-in-Council and the Lieutenant-Governors, for the performance of certain judicial duties and replacing the Recorders, for declaring dollars legal tender and public accounts to be kept in dollars and cents. It was resolved to open the meetings to the public, a shorthand note to be taken of the proceedings, but not to be published by any person without the authority of the Council, the Clerk to supply a report "for the information of the Editors of the several local newspapers."

Four meetings were held in May, and in June Colonel Cooke replaced Brigadier Ireland. The first petition was presented by Mr. Read in June, referring to the Excise Bill.

In the following notes the names of the Unofficial Members of Council are given, with the years in which they first took their seats. The Official Members of Council changed so often, as promotion or leave occurred, that their names cannot be recorded.

1867.—C. H. H. Wilsone.

1868.—nil.

1869.—W. R. Scott; W. Adamson.

1870.—Hoo Ah Kay Whampoa.

1871.—J. J. Greenshields.

In this year the Administrator delivered his Address on the 17th May, and retired, the Officer Commanding the Troops taking the chair. The Auditor-General brought up the Address in reply to the speech of His Excellency, prepared by a committee appointed for that purpose, and it was unanimously adopted. If His Excellency's speech be read, the Address in reply will be seen to consist of "We concur." The Bills for the Singapore Railway Company and the Singapore and New Harbour railways were brought up, and Counsel, Messrs. Atchison, Aitken, and Guthrie Davidson appeared. There were some lively passages at arms, and witnesses were called to speak to the respective merits of Tanjong Pagar and New Harbour. Many meetings were occupied by this enquiry.

The Table of Ordinances passed in 1870 is a long one—twenty-seven in number, including one for the abolition of imprisonment for debt, for establishing a money-order system between the Colony and the United Kingdom, to suppress common gaming-houses and lotteries, and a contagious diseases ordinance.

The Council of 1871 included the Governor, the Chief Justice, the Officer Commanding the Troops, the Lieutenant-Governors of Penang and Malacca, the Judge of Penang, the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Treasurer, the Auditor-General, the Colonial Engineer, the Honourables W. H. Read, F. S. Brown, T. Scott, W. R. Scott, William Adamson, and Hoo Ah Kay—eleven official members and six unofficials.

1872.—T. Shelford.

Sir Benson Maxwell strongly objected to the renewal of the Act 20 of 1867, giving the Governor power to deport not only aliens but others. The Duke of Buckingham and Chandos did not accept all the Chief Justice's points, but he laid it down that the person to be deported must be summoned before the Executive Council, if he chose to be heard before them, and a written record of their opinion of the desirability of removing him from the Colony. "It is very questionable whether a Colonial law can properly authorise deportations to any place beyond the limits of the Colony," and the section was to be amended, ordering the banishment and prescribing a punishment if he did not remove himself. The Chief Justice and Mr. Read protested when the Bill was brought up for amendment.

In September of this year Mr. T. Scott, Mr. W. R. Scott, and Dr. Little resigned their seats on the Legislative Council, strongly protesting against the Juries Bill and "the uselessness of being on the Council." Sir Harry Ord's rule had not proved acceptable. The Grand Jury, whose presentment had been made the vehicle of the expression of public opinion, was abolished. The Militia and Municipal Bills had been withdrawn.

The resignation of the three members "in consequence of executive rough-riding" was accepted; but early in the following year Sir Andrew Clarke sent for them, read the letter from the Secretary of State accepting their resignations, and offered them reappointment, which was accepted.

1874.—H. W. Wood.

1875.—J. M. B. Vermont; R. B. Read.

1876.—David Brown; J. R. MacArthur;
Walter Scott.

1887.—I. S. Bond.

August 1886—"The hon'ble I. S. Bond has sent in his resignation as a member of the Legislative Council. . . . There is a very general feeling that it would still further weaken the minority if he retires. As the Government have shown the example of setting law at defiance (on the Malacca Lands Bill), and as the Chief Justice has been taken away (on an excuse of following other Colonies which no one now believes to be the real one), it is necessary to have a lawyer in the Council who is not bound to follow His Excellency into matters which his judgment and honest mind would refuse to carry him." This is a contemporary comment.

1879.—Robert Campbell; S. Gilfillan.

1880.—F. C. Bishop; J. Graham; A. Currie.

1882.—W. G. Gulland; G. M. Sandilands.

1883.—Seah Liang Seah.

1884.—G. T. Addis.

1885.—T. Cuthbertson; T. Shelford.

1886.—John Allan; John Anderson; John
Burkinshaw.

Very protracted debates were held in the two last years over the Malacca Lands Ordinances. The Legislative Council meeting on Supply took from half-past two till nearly seven o'clock. Mr. T. Shelford, Mr. T. Cuthbertson, Mr. Burkinshaw, and Mr. Allan (Penang) all spoke on the question of appointing a British Resident at Johore, and lost by the usual official majority, nine votes to seven. But the unofficials

agreed to spend another \$50,000 on the forts of Singapore, and \$30,000 for the Queen's Jubilee.

1887.—C. W. Conington; John Finlayson; H. W. Geiger; J. P. Joaquim.

The debate of the year was the Municipal Ordinance, over which in committee many disputations took place.

1888.—J. Y. Kennedy.

In 1889 took place what is probably the classical debate in the history of the Council on the Societies Bill, well worth reading even after this lapse of time. There were many vigorous and lucid speakers among the unofficials, while it would be difficult to find better debaters than Sir Cecil Smith and Mr. J. W. Bonser. At the conclusion of the second reading Mr. Wm. Adamson asked permission to retire without recording his vote, but the Governor ruled he could not do so, and the measure was carried by the eight official votes to seven unofficial. It is interesting, after a lapse of thirty years, to attempt to assess the relative values of the opinions expressed in the light of the operation of this Ordinance.

1890.—G. S. Murray; Tan Jiak Kim.

In the preceding year Mr. T. Shelford laid on the table a formal protest against the Municipal Ordinance, and again, in 1890, protested against Clause 12 of the Oaths Bill.

In 1891 Sir J. F. Dickson, who had been Colonial Secretary to Sir Frederick Weld, and was popularly believed to be the power behind the throne, died. It is recorded that the Colonial Secretary made a remarkable speech on the Chinese Immigration Ordinance, "which was disclaimed by the Governor as an expression of Government opinion."

1891 also saw the great combined struggle between the Legislative Council and the War Office, through the Colonial Office, on the amount of the military contribution. Every member of the Council was willing to protest to the utmost, and the resolution was carried by seven votes to six "in the usual way," "under instructions." Mr. Shelford again put in his protest, which

was unanimously adopted by all the members of the Council, the Official Members expressing their sympathy with the "opposition."

1892.—T. C. Bogaardt ; A. L. Donaldson.

The year following there was the debate on the Registration of Partnerships, and much divergence of opinion among the unofficials.

In November 1893 a vacancy occurring for Penang, the Chamber of Commerce nominated Mr. A. Huttenbach. The subsequent election was declared null and void, and Dr. Brown was declared the candidate for nomination.

1894.—A. Huttenbach ; Lim Boon Keng.

The longest recess took place in this year, 1895. The Legislative Council met on the 2nd September, after a recess of eight months. This was, of course, due to the resignations of members over the military contribution, and the refusal of office of others asked to take their places.

1896.—J. M. Allinson ; D. Logan ; W. J. Napier.

The Municipal Amendment Bill was keenly debated. In committee the Attorney-General, Mr. Shelford, and Mr. Burkinshaw are each credited with sixty reported speeches.

1898.—Dr. W. C. Brown.

1899.—C. Stringer.

1900.—T. E. Earle ; W. H. Frizell ; C. W. Laird ; J. Bromhead Matthews.

1903.—Hugh Fort ; D. J. Galloway ; John Turner.

1904.—E. W. Presgrave ; W. P. Waddell.

1905.—W. H. Shelford.

This year the Tanjong Pagar Arbitration Bill was considered, and Mr. Hugh Fort appeared as Counsel at the Bar of the Council.

1907.—A. R. Adams ; T. S. Baker.

1908.—E. C. Ellis ; M. R. Thornton.

1909.—C. McArthur.

- 1910.—F. W. Collins ; C. W. Darbshire ; R. Young.
1911.—D. T. Boyd ; C. I. Carver ; W. W. Cook ; G. Macbain ; Seah Liang Seah.
1912.—H. M. Darby.
1913.—D. A. M. Brown.
1914.—E. D. Hewan ; C. H. Niven ; F. M. Elliot.
1916.—John Mitchell.
1917.—R. J. Addie ; A. Agnew.
1918.—D. Y. Perkins.

NOTES AND REMINISCENCES

For the first four years the debates of the Legislative Council were reported in the official proceedings in full, but who the reporter was is not stated. As Mr. Arthur Knight was, even as far back as 1870, in the Audit Office, it may have been he ; but then the difficulty is to explain how for three years following no verbatim reports seem to have been published. The newspapers were not allowed to publish any report at all of the proceedings of the Legislative Council except those officially supplied, so we find constant complaints of the reports being delayed. The debates certainly seem to have been of a high standard, and there is a notable report of a debate between the Chief Justice (Sir Benson Maxwell) and the Attorney-General (T. Braddell), full of force and legal subtlety.

The writer of this article, then in Government service, left it in 1887, partly because he was asked to come to Singapore to act as shorthand reporter in place of Mr. Knight, going on leave, without extra pay. This was an error of judgment on his part, for joining the *Singapore Free Press*, he found he had to do the reporting of the Council for that paper—also for nothing—as part of his duties, and they were used for the time being as the official reports. On occasions later, in 1905, when the official shorthand reporter was on leave, he had to do the same, and for the past three years a member of

the *Singapore Free Press* staff has acted as official shorthand writer. However, the point is, that from 1887 to 1902 he had plenty of opportunity of "sampling" Council eloquence. The Clerk of Councils, who is usually the Assistant Colonial Secretary, and acts as the official recorder of both the Legislative and Executive Councils, is expected to possess the diplomacy of a Cecil and the secrecy of a Queen's Messenger. He generally succeeds ; or else is transferred to another appointment. Mr. H. F. Plow was the first Clerk of Councils ; he was also private secretary to Sir Harry Ord. Mr. A. P. Talbot was for long the Clerk of Councils, and as such he was hard to beat.

In the old Council Chamber (which in theory every British subject may attend when the Council is sitting, but there is no record of any person not connected with the Council attending more than once) there was one long table. In a room notoriously bad for sound this made reporting somewhat of a task. Major McCallum tried wires along the ceiling, but the punkahs prevented these having any beneficial effect, especially as the newspaper reporters sat at the backs of the unofficials, who (again in theory) were the only orators whose speeches the public wanted to read, though, as a matter of fact, they were far more keen to hear expositions from the Governors of their policy. The atmosphere was depressing, and when the debate went on after 5 p.m. a few solitary candles were brought in. But it must have been the punkah's soporific effect that led to a three hours' debate eventually being cut down to three columns. The writer always used to be interested in the Officer Commanding the Troops. He hardly remembers one who could resist the temptation to forty winks, and Sir Charles Warren without disguise closed his eyes, to think deeply upon the plans he was making for the conversion of Singapore into a fortress.

Sir Frederick Weld was the Governor when my semi-official connection with the Council began. He was a moderately good speaker, with a good delivery, but,

like many other people, he could not always understand what "those damned dots" meant when it came to dealing with figures. On one occasion he was reading his address, and on coming to the figures of revenue, something like \$1,763,000, he turned to his Colonial Secretary, after one or two tries to put them as 17 somethings, 176 other things, and wanted to know what he was to say. Sir Frederick Dickson, who had been an official in Ceylon, having something to do with figures, prompted him, and the old gentleman went on happily with what was quite a statesmanlike address, till he came to some more millions.

Sir Frederick Dickson had, in common with Mr. Thomas Shelford, a keen tongue, and a most illegible handwriting. Sir Frederick once rather astonished the Council by pleading for more roadside trees to give shade to the natives, even if it meant spending a few thousand dollars extra on repairs to the roads. On another occasion Mr. Shelford mentioned that a certain clause in the Municipal Bill would not be approved of by the "people outside," and Sir Frederick rather contemptuously asked: "Who are the people outside?" The writer had reason to remember this, because as official shorthand writer the references were duly put in the transcript, and he became the shuttlecock for a lively game, for the Colonial Secretary struck out his query, but Mr. Shelford, who had later got home some of his most stinging remarks on this text, declined to cut out his very smart retorts. With the cunning of a real Government official, the reporter, failing to please both gentlemen, fired in his verbatim transcript officially to the Clerk of Councils, and left him to settle the matter.

Writing of verbatim reporting, Mr. August Huttenbach was most difficult in this respect. Perhaps he thought in German—though he was an excellent English scholar. At any rate, quite half of his sentences were never finished at all. The reporter took the usual liberty of making the honourable member's speech readable, and was on one occasion taxed with not giving a verbatim report.

Would he do it ? With pleasure. He took great pains, and got the "hms and hahs," the duplicated words, and all the rest of it, and faithfully reported them. Mr. Huttenbach read the speech through, smiled, and interrogated "Really ?" "Really ?" "Then I leave it to you, Mr. Reporter."

Mr. Thomas Shelford was a very clear, incisive, and capable debater. He had a most complete set of Council papers and records, and got up his speech as any lawyer would his opening address, long quotations and authorities all pat. He made rough notes of the speech, and was seldom far away from them. The sting of the remark was generally in the tail of the sentence, and the speaker had a knack of dropping his voice there, making it very difficult for the reporter to hear. However, Mr. Shelford's notes, when you could read them, were a help. The finest ending the writer remembers was in a speech attacking the Crown Agents for the Colonies, and giving as an instance an indent "for that common and well-known garment the sarong," for the inmates of Malacca Hospital. "The Agents sent out a consignment of 'red flannel petticoats'—fit emblems of the department itself."

The heads of the local banks used to be nominated to the Council in olden days, till the head offices, with a narrowness of view that one would not have expected, forbade their managers to accept the post. Mr. G. S. Murray, of the Mercantile Bank, was a tower of strength to the Government in financial and trade matters. He spoke very clearly but extremely quickly—180 to 200 words a minute. Mr. W. H. Frizell, of the Chartered, was the most polished speaker the writer remembers in Council, his occasional speeches being perfect models of English prose. Sir Cecil Smith was also a very fine speaker, with a singularly easy delivery and clearness of expression.

Legal members of the Council as a rule were severely practical and clear, and did not indulge in florid speech-making. Sir John Bonser and Sir Walter Napier were

good debaters, and very keen. The writer's best experience was that of Mr. Hugh Fort's speech at the Bar against the Tanjong Pagar Expropriation. In a speech of 14,000 words not half a dozen corrections were found necessary.

Sir Charles Mitchell was bluff and outspoken, and there never was any doubt as to his meaning or his intention to carry out his designs. Sir Frank Swettenham was a good speaker, equally plain in his way of demolishing arguments against him; but there was a subtle suggestion of sarcasm in all he said. Sir John Anderson was an exceedingly nervous speaker, and never in his public speeches did justice to his wide and accurate knowledge of matters and the clear and far-sighted views he took. He was always clear, but seldom rose to eloquence.

CHAPTER IV
LAW AND CRIME
LAW AND THE LAWYERS

By Roland St. J. Braddell

WHEREVER an Englishman goes, he carries with him as much of English law and liberty as the nature of his situation will allow. Accordingly, when a Settlement is made by British subjects of country that is unoccupied or without settled institutions, such newly settled country is to be governed by the law of England, but only so far as that law is of general and not merely local policy and modified in its application so as to suit the needs of the Settlement.

When the Settlements of Penang and Singapore were occupied by the British, the only existing population was Malay, consisting of a few families at each place, and subsisting on fishing and piracy; there were no settled institutions, and the places were virtually unoccupied. The two Settlements, then, came under the rule that English law was introduced either on the ground that they were unoccupied or that they were possessed of no settled institutions. Over this question there raged, however, a controversy based principally upon the proposition that as both places were part of the territory of Mohammedan sovereigns (the Rajah of Kedah and the Sultan of Johore respectively), therefore the law of the land, or *lex loci*, to use the legal term, must be Mohammedan law. This controversy did not receive its quietus until 1872, when the Privy Council adopted a decision of Sir Benson Maxwell, and held that the law of England

was the law of the land, with the necessary modifications as to its application. All the actual decisions bear upon the Settlement of Penang, and there is no decision as to Singapore, because it has always been recognised that no distinction can be drawn between the two Settlements for this purpose.

Before approaching the legal history of Singapore, it is necessary to take a very short glance at the legal history of Penang up to the date when the Union Jack first flew from the Singapore beach. In 1786 successful negotiations with the Rajah of Kedah were concluded by Captain Francis Light for the cession of the Island of Penang, and on the 11th August 1786, the eve of the birthday of the Prince who later became George IV, the British flag was hoisted, and the island re-named "Prince of Wales's Island." Legal chaos existed in Penang until 1807, when a Charter of Justice was granted by the Crown, and the Court of Judicature of Prince of Wales's Island was established, consisting of the Governor, three Councillors, and a professional Judge, styled the Recorder of Prince of Wales's Island. This Court had jurisdiction in Penang only, and when Singapore was founded, in 1819, the Penang Court was quite unable to give any assistance to the new Settlement, even if it had been disposed to do so. The Charter of 1807 is usually referred to as the First Charter.

By our first treaty with Johore, in 1819, we obtained only a lease of part of the Island of Singapore, with the right to erect a factory thereon; the full cession of the island was not obtained, and even what had been done was at first unacknowledged by the Crown or Parliament. The Government in India, therefore, felt that it was without any power to delegate authority to the local officers for the due administration of justice. Law and order, however, had to be preserved as far as possible. Sir Stamford Raffles, in 1819, accordingly instructed Major Farquhar, the first officer in charge of the new Settlement, to consider the larger part of the population as camp-followers, subject to his military

authority as Commandant, but pointed out that by virtue of his office as Resident he was necessarily also Chief Magistrate, and left it in his discretion to act either as Commandant or Magistrate. In his instructions of the following year Raffles emphasised further that Singapore was to be considered as a military post rather than as a fixed Settlement, the Resident being instructed that no artificial encouragement was to be given to the immigration of natives.

Justice, civil and criminal, was administered by the Resident by summary process, and after the manner of a court of conscience. Punishments were confined to very small pecuniary fines, imprisonment and hard labour, never exceeding six months' duration; and where disgrace accompanied the offence, whipping, in no case exceeding three strokes of a cane. In the capital offences of murder and piracy the only resource was to imprison the offenders indefinitely when the evidence was unquestionable and clear, which it very rarely was. Captains (or heads of castes) and Penghulus of kampongs (villages) were appointed amongst the Asiatic races, and were looked to for assistance in keeping order, and for advice on matters affecting native law and custom; a Police Force was constituted and paid for by the Government and the Night Watch Fund subscribed by the mercantile community.

In 1823 two Regulations were passed, which provided for the establishment of an efficient Magistracy at Singapore, and for the mode in which local Regulations having the force of law should be enacted; and it is amusing to note that the first regular administration of justice in Singapore was ordained by what were in all probability illegal instruments. The power of framing Regulations, which were executive orders, was vested in the Governor-General of India by an Act of Parliament of 1773, but subject to certain conditions and with certain limitations. The gravest doubts existed as to the validity of those issued for the Straits, because the conditions mentioned in the Act were generally neglected,

and many of the Straits Regulations were held from time to time to be invalid, notably the Singapore Land Regulation of 1834. On the other hand, the Registration of Imports and Exports Regulation of 1833 was only repealed by the first Registration of Imports and Exports Ordinance of 1886. Whether valid or invalid, the Regulations were the only form of local written law until 1834, when the Indian Acts commenced.

Returning to the Regulations of 1823, under Regulation III a Commission of the Peace was issued appointing certain gentlemen as Justices of the Peace, and amongst their names occur those of A. L. Johnston, Alexander Guthrie, Charles Scott, and C. R. Read. Two of the Justices were to sit with the Resident in Court to decide civil and criminal cases, while two others acted in rotation to perform the minor duties of their office. Juries were to consist of five Europeans, or four Europeans with three respectable natives. The Resident's Court was to sit once a week, the Magistrates' twice; the offices were to be open daily. Regulation VI of 1823 provided further for the administration of justice, and Sir Stamford Raffles issued a Proclamation stating the leading principles of the justice to be administered which, though of that type commonly termed "natural justice," seems to have been admirably suited to the needs of the new Settlement. The following paragraphs from the Proclamation give an idea of the spirit of the whole :

" Let the principles of British law be applied not only with mildness, but with a patriarchal kindness and indulgent consideration for the prejudices of each tribe as far as natural justice will allow, but also with reference to their reasoning powers, however weak, and that moral principle which, however often disregarded, still exists in the consciences of all men.

" Let all the native institutions, as far as regards religious ceremonies, marriage, and inheritance, be respected when they may not be inconsistent with justice and

humanity and injurious to the peace and morals of society.

“ Let all men be considered equal in the eye of the law.”

Those words contain the secret of British colonising success, for they state in the main our policy with regard to the native races to be found within our Empire. As will be seen later, the Charters and the Judges have done all in their power to preserve the freedom of native institutions upon which Sir Stamford Raffles insisted.

In January 1824 Mr. Crawford, the Resident, reported that he was engaged in administering, as far as possible, Chinese and Malay law to those races, which though legally incorrect, must undoubtedly have proved a great attraction to Chinese and Malays to settle in the island. He went on to report that “ the case with respect to Europeans is very different : there exists no means whatever in civil cases of affording any redress against them nor in criminal cases any remedy short of sending them for trial before the Supreme Court at Calcutta.” It is, indeed, a sad fact that both in Penang and Singapore in the very early days of those Settlements the Europeans were lawless and turbulent ; many of them set a disgraceful example, and being virtually immune from the law, openly flaunted the authorities. It should, however, be remembered that very many of these breakers of the law were low-class adventurers attracted to the new Settlements by the hope of spoil ; to the majority of their earliest European settlers both Penang and Singapore owe a debt of very great gratitude.

By 1824 the necessity for a proper judicial system in Singapore had become urgent, and soon after the treaty of that year granting to the British sovereignty over the island, Mr. Crawford wrote to Bengal on the subject, asking for a Charter of Justice to be obtained from the Crown on the lines of that granted to Penang in 1807, and for the appointment of a professional judge. In 1825 Singapore and Malacca were annexed to Penang as one

Presidency, and on the 27th November 1826 the Crown granted a new Charter of Justice to the East India Company for the three Settlements, by which the jurisdiction of the Court of Judicature at Penang was extended to Singapore and Malacca, and the Court was renamed "The Court of Judicature of Prince of Wales's Island, Singapore, and Malacca," Penang remaining its headquarters. The Court consisted of the Governor, the Recorder, and the three Resident Councillors of the Settlements. But for the changes of nomenclature and extension of jurisdiction the new Charter (commonly called the Second Charter) was the same as the old.

The Judges of the Colony have without exception held that the Charter of 1807 introduced into Penang the English law as it then existed, and in a series of decisions dating from 1835 they have also held that the Second Charter of 1826 introduced into the three Settlements the English law as it existed on the 26th November 1826. The Charter was a loosely drawn instrument, and many of the Recorders, notably Sir Benjamin Malkin, criticised it on that account; but one is by no means sure that this very looseness was not its principal virtue, for it enabled our Recorders gradually to build up a series of decisions which may now be called the common law of the Colony, exercising a ripe discretion and wise choice which might have been seriously hampered, to the detriment of the young Settlements, by a closer wording of the Charter. In particular was the door left wide to the Judges to decide what modifications of the English law were necessary on account of the religions and usages of the Oriental races living in the Colony. The Third Charter of 1855, which still has force, retained the words of its predecessors in this last respect. It may be sufficient, therefore, to quote the words of Sir Thomas Braddell in a judgment, concurred in by Sir William Hyndman-Jones, in the celebrated Six Widows Case in 1907 :

"Now it may be perfectly true to say that the Charter does no more than adopt a principle in agreement with

the law of England, but it does nevertheless expressly declare that the Court of Judicature shall have and exercise jurisdiction as an Ecclesiastical Court so far as the several religions and customs of the inhabitants of the Settlements and places will admit.

"I am unable to regard this declaration in the light of being surplusage and intended to do nothing more than if it simply declared in general terms that the Court of Judicature should have and exercise jurisdiction as an Ecclesiastical Court according to the law of England without more.

"The qualifying words seem to me to have been inserted because it was recognised that the laws of England would necessarily require to be administered with such modifications as to make them suitable to the religions and customs of the inhabitants who were intended to be benefited by them. They were dictated from a regard for that constant policy of our rulers to administer our laws in our Colonies with a tender solicitude for the religious beliefs and established customs of the races living under the protection of our Flag, and I regard them as such as a charge to our Courts to exercise their jurisdiction with all due regard to the several religions, manners, and customs of the inhabitants."

Polygamy amongst Mohammedans and Chinese has accordingly been recognised, and the offspring of such unions treated as legitimate, the Statute of Distributions being construed so as to cover the widows and children of Mohammedans and Chinese; on the other hand, the Chinese practice of adoption has not been recognised, nor have the Chinese been allowed, in defiance of the rule against perpetuities, to tie up their property for generations with a view to the due performance of the "Sin-chew" or ancestral worship.

The Court set up by the Charter of 1826 for Singapore and the other Settlements was a Recorder's Court, which differed essentially in its constitution from the King's Courts of the principal Indian Presidencies. At these latter the form of process had all the technical intricacies

cies of the Superior Courts in England ; in the Recorder's Court the forms were so simplified as to suit the English law to the state of society among the native inhabitants, thus making the administration of justice cheap, simple, and so far efficient. It suffered, however, from a most serious defect, for the Governor and the official members were not only Judges of the Court, but superior in rank to the Recorder. In this manner there was a most impolitic union of the executive, legislative, and judicial functions ; and the independence and dignity of the judicial functions were necessarily impaired or degraded by placing the only lawyer, and only efficient judge of the Court, in an inferior and dependent situation. This state of affairs, which was the source of endless friction, continued under the Third Charter of 1855, and was only finally abolished in 1868, though as a matter of fact the executive officers did not sit as judges for a long time before the latter date.

The first Recorder under the Charter of 1826 assumed his duties in August 1827, and almost immediately there began between him and the Government " those mischievous discussions," as the Indian Law Commissioners later termed them, which eventually led to his recall and removal from office. The records of the Court abound with the disputes which took place between the Executive and the Recorder, Sir John Thomas Claridge, great irascibility of temper being shown on both sides. Singapore was the principal sufferer, for the Recorder refused to go on circuit, his reason being the " direct insult offered " to him by not providing him with a proper ship in which to travel. As a consequence, the Governor, Mr. Fullerton, had to hold the first Assizes in Singapore on the 22nd May 1828, the Resident, Mr. Murchison, sitting with him, but not the Recorder. A suitable ship was, however, provided the next year, and in his charge to the Grand Jury the Recorder poured out his grievances, one of which was that he had not been provided with a steam vessel as he had been given to understand in England would be done ; he also made

general allusions derogatory to the Court establishment, and his charge to the Jury formed one of the heads of accusation against him on his recall. It was about this time that steamers had first been talked about in Singapore, with the result that a violent controversy broke out between the *Malacca Observer* and the *Singapore Chronicle* as to the merits of such vessels. The latter paper had the last word, when it remarked that steamers would lead to the resort to Singapore of "penned up, bilious individuals"! Whether this remark referred to the Recorder or not, however, did not appear.

At the September Assizes, 1829, there was tried the first false case in Singapore of which a record remains. Singapore was described once by the late Mr. Justice Edmonds, Deputy Public Prosecutor at the time, as "a town of false cases," and the lengths to which Asiatics will often go to gratify their revenge by bringing false cases against their enemies are amazing. In this particular case, a Malay girl, named Ley Wha, was charged with administering arsenic poison to a Chinese family to which she was cook, and Kim Seang, a Chinese man, was charged as an accessory before the fact. The defence was that a packet had been given to the girl by a Javanese woman, named Champaka, who had told the girl to put it in the food, as it was a charm which would prevent her mistress from beating or ill-using her. It was further proved that Champaka had been the mistress of one Che Sang, a rich Chinese who bore a grudge against Kim Seang, and who was the father-in-law of the head of the family to which the Malay girl was cook. Kim Seang was a book-keeper to Messrs. Napier and Scott, and Mr. Charles Scott gave strong evidence on his behalf, proving an alibi for him, and also swearing that he had heard Che Sang threatening Kim Seang. The accused were unanimously acquitted, but no steps seem to have been taken against Che Sang, who was the principal Chinese merchant of his time. The case is referred to because it is a perfect type of an Asiatic false case, and has been the fore-

runner of thousands. Che Sang was a character in his way. He was a miser, keeping his money in iron chests (as everyone did then, for there were no banks) and sleeping amongst the chests. But in spite of his miserliness, he was a great gambler. One day he lost a considerable sum, which caused him so much distress that he cut off the first joint of one of his little fingers, with an oath not to play any more; but so ingrained had the habit become that even this did not cure him, and he returned to his gambling, from which it is said that much of his fortune had originally come. He died in 1836, and his will was the cause of a Singapore *Jarndyce v. Jarndyce*, which was not concluded until 1880. He used to boast that he had so much influence over the Chinese that, any day he said the word, he could empty the place of all the Europeans; fortunately, he never tried. His funeral was attended by from five to ten thousand people, so that it certainly seemed as if there was some truth in his boast.

Sir John Claridge was recalled to England, and dismissed from his office, though the Privy Council held that no imputation rested on his capacity or integrity in the exercise of his judicial functions so as to preclude him from further employment; but he was never again employed under the Crown, though Parliament was several times moved in his behalf, the last time as late as 1845, by Mr. W. E. Gladstone. Whatever the merits were between the Executive and Sir John Claridge, the latter had the sympathy of the people of Penang, and before he left, addresses were presented to him by European and Chinese merchants, the names appended to them containing those of all the best-known of the Penang mercantile community. The Chinese address was a very amusing document, and is so typical of the old-style Chinese flowery writing that it is well worthy of notice. It opened with these words: "All the merchants and people of the Island of Penang, bowing to the ground, present themselves before the bar of the great official Judge of Penang, Malacca, and Singapore,

Tuan Hakim the Magnate " ; it then praised the virtues of the Recorder, of whom it is stated that his " strict purity and integrity also exceeded the ancient Heang Chung Whang, who, when he watered his horses, threw money to pay for it into the River Wei " ; and it concluded with the confident hope that " Your Excellency will return to your office in this land, and cause all the merchants and people of the island again to see the azure heaven of your countenance, and enjoy abundantly the renovating showers of your administration. What a delight this will be ! "

After the Recorder's departure, the Resident Councillor continued to conduct the business of the Court in Singapore until the 30th June 1830, when the three Settlements ceased to form a Presidency, and were made subordinate to the Government of Fort William in Bengal. The order bringing this change into force directed that in place of a Governor there should be a Resident or Commissioner for the affairs of the three Settlements and a Deputy Resident at each of them. As a result, the erroneous opinion was come to that the Charter was virtually repealed, for it constituted the Governor and three Resident Councillors as Judges of the Court, and there were no longer any such officials. The Court accordingly proclaimed itself out of existence. No tribunal was put in its place, though for a time Mr. Murchison held a Court in Singapore at the request of the merchants, for which he received an official reprimand, and was told to close the Court. The administration of justice thus entirely collapsed, and a regular crisis ensued.

Public meetings were held in Singapore and Penang, and petitions were sent home to Parliament. But matters went from bad to worse ; prisoners committed for trial filled the gaols, there being no Court of Oyer and Terminer ; a complete stagnation of business arose from want of confidence in securing the fulfilment of contracts or obtaining payment, since the only Court in existence was the Court of Requests, which had jurisdiction only



THE FIRST COURT HOUSE.
From a sketch by Lieut. Begbie.

up to thirty-two dollars. This regrettable state of affairs lasted until the 30th March 1832, having commenced on the 30th June 1830. In 1831 the Court of Directors in London informed the Government in India that a wrong view of the matter had been taken, and that the Charter was still legally effective; but to remove all doubts they ordered that the styles of Governor and Resident Councillor should be restored. This was done in course of time, and the Court reopened in 1832, in which year Singapore became the headquarters of Government, and has remained so ever since. Penang, however, remained the headquarters of the Court, since it was found that the legal work there was more intricate and important than at Singapore, and also because the Recorder's official residence was at Penang and he had none in Singapore, to which the Court only removed its headquarters after the Third Charter of 1855.

The new Recorder, Sir Benjamin Malkin, arrived at Penang in February 1833. He was a man of very extensive learning, and although he was in the Straits only until June 1835, he left his mark on our law by some very important decisions. Sir Benjamin had been a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and in 1835 was appointed Chief Justice of Calcutta, where he died in October 1837. He was very popular in the Straits, taking a leading part in public affairs at Penang, and being widely known for his generosity and interest in any useful or charitable object, for which his purse-strings were ever ready to open. He had been one of the active managers of the Marylebone Savings Bank in London, and he caused the establishment of a savings bank in Penang in 1833, for which he drew up the rules and called a public meeting to set it going. A proposal to establish a similar one in Singapore the same year fell through, and it was not until 1874 that one was founded in the Post Office.

Sir Benjamin Malkin's judgments were scholarly, and showed how profound a lawyer he was; the subjects with which they dealt were frequently very intricate,

but many of them remain ruling cases to this day. Thus in 1835 he decided that a Mohammedan might alienate his property by will, despite the Mohammedan law to the contrary, and in his judgment also decided that the law of England was introduced into Penang by the Charter of 1807, applying in this case a previous decision of his to the effect that the Charter of 1826 abrogated the Dutch law in Malacca and introduced the English law. To him was due that most important Indian Act XX of 1837, by which it was provided that all immovable property situate within the jurisdiction of the Court, as far as regarded the transmission of the same on the death or intestacy of any person having a beneficial interest therein, or by the last will of such person, should descend as chattels real.

During Sir Benjamin's tenure of office the first Law Agent was admitted in Singapore in 1833—Mr. Napier, the merchant. The three Charters of Justice all provided that suitors might appear by agents permitted or licensed by the Court either generally or specially for the particular occasion, but they provided for no qualification to be possessed by such agents. They also provided that the licences should be held at the absolute discretion of the Court, and should be revocable at pleasure without any reason being assigned. The first order regulating the admission of Law Agents was passed by the Court at Penang in 1809 ; it followed the words of the Charter, and provided for Law Agents general and special. In the next year the licensing of General Agents was abrogated in consequence of the necessity to recall the licence issued to Mr. Thomas Kekewich for libelling an officer of the Court and for contempt. A most extraordinary case concerning the will of Mr. Kekewich is to be found reported, in which the Court held the will to be a " wicked, false, and malicious libel " on the Court in consequence of statements made in it, and the executors were committed for contempt in daring to ask for probate of the will !

The Order of 1810 remained in force until 1817, when

two professional gentlemen, having applied in Penang for admission, the Court ordered that General Agents would be appointed in future, and this practice continued until 1839, when Sir William Norris discontinued it, and ordered the admission of Special Agents only. This was in consequence of an attempt to do away with Law Agents altogether. A young lawyer from India had applied for admission in Penang, and had been entirely refused, after which he commenced a newspaper campaign, and, having the public behind him, finally forced his admission, though only specially. The practice of admitting only Special Agents continued until 1852, when Sir William Jeffcott discontinued it, bringing in a body of rules providing properly for the admission of Law Agents, and in particular requiring them to pass an examination. When the Supreme Court was established in 1868, the Ordinance effecting it provided that all the Law Agents of the old Court of Judicature should be " Advocates and Attorneys " of the new Court, and this name was continued until the Courts Ordinance of 1878, when the present style of " Advocates and Solicitors " was introduced.

The Courts Ordinance of 1873 was the first to put the Bar on a proper footing and require a genuine qualification for admission, providing for either an admission in the United Kingdom as barrister or solicitor, or the local qualification after examination. It also provided for a yearly certificate to be taken out upon payment of a fee, and the payment of an admission fee. A previous attempt to require the payment of an admission fee had been made by an Order of the Governor-in-Council under the Courts Ordinance of 1868, but, upon the application of Mr. Isaac Swinburne Bond, Sir William Hackett held this to be *ultra vires* in 1869. From the beginning the lawyers have practised both branches of the profession by whatever name they were called, and the present style of Advocates and Solicitors describes accurately their functions.

Mr. Napier's name is worthy of remembrance in Singa-

pore, for he took a leading part in its affairs for many years, being one of the best-known characters in the place in his day, and a general favourite. His peculiar way of carrying his head and of brushing his hair, combined with a general swagger, earned him the nickname of "Royal Billy." He it was who invested Mr. James Brooke, then Governor of Labuan and afterwards Rajah of Sarawak, with the K.C.B. in 1848. The investiture took place in the Singapore Assembly Rooms, and judging from a description by Mr. W. H. Read, in 1884, of the ceremony, Mr. Napier appears to have spread himself considerably. Mr. Napier was Lieutenant-Governor of Labuan, and the Queen's Warrant for the investiture was accordingly addressed to him. Mr. Read writes: "Fully impressed with the importance of the functions he had to perform (and perhaps a little bit more than was necessary), the Lieutenant-Governor endossed his uniform, begirt himself with his sword, and was marshalled into the room prepared for the ceremony in 'due and ample form.' His head was higher than ever, his hair more wavy, and with the strut of a tragedy tyrant, he proceeded to mount the steps of the daïs, and, to the horror of the assembled spectators, sat down on the Royal Throne! There was a general titter, and the Admiral, Sir Francis Collyer, who was present, made an exclamation more vigorous than polite in its language. The ceremony proceeded, and Sir James Brooke made a suitable reply, which, as a local paper observed, 'alone saved the whole from becoming a burlesque,' so utterly did 'Royal Billy' overact his part. Peace be to his ashes! A better fellow and a truer friend, or a sterner enemy, did not exist, and one soon forgot his little failings in the society of a man of so amiable a character, and so well up in most subjects."

Admiral Keppel was a great friend of Mr. Napier, to whom there are many references in the Admiral's diary. It was at Mr. Napier's house, in 1843, that the Admiral first met Rajah Brooke, then Mr. Brooke, and, as he puts it in his diary, "was initiated into the mysteries,

depths, and horrors of pirates in the ways of the Malay Peninsula.” In 1848 the Admiral brought the Napier family back to Singapore from England in H.M.S. *Meander*, and a sad event occurred on the voyage, which the Admiral records in the following truly nautical fashion on the 17th February :

“ At daylight Napier’s little boy, James Brooke, aged 5 months, found dead in its bed—sad blow to the parents—supposed to have gone off in a fit. Poor Mrs. Napier—poor Napier ! Nurse in hysterics.”

The entry is worthy of Mr. Jingle ! Of all the notes about Mr. Napier in the Admiral’s diary, this is the most likeable, though all show a true friendship :—

“ 5th October 1844.—Lots of rain—Napier spliced this morning—Tiffin at Balestier’s to meet the happy pair. Good fellow Napier and a pair well-matched.”

The bride was the widow of Mr. Coleman, the architect, to whom Singapore owes so much.

Mr. Napier’s best claim to remembrance, perhaps, is that he was one of the founders of our admirable morning paper, the *Singapore Free Press*, in 1835, which he edited until 1846, when he retired from practice as a lawyer and handed over his editorial pen to another lawyer, Mr. Abraham Logan. In 1848 Mr. Napier returned to the East as Lieutenant-Governor of Labuan, having on his staff as Secretary Mr. (afterwards Sir) Hugh Low, who married his daughter by his first wife, Miss Catherine Napier, in 1848. Admiral Keppel has the following shrewd entry in his diary of the voyage out in the *Meander* :

“ 5th May.—Miss Napier having this day attained her nineteenth year, champagne and a dance in the forecabin. Think there is something in the wind between her and Low ! ”

Napier Road is named after Mr. William Napier ; it led to his house, built in 1854, where Tyersall is now. He retired from the East in 1857, when Boustead and Co. sold the house and its sixty-seven acres of ground. He

was the first Chairman of the Straits Settlements Association, founded on the 31st January 1868, the first Freemason to be initiated in Singapore, in 1845 at Lodge Zetland, and one of the two Presidents of the first celebration of the Feast of St. Andrew in 1835. He took a keen interest in all that went on in the place, and was a generous subscriber to all charities; to education in particular he gave much time and trouble, being a Trustee of the Singapore Institution from 1836 to 1857.

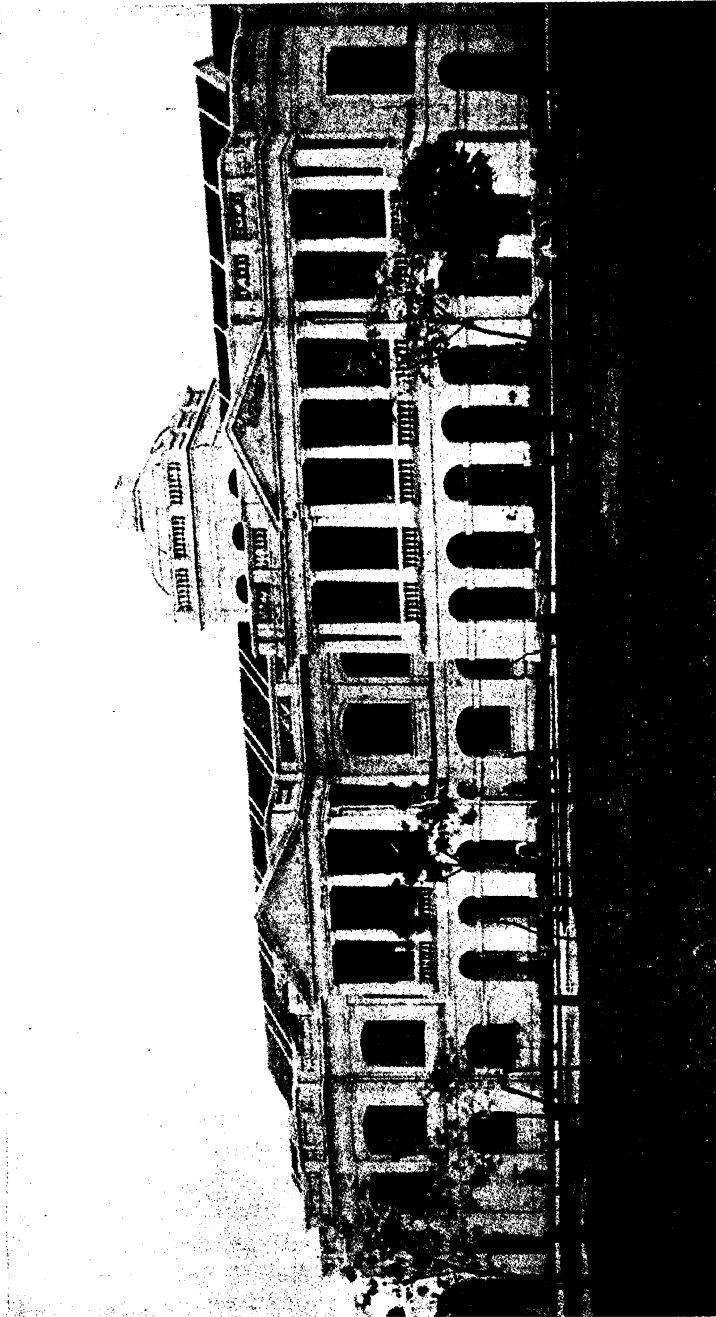
The administration of justice in India and its dependencies, and the whole question of their good government, had been causing considerable anxiety in England, with the result that in 1833 there was passed a most important Act of Parliament by which a body, styled the Indian Law Commissioners, was appointed to enquire into the jurisdiction, powers, and rules of the Courts of Justice in India and its territories. The Report, dated 1842, contained over two hundred pages of matter concerning the Straits alone, which led to endless correspondence, conflicting minutes, and bewildering suggestions, including one by Lord Auckland, the Governor-General of India, to the effect that the Recorder's Court should be abolished. None of the suggestions was carried into effect, and the net result of it all was a great waste of public time and money so far as the Straits were concerned, for matters were left *in statu quo ante*. The Act, however, went on to make important provisions, for it constituted a local Government for the whole of the territories of India, consisting of a Governor-General and Councillors to be styled "The Governor-General of India in Council." To this body was entrusted, among other functions, the power of legislation within its jurisdiction on all save certain excepted subjects. From 1834, accordingly, the Indian Acts began to apply to the Straits, but only such as did so expressly or could be held to do so impliedly. The old Regulations were superseded, and until 1867, when a local Legislature was constituted, the Indian Acts formed the local written law of the Straits Settlements, in ad-

dition to which there were, of course, such Acts of Parliament and Orders of the Crown in Council as were applied to them. The Indian Acts applying to the Colony were revised by two Commissioners under an Ordinance of 1889, and a few of them, notably the Wills Act of 1838, are still in force at this date.

Great inconvenience had been experienced owing to the Court of Judicature possessing no jurisdiction in Admiralty ; at the very first Assize held in Singapore, Governor Fullerton, in his charge to the Grand Jury, said that " two persons accused of piracy must now be discharged for want of Admiralty jurisdiction, a defect already noticed, and which it was expected would in due course be amended." This was quite up to the best standard of official assurances, for the first time when the need of Admiralty jurisdiction in the Straits had been expressed was in 1803, by Mr. Dickens, the first professional Magistrate in Penang, and an uncle of the great Charles Dickens ; and though Governor Fullerton's " in due course " was uttered in 1828, it was not until 1836 that the Court was at last clothed by Act of Parliament with this most necessary jurisdiction. The waters of the Straits were infested with pirates, there had been many serious failures of justice, countless murders had been committed, innumerable ships captured and looted, and Grand Juries had made repeated presentments of the state of affairs, but it took officialdom fifty years to wake up, from 1786 to 1836. By 1835 the position had become intolerable, and petitions were signed by all the European mercantile community to the King and to the Governor-General of India on the subject of piracy ; the position at that time was so bad, indeed, that Europeans in sampans were actually attacked in the Singapore Roads while on their way to visit their ships. Piracy was perfectly organised in Singapore, and a large trade in arms was openly conducted in Kampong Glam ; in the Dindings there was a regular pirate stronghold, where the prahus went to refit, and where the pirates kept their stores, plunder, and captives. In 1836 H.M.

Sloop Wolf arrived, commanded by Captain Edward Stanley, R.N., and when she attacked the Dindings stronghold no less than eighty men, women, and children were freed from captivity there. For long after the Court was given the power to try pirates their malevolent trade continued, for though they could be tried, the first difficulty was to catch them. It took years to stamp out piracy, and even as recently as Good Friday 1909 there took place one of the worst cases that ever occurred in the vicinity of Singapore. A Chinese junk had left Singapore the night before bound for Saigon ; at about one o'clock in the morning, when she was at a point one mile from the coast of Johore, and some twenty miles from that of Singapore, two boats crept towards her from the shore, the first containing four men, the second ten. The pirates, who were Chinese and Malays, climbed noiselessly on board the junk, and then fell suddenly on the sleeping crew and passengers with axes, parangs, krises and knives. In a minute or two the junk became a shambles ; five men were hacked to death, two terribly wounded were thrown into the sea, and four left covered with wounds on the blood-stained deck ; but seven who were in the hold succeeded in hiding themselves, and were not hurt. Five Chinese were arrested and duly convicted of piracy ; as the crime had taken place out of the jurisdiction, no charge of murder could be brought against them under the Penal Code. These five men were duly sentenced to death, but the case became a leading one, for Mr. V. D. Knowles, counsel for the defence, took the point that the Courts of the Colony have no jurisdiction to inflict capital punishment for the offence of piracy. This point was reserved by the Chief Justice, Sir William Hyndman-Jones, and on being heard by a full Court, was decided in favour of the defence, and the five miscreants escaped a well-merited hanging, but were sentenced to penal servitude for life.

In September 1836, a new Recorder, Sir William Norris, arrived : his immediate predecessor, Sir Edward



THE COURT HOUSE PRIOR TO RECONSTRUCTION IN 1901.

Gambier, who had arrived in 1835, had been appointed a Puisne Judge at Madras in 1836. Sir William Norris had been called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1827, and been appointed Chief Justice of Ceylon in 1835, after having served there previously as a Puisne Judge. He held office in the Straits until June 1847, an unusually long period, and retired on pension to England, where he died at Ashurst Lodge, Sunningdale, in September 1859. During his tenure of office as Recorder he did a very great deal to mould and form our law, and his name may be linked with those of Sir Benjamin Malkin and Sir Benson Maxwell as its fathers.

In November 1839 Sir William Norris opened the new Court House in Singapore, and it will be convenient here to give a short history of the present Supreme Court building. The site on which it stands was leased in 1827 to Mr. Maxwell, the merchant, who built upon it a handsome house to the designs of Mr. Coleman, the architect, which he leased to the Government at five hundred rupees a month. In 1841 the Government bought the site and the house for \$15,600. The original building, which was situated where the Puisne Judge's wing of the Court is at present, was standing until the whole structure was altered in 1901. A new wing was added in 1875, which explains the date on the Royal Arms over the Chief Justice's chair at present. In the early days the building formed the Government offices, the Court being held in a centre room upstairs and the side-rooms being used as offices for the Resident Councillor and other officials, while the Land Office was accommodated downstairs. In 1839, however, a one-storeyed building was added at the side of the original house, and the Court was held there, the main building being given over entirely for Government offices ; it was this new building which Sir William Norris officially opened. In 1854 it was presented by the Grand Jury as totally unsuitable for a Court of Justice, owing to the noises which issued from an adjoining shipbuilding yard ; but nothing was done until 1864, when the building was turned into a

Post Office, and the foundation-stone of a new one was laid. This building was used as a Court House for a few years only ; then an exchange was made. The Court House was made into the present Council Chamber, and the Court went back to its old site, the building being extended in 1875 and reconstructed in 1901, as has been said. The present Court House is admirably suited to its purpose, the two Courts being lofty and well ventilated, with ample accommodation for the Bar, the Jury, and the spectators, while the acoustics are excellent. The central tower, including the Bar robing-room, is the only part of the old Court now remaining.

The records during Sir William Norris's tenure of office disclose most forcibly the relations which subsisted between the executive and the professional judge. Following in the wake of his predecessors, he frequently laid stress on the defective constitution of the Court, and recommended the complete separation of the judicial and executive functions. Soon after his arrival he had evidently realised the attitude of the executive, for there is a curious note of his in the Penang records. Governor Fullerton had written a minute in 1829 recommending the abolition of the Recorder's Court and the substitution therefor of a Mayor's Court on the old Indian model, in which the Resident would preside as Mayor, with merchants sitting as aldermen. The Governor referred to the system of the Recorder's Court as " more expensive and worse adapted than any system which could be devised." In the paper containing this recommendation Sir William Norris in 1836 had underlined the words quoted above, and added in the margin, " You say so because you could thus brook the independent spirit of the man who is entrusted with the administration of that system."

One of the greatest causes of friction was as to the respective powers of the professional and lay judges, and of the right of the former to sit in appeal on the decisions of the latter. A typical instance may be given by way of illustration. In September 1846 Mr. Thomas

Church, Resident Councillor of Singapore, and so a lay judge of the Court, passed a decree giving possession of the vessel *Iron Queen* to the owner's agents, and condemning the captain in costs, which not being paid he was taken to gaol. Sir William Norris arrived on circuit in November, and the captain petitioned him, whereupon the Recorder granted a rule calling on the owners to show cause why the Resident Councillor's order should not be reviewed and set aside. Mr. Church was much incensed, and filed on the record a protest against "the novel and unprecedented proceedings of the Recorder." Sir William, however, had the matter argued and made the rule absolute, holding that he as professional judge had power under the Charter to set his lay brethren right when they erred. The extraordinary attitude of the executive officers to their judicial duties may also be illustrated by Mr. Salmond's action when he was appointed a Judge at Malacca in 1847; he insisted on taking the oaths of office in his palanquin outside the Court, and overruled the protests of the Registrar, who objected to this undignified procedure.

In addition to continuous friction with the lay judges, Sir William Norris was further hampered by having no professional lawyers at the Singapore Bar. Much depended on the Recorder, particularly in criminal cases. In those days, of course, the prisoner could not give evidence; but his counsel was not allowed to speak on his behalf either, nor was he allowed to have a copy of any of the depositions of the witnesses called against him, having to rely on his own memory solely. The usual sitting Magistrate was a civil servant, the Justices of the Peace mercantile men, who attended occasionally when the presence of two Justices was required by law. That Sir William Norris should have been so successful in his office, therefore, redounded even more to his credit than a perusal of his admirable judgments would show.

In 1840 he inaugurated the present method of swearing witnesses, for he held that Indian Act V of that year

was law in the Settlements, and that native witnesses would therefore have to be affirmed. The Indian Act was limited to Hindus and Mohammedans, but Sir William Norris held that its provisions should be extended by analogy to Chinese under an Act of George IV, which gave courts a discretion to affirm Quakers and Moravians. In his judgment he said that the Indian Act " may well be hailed as a just and wise measure, no less due to the honour of Almighty God and the credit of a Christian Government than to the scruples of conscientious judges, magistrates, and witnesses," a somewhat sweeping assertion ; but Sir William was celebrated for occasional eccentricities of language in his judgments. His sentence in a Penang amok case is preserved in the third volume of *Logan's Journal*, and is typical of a judicial style long since passed away. The accused had lost his wife and only child, and as a consequence ran amok, having pointed out which facts the Judge proceeded : " Unable or unwilling to submit with patience to the affliction with which it had pleased God to visit you, you abandoned yourself to discontent and despair, until shortly before the bloody transaction, when you went to the Mosque to pray !—to pray to whom or what ? Not to senseless idols of wood or stone which Christians and Mohammedans equally abominate, but to the one omniscient, almighty, and all-merciful God, in whom alone Christians and Mohammedans profess to believe ! But in what spirit did you pray, if you prayed at all ? Did you pray for resignation or ability to ' humble yourself under the mighty hand of God ' ? Impossible. You may have gone to curse in your heart and gnash with your teeth, but certainly not to pray, whatever unmeaning sentences of the Koran may have issued from your lips " ; and so forth and so on, with much about the Devil described as the " father of lies " and " a murderer from the beginning." The marvel is that the accused did not run amok again in Court !

But to return to the swearing of native witnesses. Prior to the Indian Act of 1840 natives had been sworn

by the oath most binding on their consciences, such as swearing on the Koran at the Mosque for Mohammedans or cutting a cock's head for Chinese. The present law is to be found in the Oaths Ordinance of 1890, which repealed the Indian Act.

Despite the differences between the Recorder and the Government, he acted as legal adviser to the latter, as did the other Recorders, a system against which many of them demurred, considering that it placed them in a most anomalous position in Court. Mr. W. Caunter had been "Law Agent to the Hon'ble Company" at a salary of six hundred rupees a month from 1828 until the suspension of the Court in 1830, and in 1834 Mr. Balhatchet held the same appointment for a month or two; otherwise, the Company had never had its own advisers. The Recorders continued to advise Government until 1864, when Mr. Thomas Braddell was appointed Crown Counsel at Singapore and Mr. Daniel Logan Crown Prosecutor at Penang.

Sir William Norris was succeeded by Sir Christopher Rawlinson, who had been Recorder of Portsmouth; he held office until 1850, when he was promoted Chief Justice of Madras. M. Fontanier, who had been French Consul at Singapore, gives a description of the Recorder in his book published in 1852, *Voyage dans l'Archipel Indien.* He says that Sir Christopher was very tall and very thin, and if he had not had a prepossessing appearance, would have much resembled Lord Brougham. He had been a Police Magistrate at London before becoming Recorder at Portsmouth, so M. Fontanier says. In the course of his duties in the latter office he attended a civic reception of Louis Philippe on his arrival in England. As the Recorder was attired in his robes and full-bottomed wig, and was a very tall man, he was unable to stand upright in the saloon of the ship. This tickled the King so much that he remarked, laughing, "Que voulez-vous? Quand on a fait ce vaisseau on ne pensait pas à votre perruque!" M. Fontanier also gives us a description of the scene in Court when the

Court of Judicature sat at Singapore. The Governor presided, with the Recorder on his right and the Resident on his left ; the Recorder sat in his robes, but the other two wore no uniform. The Recorder decided the points of law as they arose, and was the only person to speak, but " so well that one could not understand why he did not form the Court alone." If a Frenchman could see this, it seems strange that the executive officers could not have seen it also ; but they seem to have regarded jealously their right to sit in Court ; indeed, Governor Bonham actually tried in his day to abolish the office of Recorder altogether.

In 1848 jurisdiction was conferred on the Court for the relief of insolvent debtors by an Act of Parliament of that year, the Recorder being the sole Commissioner or Judge of the Insolvent Court and Mr. W. W. Willans the first Official Assignee. The Act had been passed as the result of agitation by the merchants of Singapore, and of the first three insolvents to come before the Court one had been in gaol for five and a half years ; he was discharged. The Court thus established lasted until 1870, when the Supreme Court was vested with jurisdiction in Bankruptcy ; the present law is to be found in the Bankruptcy Ordinance of 1888.

Sir Christopher Rawlinson's best work was probably his rigorous attack upon the defective system of prison discipline. He stated that although the High Sheriff was nominally charged with the control and superintendence of the gaol, yet, owing to his being annually appointed and other circumstances, he had very little to say in the matter, and was next to useless. The Recorder recommended the abolition of the office of High Sheriff and the appointment of an Inspector of Prisons, reforms which came about during the time of Sir Benson Maxwell, who took up the agitation commenced by Sir Christopher Rawlinson and brought it to a successful conclusion.

From the time of the First Charter the Governors annually appointed the High Sheriffs, who in turn

appointed their Deputy Sheriffs. The High Sheriff was paid by the fees received ; the Deputies were allowed a small monthly salary by the Government, but they did all the work, the High Sheriff being a mere figure-head. This system continued after the Second Charter, though by an Order of Court in 1827 the Deputy Sheriffs were also allowed to receive in excess of their salaries one-half of the fees granted to the High Sheriff. This arrangement continued until 1832, when, on being appointed High Sheriff for that year, Mr. Salmond, a gentleman already referred to, kept all the fees for himself, a brain-wave which appears to have appealed to nearly all his successors. Both Sir Christopher Rawlinson and Sir Benson Maxwell considered the office of High Sheriff as a lucrative sinecure and nothing more. In 1859 the High Sheriffs were deprived of the fees, which were paid in future to the Treasury, and the High Sheriff and his officers received fixed salaries. From 1860 the title of Sheriff was used, the " High " being dropped, and in 1868 a Sheriff was appointed for each Settlement ; this is the practice to this day, the office being combined with that of Registrar of the Court.

From the earliest day of the Settlements until about 1860 the Sheriffs always called any public meetings necessary on the requisition of members of the community. This right to a public meeting was insisted on by the public for long ; thus in 1827 a High Sheriff in Penang refused to call one when required to do so, with the result that the Grand Jury presented the matter as follows :

" The Grand Jury present that custom, if not law, has made it imperative upon the Sheriff to call at the request of the community any public meeting to which there can be no legal objection."

The sanction of Government was necessary, but this would seem to have been a formality. These old Sheriff's meetings played a vitally important part in the history of Singapore, for the public seem to have been

always ahead of the Government in those days, and hardly a thing worth the doing in the way of better government was done until one or more Sheriff's meetings had urged it. By this means, in conjunction with the Grand Jury system, the public for long had a very real voice in public affairs, of which in these days they are practically entirely deprived.

Shortly after the Second Charter the High Sheriff was entrusted with the charge of the civil and criminal gaols of the Colony; but the power was, of course, delegated to the Deputy Sheriff at each Settlement, who was allowed a European gaoler and a staff of peons. This system continued until the passing of the Prisons Ordinance of 1872, when the Government took over the entire charge of the prisons, the Sheriffs being relieved of that duty and Inspectors of Prisons appointed for the different Settlements.

A new Recorder came in 1850, in succession to Sir Christopher Rawlinson, who was promoted to be Chief Justice of Madras. This was Sir William Jeffcott, born in Ireland in 1800, and of the Irish Bar, where he went the Munster Circuit. In 1842 he emigrated to Australia, and, before doing so, was presented with handsome pieces of plate by the Circuit and the solicitors in testimony of his merits. A Dublin paper said of him prior to his departure: "As a lawyer he was among the most rising on the Munster Circuit. Nearly related to the late lamented Chief Baron Wolf, he possessed much of his ability, integrity, and sterling independence of character. Indeed, Mr. Jeffcott has established a reputation at the Bar of being a sound and a safe lawyer," which reputation he fully sustained as a Judge during his tenure of the Recordship in the Straits. While in Australia he officiated as a Judge of the Supreme Court at Port Philip, but not finding the country congenial, he returned to Ireland, where he resumed his practice at the Bar. As will be seen later, he became the first Recorder of Singapore, and it is said that he was much disturbed as to his future, which was

supposed to have led to his death in Penang in October 1855. In private life he was highly esteemed, being of a generous and benevolent disposition and very charitable. He took a deep interest in education in the Straits, and embraced every opportunity of promoting its improvement. As a judge he is said to have been rather irritable owing to a painful internal malady, but the Bar, which understood this, respected and liked him, and his death was deeply regretted by all who knew him.

Sir William Jeffcott's best work was a thorough revision of all the practice of the Court, including the regulations for the admission of law agents; this work was painstaking and thorough, and reading through the rules which he passed, one can realise how useful they must have been in the administration of justice.

In 1851 a very remarkable case was tried before Sir William Jeffcott and the lay judges. Mr. Buckley says that it caused a greater excitement in Singapore than any before or since; but he was writing at the beginning of this century, and the case of Effendi, referred to later on, probably holds the record at this date, at least amongst the Asiatic communities.

The accused was a man named Haji Saffar Ally, the Malay and Tamil interpreter in the Police Court, a man of great importance among his own class and beyond it. In September 1850 a policeman on patrol duty came upon a little Arab slave-boy lying in the road shockingly maimed, burned with hot irons, and wounded. The poor little fellow, who was only twelve years old, told the policeman that he was in Saffar Ally's employment, and that he had been ill-treated by his master and others. He was sent to the hospital for treatment, and in time Saffar Ally, his eldest son, and four others were committed for trial; but when the Assizes came on in October the boy was not to be found. It appeared that a man in police uniform had come up to the hospital with a letter authorising the boy's removal, and had gone off with him. The Recorder suspected foul play, and refused to hear the case in the boy's absence; so he

committed the prisoners to gaol in default of their finding bail, and stood the case over to the next Assizes. The result of this was that a most revolting and cruel murder was committed by Saffar Ally (who had succeeded in finding bail) and some others whom he persuaded to assist him.

The boy had been got out of the hospital by means of a false uniform and a forged letter ; Mr. Dunman, the head of the police, found that he had been taken in a sampan to Rhio, but brought back again, after which all trace of him was lost. Later a native heard a Kling in an adjoining house talking in his sleep, and crying out that he had killed a boy. The listener gave information to the police, who discovered that the body was likely to be found somewhere up the Singapore River. For two days the police rowed slowly up and down the river, until at last they observed some bubbles in the water, which burst as they reached the surface, and from which a bad smell arose. A peon dived down, and eventually the body of the boy was found, with head nearly cut off, the feet tied together, a rope round the neck and another round the waist, joined into a sort of network and weighted down by a heavy stone. Lastly, they found a boat with blood-stained boards close to Saffar Ally's house on the river. It was proved that this boat had been borrowed from the owner by Saffar Ally after he had obtained bail, on the pretext of its being needed to convey firewood. One of those concerned in the crime was used as Queen's evidence, and gave a circumstantial account of the murder, which was committed on the night of the great Hindu festival.

The excitement at the trial was very great, and although it rained heavily all day, an enormous crowd congregated outside the Court all the time of the trial, which commenced at nine in the morning and did not conclude until after nine at night. The accused were convicted, and hanged a week later.

Crime is said to be hereditary, and in Saffar Ally's case this proved to be so; for thirty-four years later his son,

Akbar Ally, was tried for forgery ; and the natives crowded the Court inside and out, as at his father's trial. The case was again a remarkable one, for the prisoner had been for years a clerk in a certain class of lawyer's office, where men such as he can do a lot of villainy if their employers are careless, since many natives appear to trust the lawyer's clerk as much as the lawyer himself, a trust which is remarkably seldom abused. Indeed, the account of the practice of law in Singapore would not be complete without a tribute to the honesty and capacity of the better lawyers' clerks, many of whom are men of importance in their own community, and most useful members of society. Akbar Ally was one of the black sheep, and had embarked on a whole series of frauds, for which he was convicted, dying in gaol.

In 1912 another little Malay boy was cruelly murdered, the body being thrown into the sea opposite Raffles's Reclamation, where it was observed by a police officer at low tide. A Malay named Effendi was arrested and tried for the murder before Sir William Hyndman-Jones, the Chief Justice, and a special jury. After a trial lasting six days the accused was acquitted, and the authorship of the murder remains a mystery. On the last day, when the verdict was given, the Chief Justice's Court was crowded almost to suffocation, natives filling every available space, standing in the corridors, and even down the stairs, and right out into the space between the Court and the Victoria Memorial Hall, so that far more than three-quarters of them could see and hear nothing, but had merely come to await the verdict. When the Jury returned to Court, after a short retirement, and acquitted the accused, there was a loud and prolonged outburst of applause, the reason for which was by no means gratification at the triumph of innocence. The case for the Crown was circumstantial, and was most powerfully, though absolutely fairly, presented by Mr. George Seth, Deputy Public Prosecutor at the time. Singapore at that time suffered from an epidemic of book-makers, which had in the end to be stamped out

by the passing of an Ordinance making betting an offence. One of the fraternity was in Court and heard Mr. Seth's opening, with the result that he commenced betting long odds upon a conviction. These odds dropped day by day as the defence played their cards; but he had made a very bad book, and though he hedged towards the end of the trial, it appeared that the loud applause was due to successful bets! These facts, which came out after the trial, had a good deal to do with the eventual driving of the book-makers out of the place, as the Chief Justice on hearing of them was naturally much incensed.

In 1854 very great dissatisfaction was expressed in Singapore owing to the infrequent visits of the professional Judge and the bad decisions of the lay ones, with the ultimate result that in 1855 the Crown granted a third Charter of Justice, by the combined effect of which and an order of the local Government in May 1856 the Court was composed of two divisions: the one had jurisdiction over Singapore and Malacca, and consisted of the Governor, the Resident Councillors of Singapore and Malacca, and the Recorder of Singapore; while the other had jurisdiction over Penang and Province Wellesley, and consisted of the Governor, the Resident Councillor of Penang, and the Recorder of Penang. There were thus to be two professional judges, one resident at Singapore and the other at Penang. Beyond these alterations the new Charter was a repetition of the second one, and the Courts have held that it introduced no new body of English law. It is still in force in the Colony, and in the celebrated Six Widows Case its terms were strongly invoked, as has been related already.

By the new Charter Sir William Jeffcott was appointed Recorder of Singapore, at a salary of eighteen thousand rupees a year, the same as he had previously been receiving; but it was provided that every future Recorder of Singapore was to receive twenty-five thousand. No Recorder was appointed by name for Penang, but it

was provided that the salary of the post should be twenty thousand rupees a year.

The new Charter was duly proclaimed in Singapore on the 22nd March 1856, and as Sir William Jeffcott had died, Sir Richard Bolton McCausland, of the Irish Bar, was appointed Recorder of Singapore, while Sir Peter Benson Maxwell, of the English Bar, became Recorder of Penang.

Sir Richard McCausland sat on the Bench in the Straits for ten years, retiring on pension in 1866, and living for many years afterwards in Ireland. He was called to the Bar in Ireland, and prior to his appointment to the Straits had been secretary to his uncle, Lord Plunkett. He was a very kind-hearted, genial Irishman, a sound and experienced lawyer, and a thoroughly courteous gentleman on the Bench. In private life he was immensely popular, and in particular his services were in great request as an after-dinner speaker, for he possessed the true Irishman's wit and capacity for the right word in its right place and at the right time. On St. Patrick's Day, the 17th March 1866, a farewell dinner was given in the Town Hall to him, the like of which, it was said, had not been seen in the place before. Tables were laid round three sides of the room, and were all occupied, Mr. W. H. Read being in the chair.

Sir Peter Benson Maxwell became Recorder of Singapore on Sir Richard McCausland's retirement, and Sir William Hackett, previously Chief Justice of the Gold Coast Colony, was appointed Recorder of Penang. Sir William Hackett had taken his degree at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1846, after which he was called to the Irish Bar and went the Munster Circuit. In November 1851 he was called to the English Bar at Lincoln's Inn, and joined the Northern Circuit, but practised principally at the Chancery Bar until August 1861, when he was appointed Queen's Advocate of the Gold Coast, of which Colony he became a Chief Justice, and at one time, in 1864, Lieutenant-Governor. He was knighted on his appointment to the Recordership of Penang.

On April 1st 1867 the Transfer took place, and the Straits Settlements became a Crown Colony; by the Government notification of the same date it was announced that Her Majesty had been pleased to approve of the Recorder of Singapore being styled the Chief Justice of the Straits Settlements, and the Recorder of Penang being styled the Judge of Penang. Thus ended the era of the Recorders, and as the Transfer always must be the great dividing-point in any local history, it will be convenient now to look back a little before continuing to deal with the legal affairs of Singapore when it formed part of a Crown Colony.

The position which the Court of the Recorder held in the eyes of the public is best shown by what Mr. Cameron wrote of it in his book *Our Tropical Possessions in Malayan India*, published in London, 1865 :

“ To the non-official community the Supreme Courts have served the purpose of a representative institution, and have always been a wholesome check upon the mal-administration of the Government. In earlier times, when the Company's servants, responsible only to an indifferent council at Calcutta, paid little regard to the interest and little respect for the opinion of the mercantile residents, the Supreme Court remained as a place of appeal, where the Grand Jurors might from time to time raise their voice in such a manner that it could not be well disregarded. The judges have always been men of standing ability, barristers of the Court at home, whose acquirements were such as to obtain for them from their Sovereign the distinction of knighthood, in addition to the honour of an appointment of no small value. They were completely secured from the Indian Authorities, and by supporting the presentations of their Grand Juries, have done good service to the Settlement, independent of the value of their ordinary duties.”

The success of the Court was due to the Recorders themselves, who were all able and distinguished men, and most of whom were promoted to high positions on the Indian Bench. They were well paid, and, as a result,

able lawyers were attracted to accept the position. The salary of the Recorder under the First Charter was fixed by it at £3,000 per annum; but when the other two stations were added under the Charter of 1826, the salary was raised to Rs. 18,000, or nearly £4,000 per annum, at the rate then current. Under the Third Charter the Recorder of Singapore received Rs. 25,000, or £2,500 per annum, the Recorder of Penang Rs. 20,000, or £2,000 per annum. These salaries were naturally attractive, and when we come to deal with the present conditions of salary and pension of the Judges of the Supreme Court, more will have to be said on the subject.

The office of Registrar of the Court is a most important one, and Singapore has been singularly fortunate in having had able Registrars, both before and after the Transfer. As will have been seen, Singapore received a separate Court establishment only after the Third Charter of 1855; before that there had been one Registrar for the Court, residing at Penang, and having under him two "Senior Sworn Clerks," one at Singapore and one at Malacca. Mr. Alexander John Kerr was the Registrar of the Court from 1818 to 1855, in which year he was offered the Senior Registrarship under the Third Charter, but refused it, and retired with thirty-eight years of splendid service to his credit. Although not a professional, he was held in great repute as a lawyer, and the records abound with papers and legal opinions of his, drawn up at the request of the Executive, by whom he was frequently consulted.

Mr. Kerr having refused further office, Mr. H. C. Caldwell, Senior Sworn Clerk at Singapore, was appointed Registrar for that Settlement, and Mr. A. Rodyk, Senior Sworn Clerk there, at Penang. They declined the salaries offered them, but asked to be allowed to keep the fees, as had been the previous practice. Government sanctioned this, and the Registrars continued to be paid by fees until April 1861, after which date all fees were paid into the Treasury and the Registrars were paid salaries. This meant a great loss of income; how great

may be seen from the fact that Mr. Kerr had latterly been in receipt of an income of over seventeen thousand rupees yearly. It is small wonder, then, that it is recorded how one of the Registrars used to go about for some years after 1861 complaining to all and sundry that he had been robbed "of his fees"! The salaries paid were very low, and continued to be until the eighties, when the Judges took up the matter; but even at this date the Registrar of the Supreme Court receives far too low a salary in the opinion of many competent to judge.

Mr. Caldwell came to financial grief, and left the country in 1856, paying off all his creditors later on, and Mr. Alexander Muirhead Aitken was appointed in his place; he had been admitted as a law agent in Singapore in 1852, and later, in 1864, was called to the English Bar. He retained the post a very short time, and in 1857 Mr. Christian Baumgarten was appointed, and held the post until 1874, when he resigned it and resumed private practice. He had been admitted a law agent in Singapore in 1846. Mr. Baumgarten, a tall, fine-looking old gentleman with grey hair, was a great character, and greatly beloved by the young men who formed the petit juries of those days; "old Bummy" they irreverently called him, and loved to have a little joke with him. He was a very bad reader, for he had the misfortune to have lost several front teeth. The result was that he often made a sad mess of the documents which had to be read out in Court; but being a kind-hearted, good-natured old gentleman, was quite ready to join in the titter that used to run round the Court when he broke down at some particularly difficult word. There are some kind folks whom the world laughs with but never at, and of these was Christian Baumgarten. He died in 1887, loved and respected by all who knew him. Like Mr. Catchick Moses and Mr. M. J. Carapiet, he always wore a tall, black, beaver hat, and it is a curious fact that most of Singapore's characters in the old days did the same; it was a headgear which only very few wore, but which those who did appear to have lived up to. The



CHRISTIAN BAUMGARTEN.

Baumgartens, like the Velges and the Rodyks, were an old Dutch family that continued to reside in Malacca after the place had been ceded to the English; and they were a very legal family, for Alexander Baumgarten was admitted a law agent in 1862, Alexander Augustus Baumgarten in 1863, and Horatio Augustus Baumgarten in 1864.

As has been said, no professional qualification was necessary to become a law agent in the old days. The first lawyer to be admitted in Singapore who possessed a proper qualification, and who attained to any position at the Bar, was John Simons Atchison, admitted in 1859. Up to that date the most able Singapore lawyers had been Mr. W. Napier, already spoken of, Mr. Abraham Logan, Mr. Robert Carr Woods, senior, and Mr. Alexander Muirhead Aitken, mentioned above as having been Registrar for a short period.

To two lawyers Singapore owes its excellent journals, the *Singapore Free Press* and the *Straits Times*, the former having been founded in 1835 by Mr. W. Napier, the latter in 1845, with Mr. R. C. Woods at its control.

When Mr. Napier retired from practice in 1846, he was succeeded as editor of the *Singapore Free Press* by another lawyer, Mr. Abraham Logan, who later, in 1848, purchased the paper from Mr. W. R. George. Mr. Logan had been admitted in Penang in 1842, with his famous brother, James Richardson Logan, the founder of *Logan's Journal*; the only qualification which the brothers possessed was that they had read law at Edinburgh University. After practising a few months in Penang, Mr. Abraham Logan advertised, in September 1842, in the Singapore papers that he had commenced practice as a Law Agent and Notary Public. Bar etiquette had not then been introduced, and was not, indeed, until the beginning of the 'Seventies. The following advertisement by Mr. R. C. Woods in the *Singapore Directory*, which he founded, is amusing to note :

"Debts recovered, Rents collected, Bills and Loans of money negotiated, and every branch of Legal Agency conducted."

One wonders that nothing was added about "cheapness and despatch," though those commodities are not generally associated by the public with old Father Antic the Law.

Mr. Abraham Logan became one of the leading lawyers of Singapore, and was one of its foremost men for many years. He was born at Hatton Hall in Berwickshire, the 31st August 1816, his younger brother, James Richardson, being born at the same place on the 10th April 1819. The two brothers arrived in Penang in February 1839, and having been admitted law agents there, left for Singapore, where they started practice together in 1842, and continued together until 1853, when James Richardson Logan went to Penang, with which place his name is more particularly connected, and where he died in 1869. A monument is erected to his memory in front of the Penang Supreme Court; the inscription states that his death in the prime of life was regarded as a public calamity. He deserves, undoubtedly, a full biography; but its place must be in the history of Penang, when that comes to be written, and this very short notice of him must suffice here, as his name was connected but slightly with Singapore.

Not so Mr. Abraham Logan, who, although he died in Penang in 1873, spent the best years of his life in Singapore working for the public good, and acquiring merit, as the Buddhists say, to no small extent. His residence was at Mount Pleasant in Thomson Road, and his office in Battery Road, at the rear of Messrs. John Little and Co.'s premises at that time. After his brother's departure in 1853, he practised alone until 1862, when he was joined by Mr. Thomas Braddell. The firm of Logan and Braddell continued until 1867, when Mr. Braddell became Attorney-General and Mr. Logan gave up practice. Its present representative to-day is Braddell Brothers, the partners in the firm since Mr. Logan's retirement having been Mr. J. P. Joaquim, uncle of Mr. G. R. K. Mugliston, lately Secretary to the Straits Settlements Association, Sir Thomas de Multon Braddell,

Mr. R. W. Braddell, Sir John Bromhead Matthews, Mr. T. J. M. Greenfield, Mr. John George Campbell, Mr. V. D. Knowles, and the present writer. The Attorneys-General were allowed private practice until Mr. Bonser's promotion to the Chief Justiceship; and that accounts for the fact that although Mr. Thomas Braddell became the first Attorney-General of the Colony, he was able to continue practice. Sir John Bromhead Matthews, who had retired from the firm in the 'Nineties and joined Mr. Presgrave at Penang, was also appointed Attorney-General of the Straits Settlements in 1909, but being appointed Chief Justice of the Bahamas shortly after, did not assume the post, which later went, in 1911, to Sir Thomas Braddell, who held it until he became Chief Judicial Commissioner of the Federated Malay States in 1913. Mr. Charles Garrard, Registrar of the Supreme Court at Malacca, compiler of Garrard's Ordinances, was an assistant in the firm for several years.

Some idea of the leading part played in public affairs by Mr. Abraham Logan may be formed from the following committees to which he was elected at public meetings of the community, and which form almost an epitome of the history of Singapore for twenty-five years: 1846, to form a Presbyterian Congregation in Singapore and procure a minister therefor; 1852, to draw up a memorial to the Court of Directors to obtain the appointment of a resident local judge in Singapore, which memorial resulted in the granting of the Third Charter; 1854, to petition Parliament upon currency matters; 1856, to petition Parliament against certain objectionable Acts passed by the Bengal Legislative Council, and again in that year to draw up a memorial against tonnage dues; in 1858, to petition Parliament against convicts being sent to Singapore; 1860, to petition Parliament against the proposed imposition of an income-tax; and in 1862 to draw up a memorial to the English Ministry and the Viceroy in India against the military contribution. He played a leading part in the agitation

which brought about the Transfer, being a member of committees appointed in 1857 and 1862 to petition Parliament on the subject, and in 1864 being one of the committee that drew up a most important report on the finances, resources, and commerce of the Straits for the Commissioners appointed to report upon the proposed Transfer. Mr. Logan left Singapore in 1869, and went to Penang, where he died on the 20th December 1873. He was Secretary of the Singapore Chamber of Commerce from its foundation in 1850 to 1868.

Mr. Robert Carr Woods, senior, was born on the 31st July 1816, and in 1840 he went to Bombay. Whilst in India his time was spent chiefly in writing for the Press, and he paid much attention while there to the native character, in order to study which he travelled in India for some time in disguise, being more than once mistaken for a political spy as a consequence. In 1845 he arrived in Singapore to be the first editor of the *Straits Times*, which he acquired later. In 1849 he was admitted a law agent in Singapore, and his knowledge of the native character, his talent and uprightness won for him an extensive practice. He was called to the Bar at Gray's Inn in 1863, as were many of the law agents during the 'Sixties, since the Benchers of that Inn, at their request, made an arrangement, allowing them to be called in a very short time, provided that they engaged only to practise in the Straits. The only object of the arrangement was to raise the local status of the lawyers—a very desirable one, too, for if the Bar is to be really efficient, it must possess the respect of the public, and the status of a barrister-at-law was in those days high in the social scale, higher indeed than it is now. Mr. Woods lived at first in Zetland House, and from there the *Straits Times* was first edited; later he bought and created the beautiful property, well out of town on the Serangoon Road, called 'Woodsville. Botany was his favourite hobby, and the laying out of the grounds at Woodsville was a labour of love; in selecting his trees he gave preference to those, such as the *champaka*, which would

afford food for birds by their fruit, with the result that not only were the grounds of Woodsville the best laid out in Singapore, but in them was to be seen a greater variety of birds than anywhere else. Mr. Woods was an enthusiastic Municipal Commissioner, and it was fortunate that during one of his terms of office, in 1865, the task was entrusted to him of laying out the new cemetery which the Municipality had just acquired, and which is now known as the Bukit Timah Cemetery.

The one blot on Mr. Woods's career was his unfortunate persecution of Rajah Brooke in 1854; the Rajah was, of course, acquitted of all blame, and he generously and publicly forgave Mr. Woods in 1861. Mr. Woods acted as Attorney-General in 1870, and in 1875 was appointed to act as Senior Puisne Judge; but his health had begun to fail: he sat on the Bench only for a few times, and died on the 16th March 1875, being buried in the cemetery which he had rendered one of the most picturesque spots in Singapore. His funeral was attended by His Excellency the Governor, all the leading officials and unofficials, and it may be doubted if any man has left a greater blank in Singapore by his death than Mr. Woods did, for he was the mainstay of nearly every hospital, school, charitable and other public institution in the place, giving to them his money and his time without stint. He was one of the very few Europeans who adopted Singapore as their permanent home. From 1861 to 1872 Mr. Woods was in partnership with Mr. James Guthrie Davidson, in the legal firm of Woods & Davidson.

Mr. Davidson was one of the ablest men who have ever practised at the Singapore Bar. He was admitted an Agent and Solicitor of the Supreme Court of Scotland in February 1861, and being a nephew of Mr. James Guthrie, the well-known merchant, came to Singapore to seek his fortune, and was admitted as a law agent in July 1861, joining Mr. Woods in partnership. His ability and his thorough knowledge of his profession, acquired in one of the leading offices in Edinburgh, were soon recognised, and his name came to be one of the

best known at the Bar. Mr. Woods understood the native character well, as has been said, and had a large native practice ; it was only natural, therefore, that Mr. Davidson, too, should acquire a large native clientèle. So well did he come to understand them, and so well did they like and trust him, that the natives of the Peninsula came to look upon him as a friend on whom they could depend entirely, and there was no doubt that his influence, like that of Mr. W. H. Read and Mr. Braddell, was very extensive. In 1872 he was appointed Resident of Selangor, and later of Perak, but he resigned the Government Service in 1876, after doing very admirable work in the Native States ; indeed, it was fortunate that there was such a man free to assist the Government in its difficult task. Perhaps there is no one whom the Asiatic will trust closer than his lawyer, no one in whom he will place more confidence ; and this may to a great extent explain the very big influence which the lawyers of Singapore have exerted in the past in the history of the place. It is also a fact that they were generally "agin the Government " in the early days, as indeed were most people.

Mr. Woods having died, Mr. Davidson went home to England, and returned, in December 1876, with Mr. Bernard Rodyk, and these two gentlemen commenced practice in 1877 as Rodyk and Davidson, a firm which is still in existence in Singapore, and was led until last year by the Hon. Mr. F. M. Elliot, O.B.E., a nephew of the late Mr. C. B. Buckley and a grand-nephew of Captain Elliot, of the Madras Engineers, who did such splendid work at the Singapore Observatory in the 'Forties. Mr. Elliot is a grandson of that Sir Henry Myers Elliot who was Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, and who came to Singapore with Lord Dalhousie when the Governor-General visited the place in 1850. Mr. C. B. Buckley was a partner in Rodyk and Davidson for a long time, and other partners have been Messrs. E. J. and William Nanson, Mr. C. V. Miles, and Mr. H. B. Baker.

Mr. Davidson died in February 1891, at the age of fifty-three, as the result of a carriage accident, while on his way to the Cathedral from his house, Ardmore. He was one of the foremost men in Singapore, and truly one of those whose character and conduct should be a shining example to those who come after him, as the Attorney-General said in open Court when Bench and Bar assembled to do honour to his memory. He took a leading part in the affairs of the place, although he always refused a seat on the Council, as did Mr. C. B. Buckley.

The most amusing episode in Mr. Davidson's career, and one which caused the greatest excitement at the time, is that related in the reported case of *Davidson v. Ord*; it occurred in June 1867. Mr. Davidson was retained to appeal against a decision of the Commissioner of the Court of Requests, Captain Ord, and he duly gave notice setting out the grounds of appeal. Later he received a chit from Mr. Norris, the Clerk of the Court, asking him to call at the Commissioner's office on the following Monday. He did so; the Commissioner, however, was not in his office, but sitting in Court, where Mr. Davidson found him. Captain Ord objected to Mr. Davidson having sent the notice of appeal, saying it was an improper one and improperly served. Mr. Davidson replied that he knew his own business best, and required no instructions from Captain Ord, who then said: "I treat your notice with contempt, Sir," throwing it on the table. Mr. Davidson replied: "If that is all that you have to say to me, you might have saved yourself the trouble of sending for me, and me the trouble of coming to you." Captain Ord retorted that he had a great deal more to say to Mr. Davidson, but the latter said he did not wish to hear it, and walked away. As he reached the door, Captain Ord called out in a loud tone: "You are fined \$25 for contempt of court," and Mr. Davidson somewhat naturally replied: "I wish you may get it." The fine not being paid, Mr. Davidson was lodged in the Civil Gaol. All sorts of dodges were tried to get him out, the Governor

himself, Sir Harry Ord, even going up and asking him to come out ! In the end the fine was remitted, and out Mr. Davidson came. He took action against Captain Ord, and duly recovered a small sum of damages, Sir Benson Maxwell holding that the gallant Captain had no power to commit for contempt. Mr. R. C. Woods appeared for Mr. Davidson, and the Attorney-General, Mr. Braddell, for Captain Ord. The whole affair was delightfully Gilbertian, and should be a lesson of how not to do it.

Mr. Davidson's great opponent at the Bar in the 'Sixties was John Simons Atchison, a brilliant lawyer and an eccentric character. Like Mr. Davidson, he was a relative of a Singapore merchant, Mr. H. M. Simons, and in consequence had his office in Messrs. Paterson, Simons and Co.'s godown, as do Messrs. Drew and Napier at this date. Mr. Atchison was admitted an attorney at Westminster in 1855, and came to Singapore in 1859, where, being a man of exceptional ability, he soon acquired an extensive practice. He was a rather tall, small-boned, but very fat man, weighing some eighteen stone, with a round, jolly-looking, clean-shaven face. A man of such an appearance might be expected to be a great character, and Mr. Atchison certainly was. One of his eccentricities was to drink enormous quantities of soda-water ; another was his dress—patent-leather shoes, with cotton drill trousers, a fancy cotton waist-coat, and dark blue frock-coat, with, of course, a black silk hat. He took no exercise, always driving about wherever he wanted to go in a very small victoria drawn by a sturdy piebald pony. He was always agitating against the Government, holding a sort of general retainer for the public, and devoting many hours of valuable time to its service, very often with but scant recognition or thanks. His particular bugbear was the Executive Council. One Sunday evening Mrs. Atchison came back from the Cathedral to their residence, Blanche House (at the back of the late Teutonia Club), and remarked that prayers had been requested for those members of

the congregation then at sea, but that she could not think who it could be. "My dear," said Atchison, "I can tell you who they are. It must be the Executive Council, because they are always at sea." If a friend declined to join him in any of his many agitations he would say: "Never mind, old fellow, when I write my history of Singapore merchants you shall have a chapter all to yourself"; but like most of the best books, it has never been written. His clerk, F. T. Cork, was an even better-known character than he was, being perhaps the best-known lawyer in Singapore, although a subordinate. Guide, friend, and philosopher, Cork used to live with Mr. Atchison when the latter's wife was at home, and used to tender good advice without fear or favour to his principal on things legal and general; the abuse that Mr. Atchison would shower on him in return was a constant source of amusement. Mr. Atchison had a fiery temper, and the rows that he and Mr. Davidson used to have in Court were continuous; but as soon as they got into the robing-room, they were the best of friends—a case like that of Montagu Williams and Douglas Straight. Mr. Atchison only bothered about the cases with big fees, and it was Cork who used to have to look after "the bread and butter of the office," as he called it. Mr. Atchison's attendance at the office was irregular; he might be in Court, he might be in a long chair on the back verandah of his house reading, or he might be at the Club agitating against the Government; but Cork was always at the office, and so came to be very well known and trusted, the relationship between the two being that of counsel and attorney. It was Cork who introduced the system transferring land by means of printed forms, which he did in order to meet the wish of the natives for some cheap form of conveyance. One Chief Justice stated in the Legislative Council that although the system might be called cheap and nasty, still any of these forms that had come before him gave good titles and were effective. Mr. Atchison died in 1875 at Bangkok, where he had gone on a retainer in a big case.

Mr. Alexander Muirhead Aitken was admitted as a special law agent in Singapore in 1852, and was called to the English Bar at the Middle Temple in 1864. He took a leading part in public affairs for many years, and his name is to be found on many of the committees appointed at public meetings to carry on local agitations. As has been said, he acted as Registrar of the Court for a short while in 1856; and in 1870 he acted for a month or two as Attorney-General. Otherwise he practised privately, in 1861 with Mr. Abraham Logan, leaving him the next year, and from 1871 to 1873 with Mr. Bernard Rodyk. In 1873 Mr. Alexander Leathes Donaldson joined Mr. Aitken, and the next year they were joined by Mr. John Burkinshaw, the firm being called in the Directory Aitken, Donaldson and Burkinshaw, though in the Bar records Aitken and Co. Mr. Aitken retired in 1879, and the firm became Donaldson and Burkinshaw, as it is to-day. Of the various leading members of the firm more will be said later.

Resuming now the thread of events after the Transfer, it must first be remarked that for some years Judges were on the two Councils. At first a place was given to the Judge of Penang on the Executive Council and to the Chief Justice on the Legislative Council. The last Chief Justice to sit on the latter body was Sir Thomas Sidgreaves, but the title "Honourable" is still retained by courtesy for the Chief Justice, the other judges being addressed as their Honours. In 1871 the Judge of Penang was given a seat on the Legislative as well as the Executive Council; this lasted until 1878, when he ceased to have a seat on either body.

Mr. Thomas Braddell was appointed Attorney-General, and stationed at Singapore, while Mr. Daniel Logan was appointed Solicitor-General and stationed at Penang; the arrangement as to stations has been followed ever since. The Attorney-General has always been a member of both the Legislative and the Executive Councils; the Solicitor-General has never been a member of either.

The duties which fell upon Mr. Braddell were very

arduous, and only a man of his great physique and indomitable purpose could have coped with them. Those who knew him always tell how the light on his verandah burned into the small hours of the morning, night after night, even after those dinner parties for which he was at one time celebrated. The task of giving the Colony its own body of Statute Law was immense ; legislation from India had never been very successful, and had been a source of complaint by the public on many occasions. Mr. Braddell was much criticised at one time for his many amending Bills ; but a great many of these were caused by the Colonial Office in England, and when he retired, early in 1883, he left behind him a very valuable body of laws.

One of his first tasks was to remodel the Court and its procedure. By an Ordinance of 1867 the Governor ceased to be a Judge of the Court, and by another of 1868 the Resident Councillors ; this latter Ordinance abolished the old High Court of Judicature, and substituted for it the Supreme Court of the Straits Settlements, a title which has been retained ever since ; but the Charter of 1855 was preserved, save so far as its provisions were inconsistent with the new Ordinance, and all Courts Ordinances since have preserved it also.

In 1870 the old Insolvent Court was abolished, and a Bankruptcy Court substituted by an Ordinance which followed on the lines of the English Bankruptcy Act of the previous year. Imprisonment for debt was abolished, and all the debtors released from the Civil Prison. Sir Benson Maxwell, the Chief Justice, gave great assistance in this Ordinance, with reference to which the Governor, Sir Harry Ord, remarked that the Legislative Council " must justly feel proud that the Colony has taken the lead of others and followed so closely the steps of the Mother Country in the introduction of such valuable measures of legal reform."

The next great task was the reform of the Criminal Law, which had proceeded on the lines of the English Common Law, and of which the procedure was cumbersome. The Indian Penal Code had been made law in

India in 1860, but the Act did not apply to the Straits ; however, a few weeks before the Transfer the Governor had passed an Order bringing it into operation as from the 1st July 1867. This Order was repealed by an Ordinance of 1867, as the Bar opposed the introduction of the Code. It was brought in finally by an Ordinance of 1871, and the criminal procedure was brought into line with it, and gradually with the Indian Criminal Procedure Code. In 1874 the Grand Jury was abolished, which caused three unofficials to resign ; it had done splendid public work prior to the Transfer, but its duties were found irksome, and to take up too much of the time of the senior merchants. Moreover, as there were unofficials on the Legislative Council, it was felt that the functions of the Grand Jury with regard to public grievances could quite well be performed by the unofficials. The introduction of the Penal Code and the simplification of procedure were undoubted benefits to the community.

In July 1871 Sir Benson Maxwell retired, and the Colony lost an invaluable public servant, at whose judicial career it is now necessary to look. No lawyer coming to the Straits can hope to practise his profession with justice to himself or benefit to his clients unless he familiarises himself with Sir Benson's reported decisions. Two years after his arrival in Penang he pronounced, in the case of *Regina v. Willans*, a judgment of which any English judge might have been proud, however great. It is one of the roots of the law of the Colony, and a study and knowledge of it are essential to anyone concerned in the administration of justice here. A Mr. Duncan Pasley, the manager of the Valdor Sugar Estate in Province Wellesley, preferred a complaint against an agricultural labourer for having absented himself from his work on the estate, but the Magistrate, Mr. Willans, declined jurisdiction, as he held that, having previously convicted the same labourer for a previous absention, the jurisdiction given to him by the Act 4, Geo. IV, c. 34, was exhausted, and that he could not punish the labourer for a fresh absention upon

the same contract. As a result a rule was obtained calling upon Mr. Willans to show cause why he should not hear and adjudicate upon the complaint. Sir Benson made this rule absolute, holding that the Magistrate was wrong in his view of the law, and it is interesting to note that though he did not know of it at the time, the Court of Queen's Bench in England had decided the same thing the same way some months before. In his judgment Sir Benson went into the whole question of how far English law applied to the Colony, and that is why the judgment is so important. As Mr. Buckley, himself a lawyer, observes in his *Anecdotal History of Singapore*, Sir Benson "had so much reliance on his knowledge of the law and his readiness to alter his view of it, if it were shown to be in doubt, that nothing that arose was left undecided, and the temptation of a weaker mind to avoid any doubtful or troublesome question, by deciding a case upon some point which had never been raised, as Sir Benson's successor did, never occurred to him." This fearlessness of character gave to the Colony the judgment in Willans's case, and many other judgments without which the law here would have been much the poorer. Sir Benson settled for ever the vexed question of the *lex loci*, as has already been mentioned at the beginning of this paper ; he also decided that the Statute against Superstitious Uses and the Statute of Mortmain did not apply to the Colony, but that the rule against perpetuities did, and the Privy Council upheld him. He consolidated and settled the general question of the modification of English law to suit the native inhabitants, and the rule that he laid down with regard to Chinese marriages has been followed ever since. In 1867 he decided in a case in Singapore that the Chinese were polygamous, and that the secondary wives of Chinese are entitled to share in the widow's third under the Statute of Distributions equally with the first or principal wives. In 1907 this judgment was violently attacked in the famous Six Widows Case, but Sir Benson's decision was upheld in the Court of First Instance by Sir Archibald

Law, Acting Chief Justice, and in the Appeal Court by Sir William Hyndman-Jones, Chief Justice, and Sir Thomas Braddell, then a Puisne Judge. Mr. Justice Sercombe Smith, however, dissented, and came to the alarming conclusion that no union of a non-Christian Chinese domiciled in the Colony could be legal unless he were married according to the English Common Law, a decision which would bastardise a tremendously high proportion of the Chinese in the Colony.

The facts in the Six Widows Case were that a Mr. Choo Eng Choon, who was a bank compradore and nicknamed "Tongkat Mas," or "gold walking-stick," had died intestate in Singapore, leaving a very large fortune behind him. No less than six Chinese ladies came forward claiming to be his widows, as a result of which the matter was referred to the Registrar, Mr. C. E. Velge, to find who were the lawful widows and issue of deceased, and that gentleman found that there had been one "principal wife," who had pre-deceased Mr. Choo Eng Choon; that after her death he married one of the claimants as "principal wife," and had taken three of the others as "inferior or secondary wives"; while the remaining two were pronounced to be wives in no possible sense of the word. The proceedings before the Registrar were very long, and much interesting evidence was recorded as to Chinese marriage customs. The Registrar's certificate was attacked on the ground that the Chinese are not a polygamous race, and that if they are the Courts of this Colony will not recognise polygamous unions. The attack failed, as has been stated, but the case was not carried to the Privy Council. The case began in October 1905, and concluded in June 1909; no less than eleven counsel were engaged in it, including all the leaders of the Singapore Bar, as the questions raised were of vital importance to the Chinese generally. The position with regard to Chinese marriages is very unsatisfactory, for their law is not really followed; but in the main it is better that a great number of the Chinese should not be bastardised, and, until legislation is introduced on the

subject or unless the Privy Council unsettles the current of local decision in the matter, the Six Widows Case remains the last word on the subject.

Sir Benson Maxwell published in 1866, from the Government Printing Office, a book called *The Duties of Straits Magistrates*, which was prescribed for the examination of all civil servants. The fifth chapter on the Construction of Statutes, consisting of thirty-nine pages, led in after years to that well-known leading textbook, *Maxwell on Statutes*, first published in 1875 in London and now in its fourth edition. Sir Benson was also part author of the reports known as *Maxwell, Pollock, and Loundes*, of which there is no copy in the Colony. The writer has not been able to verify the title of these reports.

While Sir Benson was Recorder in Penang, he did away with a very long-standing custom, which had prevailed from the proclamation of the First Charter in 1808. It had been the practice at the opening of the Court each day for the High Sheriff or his Deputy, along with his staff, to receive the Recorder at the entrance to the Court, and to conduct him to the Bench, remaining standing until the Court had been proclaimed. The Sheriff carried a white wand, the Bailiffs black ones, a Jemadar carried a long silver-plated stick, and two Soubadars carried each a silver-plated dragon-head staff. This practice was in accordance with the East India Company's practice in India, where all officials at that time carried on with great state. Sir Benson stopped it on the ground of economy, but the silver sticks still precede the Chief Justice into Court. Some of the peons in the Court at Singapore still wear the brass badge, on the scarves across their chests, of the old Court of Judicature. The only other relics in the Court at Singapore are the two interpreters' stools, one in each Court, the peculiar shape of which has often been remarked upon. They had their origin in the following curious way. Mr. Braddell, the first Attorney-General, was a very big and powerful man, who found that his weight tired him a good deal as he stood up in Court ;

so he had two stools made, one for each Court, of such a height that as he stood up he could partly sit on them. When he left the Colony these stools were cut down, and are the present interpreters' stools. In Raffles Museum will be found the first seal of the Singapore Court of Judicature.

Sir Benson Maxwell retired in July 1871, and in 1882 was appointed to organise the Courts in Egypt after the British occupation, a post of great importance at the time. He died at Grasse, in the south of France, in 1893, but his name will always live in the law of this Colony. His career is dealt with further in another article in this work.

When Sir Benson Maxwell retired he was succeeded by Sir Thomas Sidgreaves, who held the position until he retired in February 1886. He was born in 1831, and was educated at Stonyhurst and London University; in 1857 he was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, and went the Northern Circuit. He was knighted in 1873. Sir Thomas did not enrich the law to any great extent, but he was greatly respected and liked by the Bar. A sound, if not a great lawyer, his strong common sense and knowledge of the world enabled him to overcome the difficulties of his position; he was, perhaps, most in his element as a criminal judge, his summings-up in particular being models of judicial oratory.

The best of his reported decisions is undoubtedly his judgment in 1874 in the Admiralty action concerning the *Chow Phya*, the names of the promovants in which are in themselves almost a history of the 'Seventies; they were Harry Minchin Simons, W. W. Ker, W. Paterson, W. Cloughton, Joseph Burleigh, José d'Almeida, and Hoh Ah Kay, or, as he is better known, Whampoa. A rather curious coincidence about this case is that the master of the *Chow Phya* was one George Orton, brother of the Tichborne claimant, Arthur Orton, whose trial for perjury was then proceeding in London and causing wild excitement.

Like Sir Richard McCausland, Sir Thomas Sidgreaves

was a well-known speaker at social functions, being greatly sought after in particular as a proposer of the healths of newly married couples, and many were the brides who started on the sea of matrimony with a cheery God-speed from Sir Thomas. Socially he was very popular, his hospitality being well known, and amply supporting the high dignity of his office. To the profound surprise and regret of his many friends in the Straits, news was received that he had died by his own hand two days before Christmas 1893 ; no reason could be assigned save a temporary derangement.

In March 1873 a young man presented himself to the Supreme Court at Penang praying to be examined for admission to the Bar, and if successful to be admitted ; but his prayer was opposed because he was not yet twenty-one. The Judge, Sir William Hackett, reluctantly held against the young man, but allowed him to be examined, which he was in due course, and, having passed with flying colours and attained full age, he was admitted to the local Bar on the 1st May 1873. The young man was Robert Garling Van Someren, until lately the doyen of the local Bar, of whom a fond farewell was taken by his brethren and by the Bench at Penang and at Singapore towards the end of 1918. For forty-five years Mr. Van Someren practised in the Courts of this Colony, and upheld their highest traditions. No man who has ever practised in our Courts has ever earned or deserved a higher affection, a higher esteem, or a greater place in its annals. Gifted with a marvellous memory, he scorned notes beyond a few odd jottings on his brief, and to the very last it was a marvel to everyone how a man could store in his brain the knowledge which Mr. Van Someren did. Over and over again the writer has heard questions put to Mr. Van Someren in the Court of Appeal, quite off the particular points which he was arguing, but which he would answer out of the stores of his memory by referring to some case bearing on the question, and frequently by giving the names of the parties and the volume and the page of the report,

without referring to note or book ; and the writer hardly ever found his references to be wrong. Just before he retired he argued an intricate point in the Court of Appeal, dealing with immovable property, in a way that would have brought the highest credit on a leader of the Bar at the zenith of his powers and his physical strength.

Mr. Van Someren was born at Penang on the 15th March 1852. His father, Peter Robert Van Someren (who had been born in India, educated in England, and thereafter had returned to India), was persuaded to go to Malacca by a relative, Mr. Samuel Garling, who was Resident Councillor in Malacca. In about 1832 or 1833 Mr. Van Someren's father was placed in charge of the Land Office at Malacca, and later in Penang, where in 1837 he married Cornelia, youngest child of Mr. John Rodyk, who, like Mr. Van Someren's grandfather, was a Dutchman, and who had been Governor of Ternate, which was blockaded by British men-of-war during the war between England and Holland. Ternate capitulated to the blockade, and John Rodyk, amongst others, was made a prisoner, and transferred to Bencoolen by the English. After the exchange of Malacca for Bencoolen in 1824 the British Government removed, and John Rodyk voluntarily went to Malacca, and from that time resolved to throw in his lot with the British, as did many other Dutch.

Mr. R. G. Van Someren was the second child of the marriage ; his elder brother, Mr. Samuel Van Someren, died in 1912. His father retired from Government service and went to India in 1857, but returned to Penang the next year. Through the influence of Mr. Alexander Rodyk, the Registrar of the Court, and of Sir Peter Benson Maxwell, he was appointed Coroner, which in those days was a salaried office of importance, and which he held until his death in 1861. On his death his young children were taken charge of by their uncle, Mr. Alexander Rodyk, mentioned above, and in 1864 were sent to England for their education. In December 1868



ROBERT GARLING VAN SOMEREN.

Mr. R. G. Van Someren returned to Penang, and was articled to his cousin, Mr. Charles Rodyk, a younger brother of that Mr. Bernard Rodyk who has been mentioned as one of the founders of Messrs. Rodyk and Davidson. Immediately on his admission to the Bar Mr. Van Someren was taken into partnership by Mr. Charles Rodyk. Later he practised in partnership in Penang with Mr. Gregory Anthony and Mr. T. Gawthorne. In 1900 he came to Singapore, and commenced partnership with Mr. Edaljee Khory, a Parsee barrister and a very popular Freemason, after whom a Lodge of Mark Masons in Singapore is named. This partnership continued until Mr. Khory's retirement in 1908, after which Mr. Van Someren practised alone until he retired, but chiefly as Counsel.

Mr. Van Someren's name will be preserved for many years by his splendid book on the Courts and their procedure, which is now in its second edition : no one but he could have written it, and the present which he made to the profession of his vast stores of knowledge was a fitting gift from one who was always ready to lend his assistance to any of his professional brethren who asked it. He was, in particular, always exceedingly kind and helpful to the junior Bar, and the writer had on many occasions to thank Mr. Van Someren for assistance or advice.

In 1876 Mr. Van Someren married Alice, daughter of Mr. Abraham Logan, who has already been mentioned. All of his sons have served in the Great War : Robert Abraham is a doctor in Government service in connection with sleeping sickness in Uganda, and on the outbreak of war he joined the Royal Army Medical Corps, in which he is now a Captain, with the British East African Forces ; Alexander Grant Vermont, who is a Major in the Royal Army Medical Corps (Regular Forces), served during the War in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and in the North-West Provinces, and is now on the staff at Lahore ; Walter Noel was a Lieutenant in the Royal Flying Corps, and was wounded in September 1918 in France, but is

now convalescent ; Victor Gurney is a doctor and L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S., L.D.S. of Edinburgh University—he was in British East Africa when war broke out, and became a Captain in the forces there ; Claude Donald was a Lieutenant in the Machine Gun Corps, and was killed in the great German attack on the 21st March 1918, after fighting from 3 a.m. till 7 p.m., when he fell, the only person left untouched in his detachment being one small “ runner,” who made a desperate effort to carry back his Lieutenant’s body ; but he was too young and too small, for Lieutenant Van Someren was a big, strong man ; finally Vernon, who was a student at Gray’s Inn, but joined up on the outbreak of war, fought through Ypres, Loos, Béthune, Hulluch Quarries, the Somme battles, and the great battles which ended the War, gained the Military Cross, the Distinguished Service Order, and the Croix de Guerre, and became the youngest Lieutenant-Colonel in the Army (he was twenty-three on the 26th November 1918). The record of his sons during the War is therefore something of which Mr. Van Someren is justly very proud.

The Rodyks were a very legal family. Of the sons of the old Mr. John Rodyk, Mr. Van Someren’s maternal grandfather, Alexander was Registrar at Penang, William Registrar at Malacca, and James Sheriff of Penang ; while of the grandsons, Bernard and Charles, already spoken of, were lawyers at Singapore and Penang respectively.

It is necessary now to return to the history of the Supreme Court, which was re-constituted in 1873, when provision was made for four Judges, two at Singapore and two at Penang. This Ordinance first created the local Appeal Court, and therefore more Judges were necessary. In consequence of this, Mr. Snowden, then Senior Magistrate at Singapore, and Mr. Justice Philipppo, a Puisne Judge at British Guiana, were appointed Judges of this Colony. The former, however, held the post only a short time, being appointed a Puisne Judge at Hongkong, and in his place Mr. Theodore Thomas Ford

was appointed. Mr. Ford, or Sir Theodore Ford as he is to-day, was born in 1829, the son of Mr. George Samuel Ford, an English solicitor. He was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1866, and for three years worked on the staff of the *Weekly Reporter* in the Chancery Courts. In 1868 he joined the Western Circuit, and was appointed to the Straits Bench in 1874, becoming Chief Justice in 1886, being knighted in 1888, and retiring in 1889. Sir Theodore is living at Upper Norwood, and those who remember him on the Bench out here speak of him with respect and affection. He was always most punctual in taking his seat on the Bench. He also suffered from a slight hesitancy of speech, which made him speak very slowly and impressively. During the trial of an Assize case he came on to the Bench one afternoon at two o'clock sharp, with the result that one of the jurors, a well-known watchmaker, was absent. Some minutes elapsed before the Juror walked in, and without any hurry or apology took his seat in the Jury-box.

Sir Theodore said to him: "You—are—late, Mr. Motion—ten—minutes—late—I think."

The Juror looked at his watch, and said: "No, my Lord, five minutes only."

"Very—well—Mr. Motion—as you—are—a—watchmaker—you ought—to—know—the correct—time—but—as I—am—the Judge—I—know—the correct—fine—that—is—fifty—dollars!"

The Ordinance of 1873, which re-constituted the Court, also gave the Bar its first real code of regulations, as has been pointed out previously. Quick to recognise the advantage of receiving a proper status, the Bar organised itself in 1875, with the avowed object of raising the standard of etiquette among its ranks. General meetings came to be held regularly, under the chairmanship of the Attorney-General, to deal with matters affecting the profession. The first of such meetings occurred on the 30th July 1875, when Mr. A. L. Donaldson was elected Honorary Secretary, and the advantage of having a

permanent executive committee becoming apparent, very quickly the first Bar Committee was elected a few months later ; it consisted of Messrs. Bond, Donaldson, and Edwin Koek. From that time onward a Bar Committee has been elected annually. In 1907 the Courts Ordinance made this body a statutory one, and gave it, what by consent it had had before, the charge of the etiquette of the profession, which, as introduced in 1875, is that of the English Bar, with the necessary modifications.

The most important year in the annals of the Court was 1878, when the Supreme Court was finally reconstituted, and three most important Ordinances were introduced dealing with the Courts generally, the procedure to be followed, and the body of law to be administered. In 1875 English law had undergone a mighty upheaval by means of the Judicature Act, and the rules made under it ; Equity was fused with Common Law, procedure was simplified, and many anachronisms and injustices were swept into the lumber-room of the law. Mr. Braddell had been working away since 1867 on the improvement of local law and procedure, and he at once seized on the Judicature Act as the very model necessary, in which the Bar fully supported him. By this means we were saved the possible calamity of having to suffer under the Indian Civil Procedure Code, as do the Federated Malay States to-day. By the Courts, the Civil Procedure, and the Civil Law Ordinances of 1878 sweeping reforms were introduced into the Straits, and the law put on a proper basis ; by the last of these Ordinances Mr. Braddell introduced the English law relating to partnership, corporations, banks and banking, principal and agents, carriers by land and sea, marine insurance, average, life and fire insurance, and "mercantile law generally," by which last expression we have received such important English Acts of Parliament as the Sale of Goods, Bills of Exchange, and Infants' Relief. To a mercantile community this generous introduction of English law has proved a very great blessing, and it

was all done in the simplest language and in a single section. Indeed, the outstanding feature in all Mr. Braddell's work was the simplicity of the language used and the wide generalities by which the Courts were left to exercise a wise discretion. There was none of that pronounced distrust of the Courts which modern legislation shows, that extraordinary desire to provide for everything and to close every chink and cranny against judicial interpretation. The block of legislation thus introduced in 1878 stood until 1907, when Sir Walter Napier repealed and re-enacted it all with amendments, modifications, and additions, bringing it all up-to-date in the most masterly fashion.

In 1876 Mr. Braddell had provided for procedure by and against the Crown in an Ordinance which is still in force, very little amended. It was a novel and original piece of work, which other Colonies have adopted, and for which the English law officers of the Crown gave him great credit. The greatest novelty in it was that the Crown was allowed to be sued in tort.

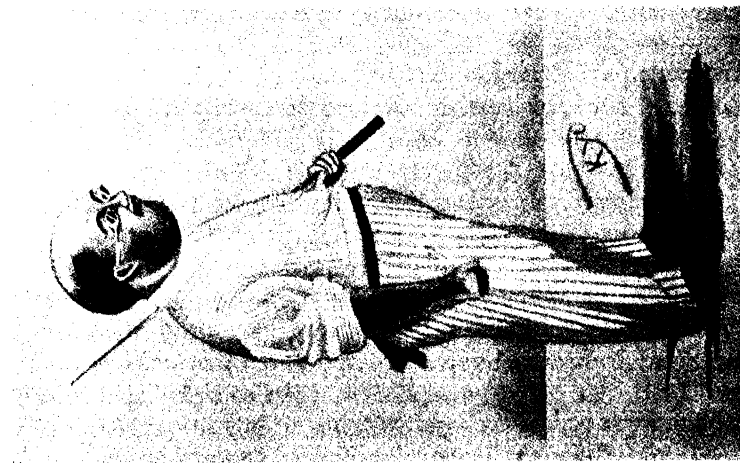
For his work on the Ordinances of 1878 Mr. Braddell received high commendation from the Governor, Sir W. C. Robinson, and from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who observed at the end of his despatch intimating the allowance of them : " I cannot conclude this despatch without expressing my sense of the care and ability with which the Attorney-General has prepared these Ordinances."

In 1876 the number of Judges was reduced to three. Mr. Justice Phillips was appointed temporarily, but only held the post for a few months.

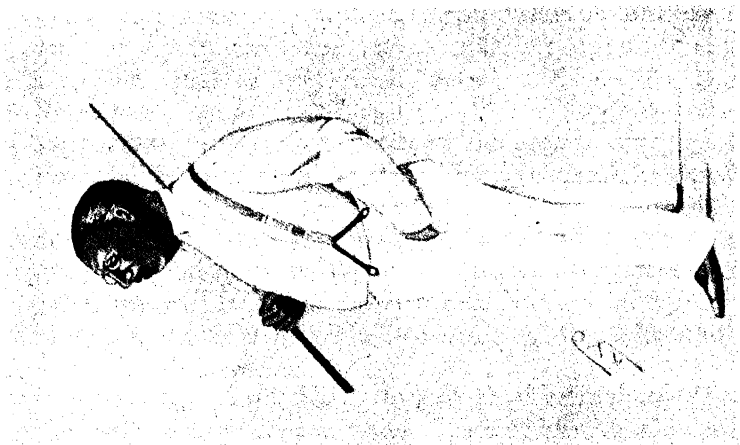
In 1877 Mr. Justice Thomas Lett Wood was appointed. He was educated at Westminster School and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took his M.A. degree in 1846. From that year till 1851 he practised as a special pleader, and was then called to the Bar at the Inner Temple ; from 1864 to 1866 he acted as Attorney-General of Vancouver ; from 1866 to 1870 he was a member of the Legislative Council of British Columbia,

and was appointed Chief Justice of Bermuda in 1871, which post he held until his appointment to the Straits. In 1886 he became Senior Puisne Judge, and in 1892 he retired. There is a portrait of him in the Supreme Court at Penang. He was a very venerable-looking man with a long white beard, but was most active in mind and body. He astonished the natives by the strenuous tennis, walking, and riding in which he indulged, for they could not understand how such an old man, as they thought he must be, could be so strong. Mr. Justice Wood was fond of sitting late to finish Assize cases, and on one occasion adjourned his Court from 6 p.m. to 9 p.m. to enable a jury to make up its mind whilst he went home to dinner! He was a very sound Judge, but his great independence of speech and his views in general deprived him of that promotion to which most people considered him entitled.

In 1883 Mr. Braddell retired, and Mr. John Winfield Bonser was appointed Attorney-General. Sir John Bonser, as he became, was born in 1847, the son of the Rev. John Bonser, of Hastings. He was a man of brilliant parts, being a Scholar and later a Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, winning the Tancred Studentship in Common Law at Lincoln's Inn in 1869, and being Senior Classic at Cambridge in 1870. In 1872 he was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, and in 1883 was appointed Attorney-General of the Straits Settlements, which post he held until 1893, when he was appointed Chief Justice. As Attorney-General his work was scholarly and sound, and he will be remembered as the Attorney-General who put through that most important and difficult group of bills to reform the Land Laws, in particular the Conveyancing and Law of Property Ordinance and the Registration of Deeds Ordinance; he also brought the Bankruptcy law up-to-date in 1888. In his practice at the Bar (for he was allowed to practise privately, though he was the last Attorney-General to whom this privilege was allowed) he was best known as what is called a case-



SIR JOHN BONSER.



C. E. VELGE.

Caricatures by R. W. Braddell.

lawyer, and his reputation stood very high. Unfortunately he made himself very unpopular over the military contribution, being the only member of the Legislative Council to support the proposals of the Secretary of State, with the result that his appointment as Chief Justice met with harsh criticism in the *Singapore Free Press*, though the *Straits Times* warmly supported it. However, he held the post a very short time, being appointed Chief Justice of Ceylon in 1893, which appointment he held until 1901, when he was appointed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Sir John's first wife (whom he married in 1883) was the sister of the brothers Nanson, of Messrs. Rodyk and Davidson. He died in 1914, after a brilliant and useful career.

As has been said, Sir Theodore Ford retired in 1889. He was succeeded as Chief Justice by Sir Edward Loughlin O'Malley, who was born in 1842, and was the son of Peter Frederick O'Malley, Q.C. He graduated at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1864, and was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1866, after which he went the Norfolk and South-Eastern Circuits. Sir Edward was a keen politician, but was unsuccessful in his efforts to get returned to Parliament. He contested Bedford in the Conservative interest in 1868 without avail, but when Mr. Gladstone first introduced Home Rule, and caused thereby the great split in English politics, Sir Edward, being a Home Ruler, changed over to the Liberal Party. In January 1906 he contested the Kensington South Division in the Liberal interest, and the very important election at Lewisham in December 1910, on both occasions as a Liberal and unsuccessfully. From 1876 to 1879 he was Attorney-General of Jamaica, and from 1879 to 1889 of Hongkong. He held the Chief Justiceship of the Straits Settlements from 1889 to 1892, and made himself exceedingly popular socially and with the profession. He gave a close and painstaking attention invariably to even the most trivial cases, and bestowed a careful study and consideration on his judg-

ments, appeals against which were almost impossible, as he always used very sharp-pointed pencils for writing his notes, which were very short and ornamented with numerous sketches ; indeed, more sketches than notes ! Perhaps he will be best remembered for his work on the draft Criminal Procedure Code of 1892, which became law, with certain amendments, in 1900, and, though re-amended and re-enacted since, is the Code in force at this date. It was based on the Indian Code, and its introduction has undoubtedly been very beneficial to the administration of justice. He did not remain long out of harness after his retirement, as he was appointed Chief Justice of British Guiana in 1895, which post he held until 1898, when he was appointed Chief Judge of H.B.M.'s Ottoman Empire, from which he retired in 1903. In 1909 he was a member of the Royal Commission on the Mauritius. It is very interesting at this date to recall that during the Franco-Prussian War Sir Edward joined the Red Cross Society, and assisted in nursing the sick and wounded. At a later period he became a Charity Commissioner, and did much work in alleviating distress in the East End of London. Sir Edward is an Esquire of St. John of Jerusalem and a Justice of the Peace for the County of Oxford, where he is now living at Cuddesdon, a kindly, sympathetic man, and remembered with affection by all still out here who knew him.

He was succeeded by Sir Elliot Bovill, who was born in 1848, a son of Mr. William John Bovill, Q.C. He held office only for five months, dying of cholera, which he contracted in Malacca, where an epidemic was raging, and where he had gone to hold the Assizes. In the few months Sir Elliot was here he made himself recognised as the ablest Judge since Sir Benson Maxwell, and his sudden death was deeply deplored by the Bar and by the public, with whom he was a firm favourite. He was President of the Singapore Golf Club, and being an old Leander oarsman, had taken great interest in rowing locally. He was succeeded by Sir John Bonser, as has been said already.



Mr. Justice Wood.

Sir E. L. O'Malley.

Mr. Justice Goldney.

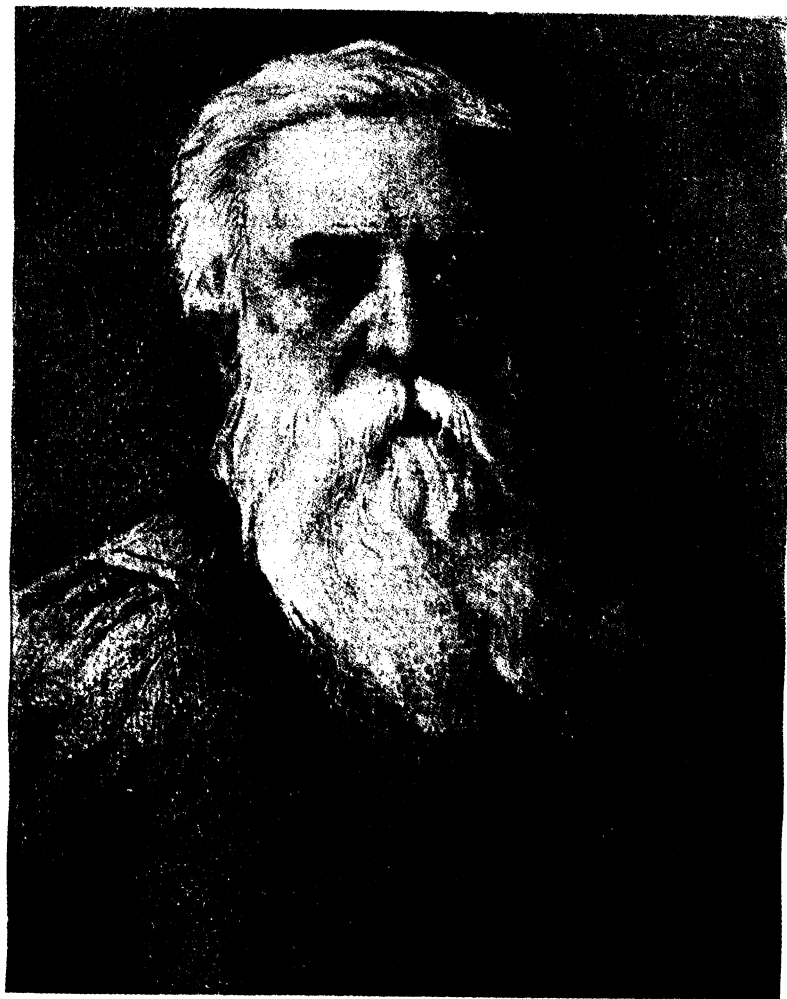
THE COURT OF APPEAL, 1891
Caricature by R. W. Braddell.

In 1885 the number of the Judges of the Supreme Court was again raised to four, and in 1886 Mr. Justice Sheriff, who had been Chief Justice of British Honduras, was appointed third Puisne Judge, and Mr. Justice Pellereau, Procureur and Advocate-General of the Mauritius, fourth Puisne Judge. The latter retired in 1890, and died in 1892 ; he was personally very popular with all classes, and was a strong lawyer and an impartial judge. His impartiality was particularly noticeable in those appeals against his own judgments, on which, under the old Rules, he had to sit. Not infrequently during an appeal he would point out to the Appellant's Counsel points in his own decision which were perhaps the weakest. The reports contain several very useful decisions of his, but nothing very important.

Mr. Justice Pellereau was a great classical scholar, and rather fond of Greek and Latin quotations in his speeches and notes, which led to misunderstandings sometimes. In a certain case before him the Tamil interpreter having described a prawn-catcher as an " apprehender of prawns," the Judge wrote the words down, and added the Latin word *sic*. On appeal the copyist, thinking that perhaps a mistake in spelling had been made by the Judge, wrote down " apprehender of sick prawns," which caused much amusement in Court, and outside as well. The late Mr. A. Y. Gahagan, who was an inimitable raconteur and mimic, used to introduce a garbled version of this incident in his little sketch *A Scene in the Singapore Police Court*, which will doubtless be remembered by many old residents. Mr. Pellereau was a very handsome and dignified figure on the Bench, and most courteous and kind in his manner. He put down gang robbery in Province Wellesley by the heavy sentences which he passed.

Mr. Justice Sheriff remained here a very short time, exchanging in 1887 with Mr. Justice Goldney, of British Guiana, an arrangement which the Secretary of State permitted. Sir John Tankerville Goldney was born in 1846, the third son of Sir Gabriel Goldney, Bart., of

Bradenstoke Abbey, Wiltshire, thus coming of a family that had been settled in Wiltshire for several centuries. He was educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1867. He was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in 1869, was Attorney-General of the Leeward Islands, 1880, Acting Chief Justice there from 1881 to 1883, when he was appointed a Puisne Judge at British Guiana. He remained in the Straits until 1892, when he was appointed Chief Justice of Trinidad, retiring in 1900. He is a Justice of the Peace for Wiltshire, and was High Sheriff of that County in 1910, and resides now at Mark's Park, Corsham. Sir John Goldney did some exceptionally useful work here ; he and Mr. Bonser were appointed Commissioners in 1889 to determine what Indian Acts still remained in force, and to revise and publish the same. He was one of the Committee who prepared the draft Criminal Procedure Code in 1892, and he did most useful work on a Commission to consider the Police Force, which will be referred to in another paper dealing with that force. Such decisions of his as have been reported show him to have been a sound lawyer, and possessed of hard common sense. He will perhaps be best remembered as the Judge who tried to introduce the wig into these Courts, whereby a veritable storm was raised, for such members of the Bar as were English barristers went into Court in their wigs, much to the annoyance of Mr. A. L. Donaldson, who being a solicitor and a very senior member of the Bar, had to submit to a practical illustration of the fact that he belonged to what is termed the junior branch of the profession. The result was wild excitement in the profession, much writing in the papers, and a Bar meeting at which " the wearing of wigs was deprecated until an order was issued to that effect " and " uniformity in the matter of forensic costume " was considered desirable, a motion proposed by Mr. Donaldson and seconded by Mr. William Nanson, also a solicitor, and carried by twelve votes to two, one member not voting. There followed a second motion to the effect



JONAS DANIEL, VAUGHAN.
From a painting by himself.

that the English barrister's wig was unsuitable for this climate—carried by eleven votes to one; and so say all of us, though the late Mr. Justice Earnshaw, when sitting in his own Court, always wore his wig. As a matter of fact, there is no real rule as to an advocate and solicitor's costume; in Singapore solicitors wear barristers' gowns, in Penang they wear their own proper gowns; barristers at both places, of course, wear stuff gowns.

When Sir John Goldney came here from the West Indies he brought with him a superb negro butler named Fraser, who ruled the household with a rod of iron, and, like most of his race, was exceedingly fond of fine raiment. Fraser was a well-known figure in Singapore while the Goldneys were here, and there are many stories of him, but not fitted for this sober history. Mr. Justice Goldney had great common sense and shrewdness; but he once startled his Court by stating from the Bench that "no one's house furniture should exceed \$2,000 in value." He was one of the founders of the Singapore Golf Club.

Having brought the history of the Court down to 1893, it is necessary now to look at the prominent members of the Bar since 1867. The first name that occurs is that of Mr. Jonas Daniel Vaughan, who had a career that was long, varied, and useful. In 1842 he entered the Bengal Marine as a midshipman, and went straight off to the China War in the *Tenasserim*. He was present with the fleet, under Sir William Parker, at all the operations from the capture of Chefoo to the ratification of the Treaty of Peace under the walls of Nankin, including the battle of Woosung and the capture of Ching-Kiang-Foo, for which services he received the China Medal. After the war he served on the Straits station in the *Phlegethon*, and was present at the capture of the town of Brunei and the destruction of the strongholds of the Lanun pirates on the north-west coast of Borneo. Later he became Chief Officer of the Company's famous war steamer, "the fighting *Nemesis*," as she was called. In

1851 Governor Butterworth appointed him Chief Officer of the *Hooghly*, and later Superintendent of Police at Penang, an office which he held till 1856, when he became Master Attendant at Singapore. From 1861 to 1869 he was Assistant Magistrate and Resident Councillor at Singapore, when he retired. He was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1869 while home on leave, and on his return was admitted in Singapore. He was a man of exceptionally wide information, and his knowledge of scientific subjects was unusually large. He wrote a good deal of useful matter about the history of Singapore in the newspapers, and occasionally acted as Editor for a time when others were absent ; this was done purely in the public interest, for in those days the papers did not have a circulation sufficiently large to allow of any pecuniary remuneration. Socially he was immensely popular, for he was a fine singer and the best amateur actor of his day. His practice was chiefly a criminal one, for which his experience in the police and as a magistrate peculiarly fitted him, as did his great knowledge of the native ways and customs. In March 1875 he was appointed as a temporary Puisne Judge, but he resigned in August, and resumed his practice at the Bar. His death was sad and mysterious ; he had been on a visit to Perak, where his married daughter was living, and was on his way back to Singapore in the s.s. *Malacca* on the 17th October 1891. He was in good spirits that night, and talking to the Captain on deck at nine o'clock, but was not seen afterwards. There seems to be no doubt that he fell overboard by accident in the night. Mr. Vaughan was a very old friend of the writer's grandfather, Thomas Braddell, and when the Supreme Court met on the 28th September 1891, to do honour to Mr. Braddell, who had died on the nineteenth previously, Mr. Vaughan made a long speech from the Bar, in which he did more than justice to his old friend. It was fitting that the same number of the *Straits Law Journal* should contain the obituary notices of these two old friends whose careers had such similarities. Mr. Vaughan, like

Mr. Braddell, was one of the foremost Freemasons of his time.

Mr. Isaac Swinburne Bond was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple on the 26th January 1867, and was admitted to the Straits Bar on the 31st July 1869. He practised alone until 1881, when he was joined by Mr. Alfred Drew, who had been admitted a solicitor in England in 1881. Mr. Bond was the first lawyer to be placed on the Legislative Council in 1877, from which time he served until he retired in 1886. He was the hero of an amusing episode which has been frequently told, but which will bear telling again. It occurred at a garden-party in Singapore, and he was Acting Attorney-General at the time. Attired in top-hat, frock-coat, and plaid trousers, he was expatiating to a lady on the beauty of a tree under which they were standing. He had, however, the misfortune not to have noticed a nest of those red ants called *Keringas*; this omission the *Keringas* repaired very quickly, and the unfortunate gentleman soon found himself in such agonies that he tore off to his palanquin, into which he jumped and drove away. As it proceeded down the long drive, garments hurtled out of the window one after another, concluding with the plaid trousers! However, the story is probably by that inimitable raconteur, Mr. Benjamin Trovato, whose circulation in Singapore is abnormal.

After Mr. Bond's retirement Mr. Drew practised alone, until he was joined by Sir Walter John Napier in 1889, when the firm became Drew and Napier, as it is to-day. Of its leading members more will be said later.

It has already been mentioned that Mr. A. M. Aitken was the founder of the firm of Donaldson and Burkinshaw. These latter two gentlemen were in leading practice from the 'Seventies until the 'Nineties. Both of them were respected and popular, and did much useful work in the place.

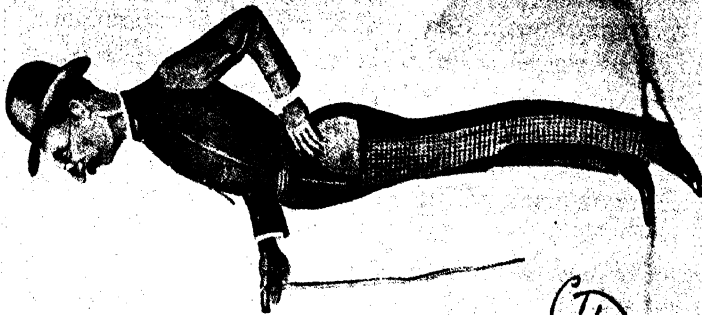
Alexander Leathes Donaldson was admitted an Attorney at Westminster in 1865, and to the local Bar in 1873; John Burkinshaw was admitted an Attorney.

at Westminster in 1863, and to the local Bar in 1874. When Mr. Bond retired his place on the Legislative Council was given to Mr. Burkinshaw; in 1893 it went to Mr. Donaldson, in 1896 back to Mr. Burkinshaw, Mr. Donaldson having retired in 1895. Mr. Burkinshaw continued to be on Council until 1902, when he retired. He died in England in 1909; Mr. Donaldson is still living. These two gentlemen built up the leading European practice of their day, and their jack-in-the-box possession of a seat on the Legislative Council undoubtedly gave the firm great influence. Both of them were sound legislators, displaying force and wisdom in their speeches, and being of undoubted assistance to the deliberations of the Council. Both of them were extensive landowners in Singapore, and their estates still exist, Mr. Donaldson's in the region of Orange Grove Road and Mr. Burkinshaw's next to Tyersall and at Mount Elizabeth. Mr. Donaldson lived at Orange Grove, which the gharry syces long called "Rumah Donaldson"; Mr. Burkinshaw at Mount Elizabeth, which similarly was known as "Bukit Burkinshaw." Mr. Donaldson's sister married Mr. P. T. Evatt, of Messrs. Lyall and Evatt, a well-known and popular sportsman, broker, and accountant, the news of whose death in recent years was received with great regret by his many friends in Singapore.

The literature of the profession had been greatly enriched in 1885 by the publication in Singapore of three volumes of Law Reports by Mr. James William Norton Kyshe, at that time Acting Registrar of the Court in Malacca; a fourth volume appeared in 1890. In the compilation of these reports Mr. Kyshe had the invaluable assistance of Mr. Van Someren. The reports are admirable and well chosen; they contain also a most invaluable historical preface, and the amount of work put into them by Mr. Kyshe must have been very great. Mr. Kyshe was educated at Downing College, Cambridge, and was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1880. He passed the Civil Service examination in 1871, and after holding various appointments in the Mauritius from that year



JOHN BURKINSHAW.



S. R. GROOM.

Caricatures by R. W. Braddell.

till 1877, he became Deputy Registrar at Penang in 1880, and was Sheriff of Singapore in 1892. In 1895 he was appointed Registrar at Hongkong. He retired on pension a few years later, practised for a time in Cairo, and died recently in England.

In June 1888 the *Straits Law Journal* was commenced, under the able Editorship of Mr. S. R. Groom so far as the legal side of it was concerned. It continued until June 1892. In 1893 the Singapore Bar Committee commenced issuing the *Straits Settlements Law Reports*, which have continued to be issued by them from time to time ever since.

On the 8th November 1893 Sir William Henry Lionel Cox was appointed Chief Justice. He was born in 1844, the son of Dr. George B. Cox, M.D., of Mauritius, and was educated at the Royal College, Mauritius, being called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1866. In 1880 he was appointed Substitute Procureur and Advocate-General of the Mauritius, and in August of that year Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court. In August 1886 he became Procureur and Advocate-General, which position he held until his elevation to the Chief Justiceship here. He retired in 1906, and is now living in England. Sir Lionel was perhaps the best Assize Judge we have had here, having a wonderful grasp of facts, and was a most ready speaker, notwithstanding certain peculiarities of accent due to his being equally fluent in French as in English. He had the ability to place the most complicated facts before a Jury in the simplest manner. Though most courteous, he was very careful to preserve the dignity of a Judge both inside and outside his Court, and woe betide anyone who presumed to undue familiarity.

The best story told about him is really not so much to do with him as with infantile precocity. The march of education in Singapore had familiarised the young with a good deal more, apparently, than they were intended to learn. A father and mother were disputing over the guardianship of a small boy, and Sir Lionel, who was a most kindly man and who took a peculiar interest in the

young, insisted on seeing the little man. He was duly produced, and, standing in the witness-box, his head just appeared over the ledge. Sir Lionel addressed him : " Now, my little man, your father and your mother each of them wish to take care of you. Tell me, which would you pwefer ? "

The little man answered with no hesitation : " I don't care a d—n ! "

" Ah," said Sir Lionel, " there spoke the voice of the father ! I give you to your mother's care ! "

Sir Lionel had two favourite recreations—bridge, or " bwidge " as he called it, for his r's always gave him trouble, and reading Horace and Virgil in the original. Sir Lionel's rubber of bridge was a rite performed by him with regularity at the Singapore Club. Now, you cannot play bridge except for money, and once you play a game for money you commit the act of gaming or gambling. If, moreover, you are rash enough or stupid enough to commit this act in what the law calls a common gaming-house, the results are apt to be unpleasant. In the local Ordinance the expression " common gaming-house " covers a multitude of sins, and the question arises as to whether it covers gaming in a *bona fide* social club. A decision of Sir Lionel Cox has always been followed to the effect that gaming in such a club is quite legal. As a matter of fact, Sir Lionel went out of his way to decide the point, and the case is often called " Cox's after-tiffin bridge case " as a consequence !

He was, perhaps, not a profound lawyer, proceeding rather on the principle that if he found his facts rightly, the law was generally pretty obvious ; and in this he was right, for very few appeals against him seem to have been successful. He was exceedingly popular with the Bar, and was a great favourite socially in Singapore.

In 1892 Mr. William Robert Collyer, I.S.O., was appointed a Puisne Judge ; he was born in 1842, the second son of Mr. John Collyer, a County Court Judge, whose family seat was at Hackford Hall, Reepham, Norfolk, where Mr. Collyer is now living.

Mr. Collyer was educated at Rugby, and was a scholar of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1865, from which year until 1867 he was an Assistant Master at Clifton College. In 1869 he was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple, and after holding appointments at Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast, was made Queen's Advocate of Cyprus in 1881, which position he held until he came to the Straits Bench. When Sir John Bonser was appointed Chief Justice, Mr. Collyer became Attorney-General, holding that post until he retired in 1906. Mr. Collyer was a typical English gentleman, of an old-fashioned type now fast disappearing. He was open-hearted, hospitable, sporting, with strong convictions and prejudices, but never believing evil of anyone or anything, and incapable of a mean action. He endeared himself to everyone with whom he came into contact, and the interest which he took in everything that made for social and moral betterment in Singapore made his place a very hard one to fill when he left. The way he got through the arduous work which is the lot of an Attorney-General, without breaking down and with great speed, has always been a marvel since he left, and it may well be said of Mr. Collyer that his true value as a public servant was never realised until he had retired. The most important Ordinances which he put through were the Municipal Ordinance of 1896, the Women and Girls' Protection of the same year, the Tramway Ordinance of 1902, the Indian Immigration Ordinance of 1904, and the Railway Ordinance of 1905. His annual output of Ordinances was always over twenty, while in 1902 it was no less than thirty-seven, an output never exceeded, and only equalled by Sir Walter Napier in 1907. In addition to all this he used always to conduct the principal Crown prosecutions at the Assizes, and of course he had to give opinions and advice to the various Government Departments.

In February 1893 Sir Stephen Herbert Gatty was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court. He was

born in 1849, the son of the Rev. Alfred Gatty, Vicar of Ecclesfield, York, and sub-Dean of York Cathedral; he is thus a brother of Sir Alfred Scott Gatty, the Garter King at Arms. He was a Scholar of Winchester and New College, Oxford, was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1874, and went the North-Eastern Circuit. In 1883 he was appointed Attorney-General of the Leeward Islands, and from 1885 to 1892 of Trinidad, where he received a Colonial Patent as Queen's Counsel in 1891. He was in the Straits only a short time, being appointed Chief Justice of Gibraltar in 1895, and being knighted in 1904. Mr. Justice Gatty is best remembered here as being the only Judge we have ever had who participated in amateur theatricals and sang a good comic song at a smoking concert.

In February 1894 Sir Archibald Fitzgerald Law was appointed a Puisne Judge. He was born in 1853, the son of Mr. Michael Law. He took his degree at Oriel College, Oxford, for which University he played Rugby football. In 1879 he was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple, and from 1880 to 1892 he served in various appointments in Cyprus. In 1906 he was appointed Chief Judicial Commissioner of the Federated Malay States, and was knighted in 1908.

In July 1894 the four Judges in the Colony were, therefore, Cox, C. J., and Collyer, Gatty, and Law, J. J. *Straits Produce* summed up our Bench in the following witty lines :

Three Judges from three distant islands sent,
Mauritius, England, Cyprus represent ;
The first in elegance of speech is strong,
The next in comedy—the last is—long ;
The Fount of Justice felt there was a flaw,
And so to make a Bench she added Law.

Mr. Justice Law was an exceedingly sound Judge, though not a very quick one. The best of his judgments is undoubtedly the one he delivered in the Six Widows Case. He never was prepared to take anything for

granted, but always liked to feel his ground well before he trusted to it. When Counsel stated propositions of law of which he was not certain, he had a habit of saying in a deep voice, which made the remark quite terrifying to the junior Bar: "Well, Mr. Briefless, you say so—but I DON'T KNOW." The writer has endeavoured to express the tones of voice and the final crescendo, having been many a time forced by the remark to produce or fail to produce authorities. Sir Archibald was a most satisfactory Judge to practise before, courteous, patient, taking infinite pains, and eventually delivering thoroughly sound judgments, though, of course, like all Judges, he did not always receive the approval of the Appeal Court. Mr. Gilbert Carver, of Messrs. Donaldson and Burkinshaw, married one of his daughters.

By this time the Bar had received several increases in its strength. In March 1889 Sir Walter Napier was admitted, and joined Mr. Drew in partnership, thus founding the firm of Drew and Napier. Sir Walter was born in 1857, the son of Mr. George W. Napier, of Alderley Lodge, Cheshire, and was educated at Rugby and Corpus Christi College, Oxford. On leaving Rugby he had been articled to a firm of solicitors at Manchester; but he broke his articles, and went up to Oxford instead, where he took a first in law. After holding an Inns of Court Studentship in Civil Law, he was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1881, and practised as a "local" in Manchester from 1882 to 1888. His talents speedily appealed to the litigants of Singapore, and to the general public, to whose service he devoted much of his time. In 1896 he was appointed an Unofficial Member of Council, and held the position until 1897, being reappointed from 1900 to 1907. He was Attorney-General from 1907 to 1909, when he retired, and received the honour of knighthood for his great services. After his retirement he served, in 1912, on the Colonial Office Committee on the land tenure of West African Colonies and Protectorates, another member of the Committee being Sir William Taylor, K.C.M.G.

Sir Walter's first participation in public life in the Colony was by a speech at a meeting held in the Town Hall, in 1890, to endorse the protest of the Unofficials against the Military Contribution. Not long after this he became Secretary of the Straits Settlements Association, in which position he acted during practically the whole of the time that he was not on the Legislative Council. In March 1893, as Secretary, he drafted the Memorandum of the Association on the Military Contribution question, in which Mr. W. G. St. Clair gave great assistance. He was not content, either, to leave his own profession where he found it ; he worked hard to improve it, and the legislation of the Colony, even before he became Attorney-General. It was upon his suggestion that the Bar Committee commenced the publication of the *Straits Settlements Law Reports*, and he was the first Editor in 1893. In 1898 he published his *Introduction to the Study of the Law Administered in the Colony of the Straits Settlements*, an invaluable piece of work that was well received by the Judges and the profession, and favourably reviewed by Sir Frederick Pollock in the *Law Quarterly Review*. This work was accepted by Oxford University as a dissertation for the degree of D.C.L., to which Sir Walter proceeded in 1900, his brother, Professor H. S. Napier, Merton Professor of English Language and Literature, proceeding to the degree of Doctor of Letters at the same time. Sir Walter also contributed articles and papers on legal subjects to the *Straits Chinese Magazine* and the Straits Philosophical Society, of which he was one of the original members.

Sir Walter's career as a legislator is unique. He is the only Unofficial Member of the Council who has ever introduced a Bill and got it passed into an Ordinance ; indeed, he did it twice. He prepared those two most useful pieces of legislation, the Married Women's Property and Partition Ordinances, both of 1902. The former is still in force, and the latter is now absorbed into the body of legislation introduced by Sir Walter as Attorney-General in 1907, which reformed the civil procedure and

civil law of the Colony. In 1904 he had printed for private circulation a very valuable memorandum containing suggestions for the improvement of the law of the Colony, and laid it before H. E. Sir John Anderson, who had arrived in the Colony about that time. Many of these suggestions were ultimately carried out during Sir Walter's Attorney-Generalship and after. Thus, one of the suggestions was for the consolidation of the Merchant Shipping Laws which Mr. Huttenbach had urged in 1895 and 1896, and the necessity for which had been endorsed by the Shipping Commission of 1898. When Sir Walter was Attorney-General he took up this question, and prepared the very valuable measure which became the Merchant Shipping Ordinance of 1910, and in which he had the assistance of Captain Boldero, R.N., and Commander Radcliffe, R.N., each of whom was Master Attendant, and of Mr. W. J. Trowell, while in the work in London he collaborated with Sir Ellis Cunliffe, the Solicitor to the Board of Trade. Sir Walter's name must always stand high in the law, and deserves the remembrance of all practitioners at our Bar. One of Sir Walter's great opponents at the Bar was Mr. William Nanson, of Messrs. Rodyk and Davidson, and a good story is told of one of their battles in Court, which illustrates Mr. Nanson's little eccentricities. He always went on the plan that if the Judges did not know any law it was their fault, and he would not be bothered to go out of his way to teach them. On this particular occasion Sir Walter Napier was moving for an interlocutory mandatory injunction, and he went into it all with his usual thoroughness and acumen. Mr. Nanson, who had been fidgeting throughout the speech, got up to reply as soon as it was finished, and this was his reply : " My Lord, it is one thing to ask for an interlocutory mandatory injunction ; it is an entirely different thing to get it " ; whereupon he sat down ! On another occasion he had appeared unsuccessfully for a client, who was ordered to pay over a fairly large sum of money to the Official Assignee. Mr. Nanson applied for a stay of execution,

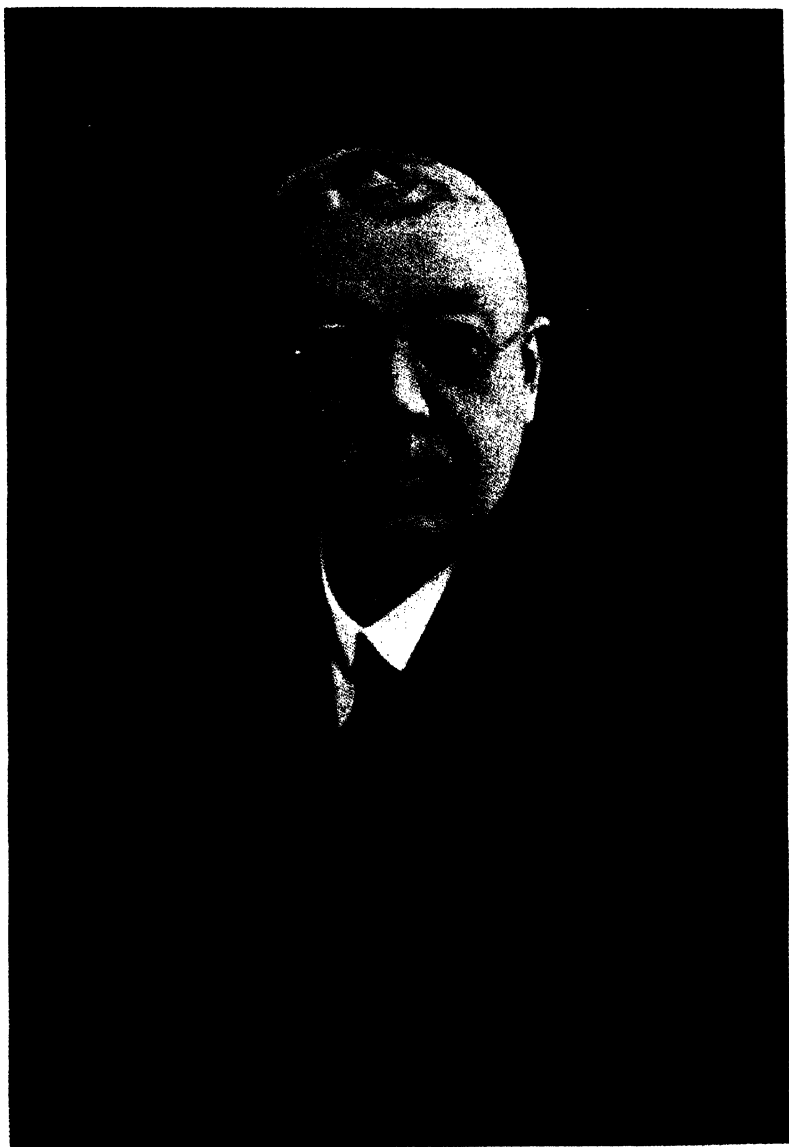
but the Judge did not see why he should grant it. "Well, my Lord," said Mr. Nanson, "it is like this. If we pay over now, the Official Assignee will distribute the money among the creditors, and *when your Lordship's decision is upset* our money will be gone!" He did not always come off best in his encounters with the Bench, however. On one occasion he was appearing for Syed Mohamed Alsagoff, and raised a long technical objection against his opponent, based on a Statute of Charles II. He went into this Statute at great length, and commented on its application to the case he was arguing. At last Sir Lionel Cox could stand it no longer, and brought it to an abrupt conclusion with this remark: "But, Mr. Nanson, you see the star of Alsagoff had not awisen in the days of the Mewwy Monarch!"

In 1893 Sir Hugh Fort was admitted, becoming a partner in the firm of Messrs. Donaldson and Burkinshaw: *Straits Produce* at once pounced on the fact, and announced it thus:

"In order to add to the defences, a well-known firm of lawyers have recently set up a FORT of their own. It is not probable that a FORTRESS or any smaller FORTS will be added for some time."

They never have been, for Sir Hugh died unmarried in London in June 1919. It is said that Sir Hugh had the finest brain of any man who has ever come to the Straits, not merely in legal affairs but in public ones as well. He was a Member of Legislative Council from 1905 to 1908, and again from 1909 to 1910, being knighted in 1911 after he had retired. For years he held a leading place in Singapore life; he led its Bar, the Unofficials on its Legislative Council, and his word was law in all matters of sport and club life. As an advocate Sir Hugh was deadly; he pounced on a weakness, he made the strength of his own case seem impregnable, and he was always cool and collected, while to his opponents he was fairness itself.

He possessed one eccentricity that endeared him to



SIR HUGH FORT.

the native spectators of the tennis tournaments at the Cricket Club : he always wore a white handkerchief round his head to prevent the perspiration from dimming his spectacles, and the natives never got reconciled to it, so that Sir Hugh always had a good gallery. As an owner and as a member of the Sporting Club Committee, his services to racing in the Straits were invaluable.

Sir Hugh was born in 1862, the son of Mr. Richard Fort, of Read Hall, Whalley, Lancs., who was Member of Parliament for Clitheroe. He was educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford, and was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in 1887. While at the English Bar he was part author of *Talbot and Fort's Index of Cases*, a most useful work, though out of date now.

Of the other partners in Messrs. Donaldson and Burkinshaw were the Hon. Mr. C. I. Carver, who just recently retired, Mr. Harold Millard, who gave his life for his country in the Great War, Mr. Gilbert Carver, on active service till May 1919, Mr. H. R. L. Dyne, Mr. Dudley Parsons, and Mr. H. B. Layton.

In 1896 Sir Evelyn Campbell Ellis came from Hong-kong to join Messrs. Drew and Napier, in which firm he became a partner. He was born in 1865, the son of Dr. Robert Ellis, M.R.C.S. In 1891 he was admitted as a solicitor in England, but it was as an advocate that he excelled, like Sir Arthur Adams, K.B.E., of the Penang Bar. Sir Evelyn was an Unofficial Member of the Legislative Council from 1908 till 1916, and was Acting Attorney-General in 1912 and 1913. On the departure of Sir Hugh Fort, Sir Evelyn Ellis took his place as leader of the Bar, leader of the Unofficials, and President of the Sporting Club. He and Lady Ellis, whose early death was so deeply deplored, were most hospitable and popular ; and when they left for England, they left behind them a social blank. One hears that during the War Sir Evelyn's talents found scope for employment in Government offices in London.

At the Bar Sir Evelyn Ellis seldom lost a case ; his

methods as an advocate were far more blunt and emphatic than the more rapier-like thrusts of Sir Hugh Fort, but just as effective. Neither in Court nor in Council would he brook opposition, and from the very definite way he had of stating his propositions he came early to be known as Cocky ; one can say this, because he always insisted on his friends calling him by that name, which was one of affection, and intended only to sum up his very forceful character. Sir Evelyn was a monster for work, and if genius really is an infinite capacity for taking pains, then he possessed it.

After Sir Walter Napier, Sir Evelyn's principal partner in Messrs. Drew and Napier, was Mr. E. F. H. Edlin, or " Peter " as he was always called, from the fact that he was a nephew of Sir Peter Edlin, Recorder of London. No more delightful man to know and to be a friend of has ever come to the Straits ; he was sympathetic and generous in disposition, a very sound lawyer, and a keen sportsman. His sad death in 1913 cast a gloom over the whole place, and he is remembered with regret and affection by many both of his profession and outside it. The other partners in the firm have been the Hon. Mr. D. Y. Perkins, Mr. M. J. Upcott, and Mr. P. Robinson.

From the middle of the 'Nineties to the middle of the next decade was the Augustan era of the Singapore Bar, and it must be many years' before the high standard reached then can be attained again. The prospective litigant had Napier, Ellis, Fort, C. I. Carver, William Nanson, F. M. Elliot, the brothers Braddell, Rowland Allen, Delay, Emerson, and Van Someren from which to choose, and, if he could not find one of them to satisfy his requirements, he deserved to lose his case.

The firm of Allen and Gledhill was started by Mr. Rowland Allen, who came out to Messrs. Joaquim Brothers in 1895, having been called to the English Bar in 1893. Mr. John Joseph Gledhill joined him in 1901, and since then the partners in the firm have been Mr. Leigh-Clare, Mr. L. E. Gaunt, Mr. H. C. Cooke-Yarborough, and Mr. Richard Page.



SIR EVELYN CAMPBELL, ELLIS.

The firm of Sisson and Delay was started when Mr. James Arthur Delay joined Mr. Sisson in 1891. Mr. Arthur James Sisson was admitted in 1888, and was in partnership with Mr. Edwin Koek for some time. The other partners in the firm have been Mr. Charles Emerson, Mr. Clement Everitt, and Mr. H. D. Mundell.

When Mr. Justice Gatty was appointed Chief Justice of Gibraltar, the vacancy on our Bench was filled by the appointment of Mr. Andrew John Leach, who had been educated at Sir Roger Cholmondeley's School, Highgate, and St. John's College, Oxford. He was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1876, and practised in Hongkong for some years, acting as Puisne Judge and Attorney-General on several occasions between 1887 and 1895. He retired in 1904, and shortly afterwards died of cancer, from which terrible disease he had been suffering in Singapore, and which made him naturally rather irritable on the Bench.

Mr. Justice Leach was the best equity lawyer we have ever had in the Straits. He was very genial and full of humour, a keen cricketer, and a golfing enthusiast. He was rather a terror in his Court, where his sarcastic remarks and sharp tongue lashed impartially Counsel and litigant. Legal stories are not generally so humorous to the public as to the lawyer, and "laughter in Court" frequently follows a remark that seems far from funny; but the following account of an occurrence in Mr. Justice Leach's Court possesses genuine humour.

The plaintiff was a young man, whom we will call Isaac Moses, and he arrived in Court accompanied by his mother, a large lady dressed in her best satin dress, and wearing a hat composed principally of red feathers; she took a seat near the witness-box. The son entered the box, and before being sworn was asked by the Judge what was his name. "Ikey" was the reply. "What does Ikey stand for?" came from the Bench. The silence of astonishment overwhelmed the plaintiff. "Will you answer me?" came sharply from the Judge, who glared at the witness through large spectacles.

The witness shuffled, but no words came from him ; his mother said in a stage whisper, " Isaac," which the young man promptly repeated.

" Tell that woman to sit at the back of the Court and keep her mouth shut, or I'll turn her out," thundered the Judge.

" What's your other name ? "

" Mo—mo—motheth."

" Very well, Isaac Moses, now you can be sworn."

A Bible was handed to the witness, who, grasping it quickly, was about to kiss it, when a roar came from the Judge, who was well known to be a devout Roman Catholic, " Stop—what are you ? "

The witness dropped the Bible and stared at the Judge tongue-tied for some seconds.

This was too much for the mother, who, hiding her face behind a large fan, whispered loudly to her progeny :

" Say you are a Roman Catholic, Ikey ! "

Doubtless the ceiling fell and justice was done ! An eye-witness told the writer this story, and it is too good to escape preservation.

In 1897 Sir William Henry Hyndman-Jones was appointed to the Straits Bench. He was born in 1847, the son of Mr. William Henry Jones, of Upper Norwood, and was educated at Marlborough and Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1878 he was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, and was sent in 1880 to enquire into the working and administration of the Barbados Police Force. The next year he was appointed to act as a Judge of the Barbados Court of Appeal. After serving in various legal capacities in the West Indies, he was appointed to the Straits Bench. In January 1906 he became Chief Judicial Commissioner of the Federated Malay States, and in August of that year Chief Justice of the Straits Settlements. He retired in 1914. His successor, Sir John Bucknill, in a speech which he made to the Bar on taking his seat, referred to Sir William as the " Nestor of the Colonial Bench," and a more apt description could not have been given. The Bar hoped



SIR WILLIAM HYNDMAN-JONES.

that he would be appointed to the Privy Council, a distinction which he more than deserved, but the appointment was not made, and Sir William lives in retirement at Jersey.

Sir William was the beau ideal of a Judge, learned, quick at grasping law and fact ; of most stately presence, and possessed of a fine figure, he dominated his Court, and filled it with an atmosphere of dignity that accorded with the finest traditions of the Bench. Courteous and kind, he had always a helping hand for the struggling junior, and he certainly taught more law and more etiquette to the younger members of the Bar than any Judge who has ever sat here. Jurymen speak of him in the highest admiration, but to the Bar he was perhaps at his best when presiding over the Court of Appeal. Counsel were kept to the point, decisions were rapid ; there was no constant interruption, no wrangling with Counsel, and work in the Court of Appeal, while he presided, was a pleasure and often an education.

He was possessed of a strong sense of humour, but it did not evince itself by jokes. He had a habit of placing his handkerchief over his mouth when anything appealed to his risibility ; but the blue eyes over the handkerchief told their tale, and the Counsel who could call a twinkle into them by a witty remark did not find his task any the more difficult in consequence.

When he said anything humorous he did it in such a dry and logical way that it became all the more funny. During the hearing of the Appeal in the Six Widows Case he convulsed the whole Court by a little passage which he had with the late Mr. Montagu Harris.

Mr. Harris was a very sparkling and amusing speaker, but he was not very logical, and in the course of his argument he invited the Court of Appeal to step into the shoes of the deceased Choo Eng Choon, to which Sir William drily replied that in that event the Court would be assembled elsewhere. Harris retorted that he meant during Choo Eng Choon's lifetime, to which Sir William

further replied that in that case the Court would have nothing to do with the matter ! Sir William was the only Judge who could deal effectually with Mr. Harris, and he did it always in so kindly, humorous a way that the latter had to accept defeat.

When the same case was before Sir Archibald Law, Mr. Harris waxed very indignant at the attempt to upset his client's rights. " It is unreasonable," he said, " for my learned friends to come here with antiquated Chinese laws and attempt to upset the law of this Colony in half-an-hour ! "

Sir Archibald said with a groan : " Half an hour ! In four days, you mean ! "

" What is four days in eternity, my Lord ? " Getting no reply, Mr. Harris answered himself by saying, " A mere drop in the ocean ! " And to those engaged in the case it certainly seemed to be eternity before we had done with it.

In 1901 Mr. Swinford Leslie Thornton was appointed a Puisne Judge. He had practised at the local Bar a short while, and was appointed Registrar of the Court at Malacca in 1887, a post which he held for some five years. In 1894 he was given the Attorney-Generalship of St. Vincent, and in 1896 was made Resident Magistrate at Jamaica.

Sir John Anderson caused the retiring age for a Judge to be fixed at fifty-five, reserving the right to the Executive to retain their services after that age if thought fit. Mr. Justice Thornton was the first to suffer under this rule, and his retirement caused great indignation.

The next Judge to suffer by the rule was Mr. Justice Fisher, who had been appointed to the Straits Bench after long services in Ceylon, Cyprus, and Jamaica ; and he was so cut up about it that he literally died of a broken heart.

It is said by many that this rule has robbed the Bench of its independence, the more so now that all our Judges but one are from the Civil Service. The question of the appointment, salary, and qualifications of our Judges is

at present one that is exercising the Bars of Singapore and Penang very much, and the present position is vastly unsatisfactory.

In 1907 Sir Thomas Braddell was appointed a Puisne Judge. He is the only member of the Bar who has ever received the substantive appointment, though in the 'Seventies temporary appointments were made from the Bar. As Sir Thomas is the writer's father, and as his career is dealt with elsewhere, more cannot be said about him here.

When Mr. Christian Baumgarten resigned the appointment of Registrar in 1874, the post went to Mr. Charles Eugene Velge. He was a son of Mr. J. H. Velge, who was well-known in Singapore in the old days for his hospitality. Mr. C. E. Velge had been called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1870. He held the Registrarship until 1907, at the end of which year he retired, dying in September 1912. Mr. Velge was a splendid Registrar, and throughout his long career held the complete confidence of Bench and Bar. He was exceedingly fond of racing, and was as good a judge of a racehorse's capacities as any man who has been out here.

When he retired he was succeeded by Mr. Felix Henry Valentine Gottlieb, who had joined the Government Service in 1880, and had been called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1892. He was a son of Mr. Felix Henry Gottlieb, F.S.S., F.R.G.S., who was also a barrister, and who had joined the Government Service in 1846, holding many legal appointments in it until 1882, when he resigned and commenced private practice in Penang. He was a son of old "Captain" Gottlieb, who through the influence of the Duke of Clarence (afterwards William IV) had been in the Naval dockyards in England, and became the first Harbour Master at Penang.

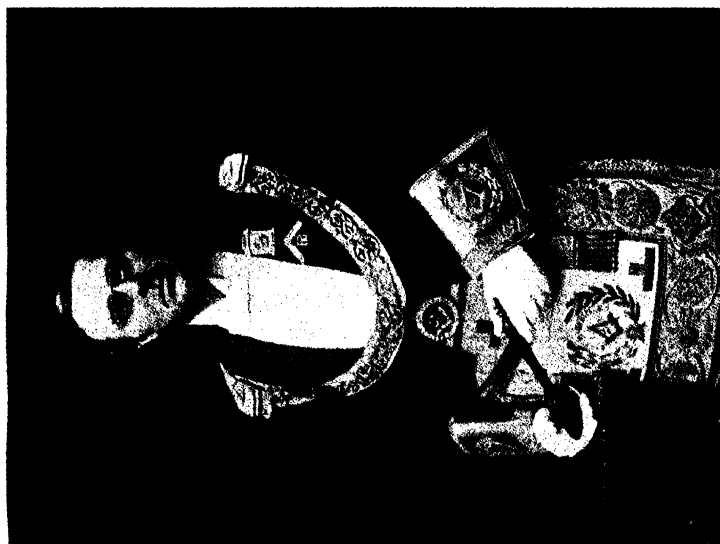
Mr. F. H. V. Gottlieb's brother, Mr. G. S. H. Gottlieb, was also a barrister, and practised in Penang and Cairo, where he died. Mr. F. H. V. Gottlieb died in 1917, having remained at his post, after he was overdue for his pension, from a strong sense of duty ; he felt that by

carrying on he was doing what little was possible to him during the Great War, and his death came as a great shock to the Bench and the Bar, in whose respect he stood very high.

The first Chinese barrister to be admitted to the local Bar was Mr. Song Ong Siang, M.A., LL.M., in 1894. He was born in 1871, and was educated at Raffles School, Singapore, and Downing College, Cambridge. He held the Guthrie Scholarship from 1883 to 1888, and entering the Middle Temple in 1889, had a brilliant career, for he won the Scholarship in Constitutional Law and International Law in June 1889, and the hundred-guinea Studentship in Jurisprudence and Roman Law in June 1890. He was called to the Bar in 1893. Mr. Ong Siang has worked for the welfare of his countrymen in Singapore for many years. He is a fine rifle-shot, and has always been a keen Volunteer, having formed one of the Straits Contingent for the Coronation in 1902.

The second century of Singapore history finds the Singapore Bar on those pleasant terms of friendship which should always mark its conduct; its doyen is Mr. Edwin Rowland Koek, who was admitted in 1888. The War has made gaps in our ranks. We have had to mourn the death of Mr. Philip Walton, S.V.A. (Donaldson and Burkinshaw), accidentally killed in the Mutiny on the 18th February 1915; Captain Harold Millard (Donaldson and Burkinshaw), Northamptonshire Regiment, who, after serving through the Gallipoli Campaign, was killed in action on the Western Front on the 11th April 1917; Captain C. R. à Beckett Terrell, M.C. (Drew and Napier), Royal Field Artillery, who was killed in action on the Western Front on the 10th June 1917; and Lieutenant Hector Alan Lane (Sisson and Delay), East Lancashire Regiment, who was killed on the 25th May 1915, at the second Battle of Ypres.

In addition to these gallant souls, we remember with pride that out of our not very large number the following have served during the Great War: Captain Gilbert Squarey Carver (Donaldson and Burkinshaw), 1st



RT. WOR. BRO. SIR WALTER JOHN NAPIER, D.C.I.
District Grand Master 1903-8.



RT. WOR. BRO. FREDERICK MITCHELL ELLIOT, O.B.E.
District Grand Master 1909-10.

Cheshire Regiment, wounded on the Western Front on the 9th October 1917 ; Captain A. K. à Beckett Terrell (Drew and Napier), Royal Field Artillery, served on the Western Front ; Lieutenant W. M. Graham (Drew and Napier), who was first engaged on ambulance work on the Western Front, then joined the French Air Force, and afterwards the Royal Flying Corps, and who also served on the Italian Front, was awarded the Croix de Guerre and the British Military Medal ; Lieutenant-Commander L. E. Gaunt, R.N.V.R. (Allan and Gledhill), who served with the Grand Fleet ; Mr. H. C. Cooke-Yarborough (Allan and Gledhill), Ambulance Driver, British Red Cross attached to the Italian Third Army ; Captain J. A. Lucie-Smith (Allen and Gledhill), Dublin Fusiliers, served in Salonika ; Mr. T. G. Ryott (Allen and Gledhill), Corporal H.A.C., served in France ; Lieutenant E. W. Willett (Allen and Gledhill), served in Mesopotamia with the Transport ; Lieutenant C. Dickenson (Sisson and Delay), R.G.A., who had the misfortune to be captured in the *Hitachi Maru* by the German raider *Wolf* while on his way to England ; and Lieutenant R. L. L. Braddell (Braddell Brothers), R.G.A., who was in the fighting on the Western Front from the German attack in March 1918 to the signing of the Armistice.

The writer hopes that this article may not be thought too biographical : after all, the history of a place such as Singapore is chiefly the history of the men who lived in it, and the thought that an endeavour to show what manner of men the Judges and lawyers of the place have been would prove of more value than the statement of facts and details of a dry nature that would be more fitted for a law book. That this article contains many omissions he feels very conscious, but seeks to excuse himself in the following lines from Lamquet :

J'ai tant de choses à vous dire
Qu'on en ferait un livre entier,
S'il me fallait vous les écrire
J'y sécherais tout l'encrier.

The best thanks of the writer are due to Mr. Maurice

Rodesse, of the Supreme Court, whose long acquaintance with the Court and its characters is now unique, and who, with his usual unfailing courtesy, has supplied the writer with much of the material in the later part of this article.

CRIME: ITS PUNISHMENT AND PREVENTION

By Roland St. J. Braddell

THE scope of this article covers so many matters of importance to our community of mixed races that the writer has thought it best to divide it into separate sub-headings rather than to attempt to cover the whole ground chronologically, a course which could only lead to confusion.

THE POLICE FORCE

The history of the Singapore Police Force really begins with the appointment of Mr. Thomas Dunman to it; prior to that the police were little better than the old-fashioned "Charleys," and were hopelessly insufficient and inefficient. The first head of the police in Singapore, appointed in 1819, was Mr. F. J. Bernard, a son-in-law of Major Farquhar. In 1821 he had under him a writer, a jailer, two sergeants, and seventeen constables. By 1841 the force consisted of the Sitting Magistrate as Superintendent, three European constables, and an assistant native constable, fourteen officers and 110 policemen.

Writing in 1828, Mr. Crawford mentions that several cases of murder occurred in the course of the year, perpetrated in open day and witnessed by numbers; but he says that the proportion of such crimes was not so high as in Penang owing to the higher price of labour in Singapore, and the consequent hearty and flourishing condition of the Settlement.

Mr. J. T. Thomson, writing of the 'Thirties, mentions the great number of murders that went unpunished in consequence of the great laxity of the Government.

He says that he had not been two days in Singapore before he came across the dead body of a Kling, lying across the public road, within half a mile of the town, with his throat cut from ear to ear, and that he had not been here six months before he fell across five human beings weltering in their blood, also lying on the public road two miles out of town. In four years he counted no less than twenty bodies of murdered men on the public roads, all within a few miles of the town. As usual, during this period the police were hopelessly underpaid ; the real head of the force received only £60 per annum. The result was that they made up their pay out of the gambling which was rife all over the Settlement.

In 1831 the force consisted of only eighteen men, and that was a year of great lawlessness, as was 1832. The Chinese Hoeys or secret societies were a constant source of trouble ; the first mention of them occurs in 1831, when the Resident Councillor sent a list of questions about them to the Superintendent of Police, but no action was taken. At that time it was said that a secret society exceeding one thousand men was established in the jungle, where they actually had an armed fort. In 1832 the Grand Jury, in their presentment at the Assizes, referred to the numerous burglaries that had been committed by gangs of Chinese in bodies of fifty to one hundred men. They said that the atrocities of these villains had increased to such an extent that if some active measures were not taken to put a stop to their career, there was every possibility of their becoming so powerful that it would not be safe for anyone to reside at a distance from town or to settle as a cultivator in the interior. Nothing much seems to have been done, and crime and lawlessness continued unchecked for years until, as a result of a long series of robberies and attacks by numbers of armed Chinese, a public meeting was held at the office of Messrs. Hamilton, Gray and Co., on the 10th February 1843, with Mr. Thomas Oxley, the Sheriff, in the chair. A number of resolutions were

passed, calling attention to the prevalence of crime, and asking for the improvement and more energetic management of the police.

The Government acted at last, and in September of that year appointed Mr. Thomas Dunman, an assistant in Messrs. Martin, Dyce and Co., to the office of Deputy Magistrate and Superintendent of Police. Mr. J. T. Thomson, in a later book about the Straits, wrote that "it was Congalton who swept the Malay waters of pirates ; it was Dunman who first gave security to households in Singapore by raising and training an efficient police force."

The Resident Councillor, however, was *ex officio* Commissioner of Police, and Mr. Dunman's position was not satisfactory at first. In 1856 strong opinions were expressed that the duties of Commissioner of Police should not be hampered with magistrate's work and duty in the Resident Councillor's office, and as Governor Blundell shared in this view, the Governor-in-Council from Calcutta agreed to make the office a separate and distinct one. It was, naturally, conferred on Mr. Dunman in June 1857, and on the Transfer he became Commissioner of Police for the whole Colony, retiring finally in 1871.

Mr. Dunman's success was pronounced, and Mr. Buckley says that one secret of it was that as he was known and liked among all classes of the community, European and native, they were willing to give him assistance and information. He used to go about the town at all hours of the day and night, so that little went on that he did not know about. He was, also, thoroughly trusted by the headmen of the secret societies, who knew that they could trust him not to divulge the source of any information which they gave him.

During his period of office there were three serious outbreaks of riot. The first occurred in 1846, in consequence of the authorities refusing to allow a funeral procession at the burial of one of the headmen of a secret society unless it did not exceed one hundred

persons. But the most serious troubles that have ever occurred in Singapore, excepting the mutiny of the 5th Light Infantry in 1915, were those of 1854.

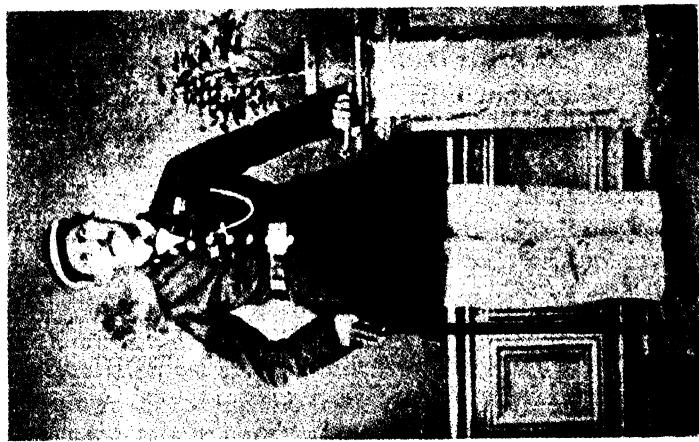
Trouble had been brewing between the Hok-kiens and the Teo-chews for some time; but the actual cause of the outbreak was, as is often the case, quite trivial. A Hok-kien and a Teo-chew had a quarrel over the price of some bananas, high words ensued, the quarrel was taken up by the bystanders, and blows followed. The battle grew in extent, and spread from street to street; all the shops and houses were quickly closed and barricaded, and the fight became general throughout the town. Mr. Dunman found that the police could not cope with it, so the military were called out and parties landed from H.M. Ships *Sybil*, *Lily*, and *Rapid*. They succeeded in clearing the streets, but the spirit of clannish hatred had become thoroughly aroused. None of the shops dared re-open, and when any of the streets was left unguarded the men on both sides would rush out and commence the fight again. Finally, finding that they could only fight at short intervals and in small numbers in the town, the two clans marched out in large bodies into the country, where many pitched battles took place, and large numbers were killed on both sides, the heads of the dead being cut off and carried on the spears of their adversaries.

All the merchants' godowns in town were closed and business completely suspended. The residents were sworn in as special constables, as also were many of the captains and officers of the ships lying in the harbour, and detachments of these were sent all over the countryside while the military guarded the town. The rioters offered little resistance to the Europeans, so that not one of the troops, police, or specials was seriously hurt; they were only anxious to fight each other. After about a fortnight both clans began to quieten down, and matters were eventually cemented up between them by the most influential of the Chinese merchants. In a great measure owing to these riots, the Singapore

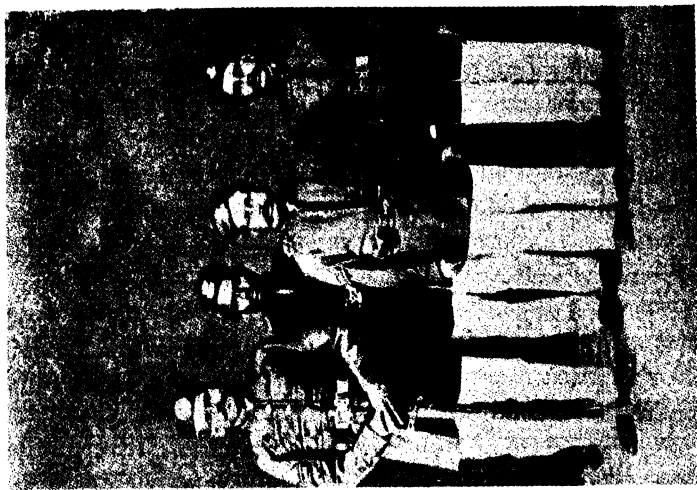
Volunteer Rifle Corps was founded in this year. Mr. Dunman was thanked by the Government for his services in the riots, and was presented with a sword of honour.

The next riots occurred in 1857, but were not nearly so serious; they were due to the passing of a new Municipal Act which the Chinese did not understand. The military and the volunteers were called out, and distributed through the town, so that peace was soon restored.

In 1863, or thereabouts, the police were first put into regular uniform, the idea being introduced by Mr. K. B. S. Robertson, then Deputy Commissioner of Police, who died at Mount Pleasant, Thompson Road, on Good Friday 1868. Mr. Dunman never wore uniform, however, except on very ceremonial occasions. The full dress of the native police, Malays and Klings alike, was dark blue serge coat and cap, white trousers, and black shoes. In 1879 there were complaints all round against the serge, which was too thick, and which at that time was used for ordinary work, both for trousers and coat, the white trousers being used only for parade and special duty. The Police Commission of that year recommended a lighter serge, and for day duty khaki, but it was not until 1890 that khaki was experimented with. At that date drabbet tunics were in use by both Europeans and natives. A hundred men were put into khaki to begin with, but they were made to wear white gaiters, which proved very unpopular owing to the trouble of keeping them clean. By 1893 khaki was found to be a success, and the force was put permanently into it, the gaiters being done away with; blue serge and white gaiters, however, remained the full dress until 1910. The officers' full levee dress of dark blue cloth, velvet cuffs and collar, with silver braid, was abolished in 1902, and white drill substituted as full dress. The result is that no commissioned officer of the police can wear a uniform in England, not even the probationers when undergoing training at the Royal Irish Constabulary School.



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OLD POLICE UNIFORMS.

Mr. Dunman was succeeded on his retirement by Colonel Samuel Dunlop, R.A., C.M.G. In 1875 he became Inspector-General of Police for the whole Colony ; this title had been introduced in 1871 by the Police Force Ordinance of that year. Colonel Dunlop performed other valuable services besides his purely police duties. In November 1874 he was sent as Commissioner with the forces despatched to quell the disturbances in Sungei Ujong, and in November 1875, after the murder of Mr. J. W. W. Birch, was appointed Special Commissioner temporarily for Perak affairs. He organised the expedition which captured the Pasir Salak stockades, and was present at their capture. During the December operations in Perak he was Commissioner to the Forces, and accompanied General Colborne's force up the Perak River and across country to Kinta. He remained in the police until 1884, when he was appointed Acting Resident Councillor in Penang, which post he held for a year, and then returned to the police. In 1889 he was appointed President of the Singapore Municipality, and retired in 1890. His daughter married Mr. W. P. Waddell, of Boustead and Co.

The police force from 1857 to 1871 was under the Police Act of 1856 ; the Police Ordinance of 1871 was repealed, and re-enacted in 1872, under which latter Ordinance the force remains at this date.

Although Mr. Dunman had been very successful with the police, considerable dissatisfaction with the state of the force was expressed in 1870, so that the Honourable Mr. Thomas Scott took up the question in the Legislative Council, and drew up a very careful memorandum on the question, which he addressed to the Governor in February 1871. As a consequence the Ordinance of that year was passed. In his memorandum to the Secretary of State upon the Ordinance of 1872, Governor Ord pointed out the necessity for accommodating the police and their families in proper quarters. At that time they were distributed all over the town, wherever they could find accommodation. A beginning was made

by building married quarters at the various country stations, and a marked benefit to the service at once evinced itself; but it was found impossible to do this in town. The withdrawal of the native troops as a result of the Transfer had, however, placed the Sepoy Lines at the disposal of the Government, and accommodation was found in them for a number of the police.

By 1879 the police had got into a very bad state; there were no less than 770 cases of crime in the force in 1878, when it numbered 550, and complaints were general, with the result that the Unofficials took up the matter in Council, and a Commission of Enquiry was appointed, consisting of Mr. Cecil Smith, then Colonial Secretary, Mr. W. W. Willans, the Treasurer, and Messrs. W. H. Read, Walter Scott, and T. Shelford, the last three all being Unofficial Members of the Council. The force at this time consisted of an Inspector-General, a Superintendent, a Chief Inspector, six inspectors, ten sub-inspectors, two sergeant-majors, eleven sergeants, forty-two corporals, and four hundred and fifty-four constables.

The Commission highly recommended the superior officers. Major Dunlop, they said, though having no special training, possessed the advantages of the valuable education which his scientific corps, the Artillery, gave; but they found that he was unduly lenient, and had weakened the *moral* of the force consequently. The inspectors were mostly enlisted in the Colony, and gained their position more by force of circumstances than by their own merit, but the inducements were too small to attract better men. Here was the old story of parsimony, and at this present date, although the police are an admirable force, their pay and pensions stand in need of great increases if the efficiency of the force is to be preserved. The Commission found that the inspectors were not, as a body, men on whose fidelity and capacity reliance could be placed. Corruption was believed to exist amongst them to a greater extent than was provable in a Court of Law.

The native force was composed of Malays and Klings in about equal proportions, and of them the Chief Justice, in his evidence before the Commission, said that he found them very ignorant and deficient in intelligence, with some marked exceptions. Bribery and corruption were rife amongst them ; Mr. J. D. Vaughan, the lawyer, said that they were just as bad as they had been twenty years before when he was in the police. They were hopelessly over-worked, getting about four hours' rest at a time, with the result that they were always going to sleep on their beat. One sub-inspector said, in his evidence, " During the night I go the rounds. Generally I find the men asleep on their beats. They sit down and drop off to sleep." Their hours of duty were a six-hour stretch, and they were physically unfitted for it. In 1884, however, one still finds the Inspector-General reporting that the Malay and Kling constables were over-worked, seldom getting more than three and a half hours off duty at a time.

In their evidence Major Dunlop and Messrs. Braddell, the Attorney-General, and Ommaney, Superintendent of Police, stated that they preferred the Klings to the Malays, but most of the other witnesses held the contrary, as the Klings were prone to drink, bribery, and cruelty. The Commission reported in favour of having Malays only, but Klings continued to be appointed for years afterwards.

There were no rules or regulations for the governance of the police ; certain clauses of Ordinances were read at Roll Calls, and the corporal of each section was supposed to go round and teach the men their duty.

The detective branch under Inspector Richards was highly spoken of by his own superior officers, the Chief Justice, the Attorney-General, and many others. He had eighteen N.C.O.'s and men under him, all Klings and Malays. Chinese informers were very largely relied on, as they are to this day ; Chinese had been tried as regular detectives, but had failed, as they entered the secret societies and devoted themselves to the interests of those

societies which paid them best. The Commission found that on the whole the detectives worked well, but were far too few in number.

Paragraph 57 of the Commission's Report reads as follows :

" The different races, the numerous Secret Societies, the wide-spread communities, and the extent of country all render it most difficult to provide a satisfactory and honest supervision by Police over these Settlements. At any rate it cannot be done without much greater expenditure than has yet been incurred ; but inasmuch as it is among the first duties of Government to ensure reasonable protection to the inhabitants of the Colony by which the persons are attracted here to develop its resources, it may be earnestly hoped that now the Revenue permits, no further time will be lost in placing the Force on an efficient footing."

The Commission's recommendations involved large increases of pay, but they quoted in support this language of a former Secretary of State : "*There can be no such short-sighted and injudicious economy as, that which would refuse the necessary outlay for maintaining the police in a state of complete efficiency for the preservation of order and the enforcement of the law, without which industry can never flourish.*" The words are printed here in italics, because they cannot be over-emphasised.

Among the many recommendations were the establishment of police schools for the education of the police, concentration on the Malays as the recruitment population of the police and a rejection of the Klings, and the introduction of Sikhs.

The Government, as usual, cogitated long over this Report, so that Major Dunlop, in his report for the year 1880, said that the delay in giving effect to the recommendations had brought the force to a lower state than he had ever known. " Many years must elapse before the evil effects of this delay must pass away," he wrote, and also the Government inaction presented " a disastrous check to local recruiting."

In 1881, however, a move was made, police schools were started, the police were relieved from the duty of keeping order in the Magistrates' Courts and serving summonses and process, which latter duties were entrusted to peons under ushers responsible to the Magistrates, Chinese interpreters were appointed to the most important divisions in Singapore, and the Inspectors were arranged in classes. The Inspector-General, in his report for this year, stated that "for the first time for many years no inspector has been dismissed the force." In the next year the improvement was further marked, the establishment of good conduct pay having materially assisted.

The year 1881 was a most important year in police annals, for two new contingents were introduced, the European and the Sikh. On the 25th March two inspectors and twenty-one trained European constables arrived in the Colony, and on the next day an Assistant Superintendent and fifty-four Sikhs arrived from the Punjaub, while a further batch arrived in August, and the full contingent for Singapore and Penang, 165 of all ranks, was complete by November. The Assistant Superintendent was Mr. Stevens, who volunteered for service in the Straits force and brought the Sikhs from the Punjaub; he was their first officer, and had much to do with the success of the experiment.

The European contingent "came out with exaggerated ideas of the value and nature of their appointments, and when they came to realise that money was not so valuable here as in England, and that they were intended for work, not show, they exhibited a considerable amount of discontent." However, they soon realised that their officers were using every endeavour to secure their comfort, and so settled down and worked satisfactorily. In 1882 Major Dunlop was able to report that the contingent was proved, and that it had smartened the native police up considerably; but he recommended that their pay was insufficient. In 1892 the European contingent was reported to be in a mutinous condition: grievances

over pay as usual, and grievances which were fully justified. In 1906 the inspectors were reported as being the backbone of the service, and since then the system of employing Europeans as constables and sergeants has been done away ; they are used only in the higher ranks.

The Sikh contingent proved an immediate success, and the service became very popular in the Punjab. In his report for 1881 Major Dunlop said : " I have no hesitation in stating that the Sikh contingent will form the nucleus of an admirable armed police," and so it proved. In 1890 he reported that they were the best and most satisfactory contingent in the force, and in 1894 a large part of them volunteered and were employed in Pahang during the disturbances there. In 1891 and 1892 the Sikhs were first employed on beat duty, and, proving a great success, have been so utilised ever since. Finally, it may be recorded with satisfaction that during the Mutiny in 1915 the Sikhs stood fast, and proved themselves worthy of their salt.

In 1886 the new Central Station was occupied ; this is the present one. The old one had been reported by Major Dunlop as in a ruinous condition, and full of vermin. In 1902 the administration block of buildings was pulled down, and the offices were moved to temporary buildings on Hong Lim Green, at the back of the Police Courts. In 1905 the present police offices were completed and occupied.

Towards the end of 1888 another Police Commission was appointed to enquire into the causes of the difficulty in recruiting for the native police force. The Commissioners were General Sir Charles Warren, G.C.M.G., the Honourable Mr. William Adamson, and Mr. Justice Goldney. As a consequence of their recommendations, a new scale of pay was introduced in 1890 for the Sikh and native contingents.

The Commission reported also in favour of employing more Chinese ; at the time of its meetings there were six Chinese constables at Kreta Ayer and a few employed

in the Detective Department. In 1890, therefore, a fresh departure was made by bringing down twenty-five Chinese constables from Hongkong, and a second batch in the next year. They were a disastrous failure, as many of them were found to be of the Hongkong criminal classes! The venture ended in entire failure, and it was not until 1902 that an experiment was made again with Chinese. Plain-clothes constables were appointed, and proved a success. There are Chinese in the force at this date doing well as sub-inspectors, detectives, and uniformed constables.

Colonel Dunlop was succeeded as Inspector-General by Mr. Robert Walter Maxwell, third son of Sir Peter Benson Maxwell, the Chief Justice, whose secretary he was from 1869 to 1871, when he joined the police. Mr. Maxwell had acted as Inspector-General on several occasions prior to his appointment in 1891. He was a very good officer, but unfortunately had to retire owing to ill-health in August 1894, dying in England in 1895.

In 1891, as a result of the report of the Commission of 1888, the duties of the Inspector-General were changed from executive to administrative, and the Chief Police Officer became the head of the executive. At first the Inspector-General was given a room in the Government Offices, and though he was put in direct telephonic communication with the Central Station, this was found to be a bad arrangement, so he moved over to the Central, where his offices have been ever since.

Mr. Maxwell was succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel Pennefather, who was appointed in 1895, and who had previously served in the Inniskilling Dragoons. He had had no police experience, and always remained the military officer rather than the policeman. He retired in 1905.

In 1897 a detachment of Malay police went home for the Diamond Jubilee, and were attached to the Malay States Guides under Lieutenant-Colonel R. S. F. Walker.

Previous to 1904 appointments as officers in the force were made by transfers of officers from other Colonial

police forces, and by nomination of gentlemen by the Colonial Office ; but in 1902 a new system was introduced, the Police Probationer system. Entrance to the commissioned ranks in our police is now gained only after examination and probation. Many of the probationers are sent to China to study Chinese, a most necessary qualification in a place where the vast majority of the criminal classes are Chinese. The new system of appointing officers has proved a great success, and the type of officer that now comes to our force should ensure its future.

Lieutenant-Colonel Pennefather was succeeded, in 1905, by Captain William Andrew Cuscaden, I.S.O., who was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he was senior sophister, and who served in the 4th Royal Dublin Fusiliers, in which battalion he was Instructor of Musketry. He entered the Gold Coast Constabulary in 1879, became Assistant District Commissioner at Lagos in 1880, receiving the thanks of Government for organising native levees and raising a force of 6,000 men. In 1883 he was appointed Chief Inspector of the Straits Force, and the next year Assistant Superintendent of Police. "Tim," as he was always called, was a most genial Irishman, very popular socially, and a successful police officer. He was a huge man, and had played Rugby football for Ireland, but like most big, powerful men, was very kind-hearted. He dearly loved an Irishman naturally, and while he was here the Police Courts rang with the brogue, for nearly all his recruits came from the Royal Irish Constabulary. He retired in 1913, and when the War broke out resumed his old position of Instructor of Musketry, in which he did most useful work, helping in the training of the new battalions. One of his sons is now Chief Police Officer in Johore.

In 1906 the Malacca depot for training Malay police was started under Inspector Tyrrell, and has done very useful work. This inspector performed valuable services while he was out here, but he fell sick, and resigned in 1908.



CAPTAIN WILLIAM ANDREW CUSCADEN, I.S.O.

In 1914 the present Inspector-General was appointed, the Hon. Mr. A. R. Chancellor, and under him the police have flourished. He has had the unique honour of being appointed to the Legislative Council, the first Inspector-General to be so appointed.

The writer is glad to pay a tribute to the police of Singapore after thirteen years' experience of them and their work in the Police Courts. Despite the poor conditions of the service, the inspectors are a capable, hard-working, and honest set of men, and one only hopes that the future will see such all-round increases in pay and pensions as will make the force one an appointment in which is sought after.

Considering the time that the force has been in existence and the good work that many of its members have put in, it has been much neglected in the bestowal of honours. Mr. Dunman received a sword of honour, as we have seen, but no decoration. In 1847 Constable Simonides received a gold medal for having suppressed 111 gambling dens in ten months. Major Dunlop received the C.M.G. and Captain Cuscaden the I.S.O. and the King's Police Medal. Mr. Van der Beck received the I.S.O. for his services as Financial Assistant, and retired in 1912 after 41 years' service, a magnificent record. Imperial Service Medals have been won by Sergeant-Majors Bololoh and Puteh, each with forty years' service. King's Police Medals have been won by constables Salabad Khan and Mohamed Ali bin Nabi, both for bravery. The circumstances are such, that a record of these deeds of bravery cannot be omitted ; they were acts that the whole force and the public may well be proud of.

At 9 p.m. on the 21st July 1914, P.C. 154, Mohamed Ali bin Nabi, was on duty in Hailam Street when he heard the sound of fighting in Bugis Street near by. He proceeded in the direction, and saw a Malay sailor named Mahmud bin Hitam fighting with another. He arrested Mahmud, when the latter's comrade Ismail came up and rescued him, both running off, followed by P.C. 154.

Mahmud, after a little, turned, and drawing a knife, tried to stab the constable in his chest ; but the latter succeeded in warding off the blow, getting his hand severely cut in doing so. The constable then took a cane from a man selling them near by, and again approached the two sailors, whereupon Ismail came up and knocked him down with a blow on the jaw from his fist, and as the constable lay on the ground he was stabbed by Mahmud in the left shoulder, after which Mahmud ran off. The constable could not now use his left hand or arm ; but he gave chase, and, coming up with Mahmud, brought him down with his cane, which he then dropped and seized Mahmud's hand, grasping the knife. This, however, Mahmud managed to slip to his other hand, and got home a stab on the constable's back, which caused him to let go. The chase then began again, and the constable once more came up with Mahmud. Both men rolled over on the ground together, Mahmud stabbing furiously at his captor, who could use only one hand. In all probability the constable would have been stabbed to death, had not Mr. Goodman, of the Chinese Protectorate, come to his assistance, as well as a Lance-Corporal of the K.O.Y.L.I., who knocked the knife from Mahmud's hand. Another Lance-Corporal of the same regiment and a civilian also came up, and Mahmud was arrested. The constable was wounded in six places, but made a marvellous recovery.

At 8.30 p.m. on the 8th June 1916, a Cantonese named Koh Yeow Swee was stabbed to death in Pagoda Street by two other Cantonese named Lam Chai and Ah Sap. This was the culmination of trouble which had been brewing between a lot of new workmen employed by a goldsmith in South Bridge Road and the old lot of men whose places had been taken by the new ones. The men above-named met as they were heading two gangs which had collected to fight the matter out. Following the murder, a free fight started between the two gangs, who were armed with knives and iron bolts. The police were quickly on the scene. Amongst the first arrivals was P.C. 281, Ali, of the Central Station. He attempted

to arrest one of the Chinese, who struck him several times with an iron bolt, besides which the constable received some stab wounds ; but he managed to hold his prisoner until assistance came. Police reinforcements arrived, and many of the rioters dashed into Wayang Street, where they continued to fight. P.C. 292, Salabad Khan, was alone on beat duty in Wayang Street, but he went straight into the fight, and attempted to arrest one Lim Ah Wah, who was armed with a long knife. The constable pursued Lim Ah Wah for some distance, when the latter turned suddenly and stabbed the constable in the chest below the left collar-bone. The constable, however, closed with his assailant, whose arms he managed to pin to his side. During the struggle that ensued Salabad Khan received two more stab-wounds, but still held his prisoner, though weak from loss of blood. Assistance eventually arrived, and Lim Ah Wah was secured. Salabad Khan reached hospital in a state of collapse, and was not expected to live, but he made a marvellous recovery, fortunately.

DETECTION AND REGISTRATION OF CRIMINALS

The detection of crime is, of course, a matter of supreme importance to any community. We have seen how the Police Commission of 1879 reported favourably on the detective branch of the police force, and since then, naturally, vast improvements have been made.

In 1889 Detective-Inspector Richards, who may almost be described as the father of our detective force, took his pension, after twenty-nine years' service ; his retirement was a great loss to the force, but his successor, Inspector Porteous, proved every bit as capable.

In 1884 the detective force had been organised under Inspectors Holmyard and Richards as a separate department, and was mentioned in that year for its good work. In 1899 Chief Inspector Perrett, of the Metropolitan Police Force, was appointed to Singapore. It was a new appointment, and its object was to make the supervision of known criminals systematic. This is an ex-

ceedingly important branch of police work, and the extent to which the detective forces in Europe rely upon it is very great. Criminals have a habit of always committing the same type of crime, so that when, for instance, a safe-robbery occurs, the police turn up their record of known safe-robbers, find out which are out of gaol, hunt them up, trace their movements at the date of the crime, and generally arrive at a discovery of the criminal.

In 1901 a Criminal Registration Department was started, with Chief Detective-Inspector Perrett in charge. He got the work well in hand, and in 1902 the finger-print system was studied, and introduced in the next year, in which the Inspector-General was able to report that both it and the registration of criminals were in thorough working order. Chief Detective-Inspector Perrett was promoted to Assistant Superintendent in 1907, since when he has retired. He was a very capable officer, with a very pleasant manner in Court, where he conducted his prosecutions with skill.

The success of the finger-print system in Singapore was largely due to Sergeant Flak, who was responsible to a great extent for the system of registering them. He retired, became a planter, and then went to New York, where he entered the finger-print department, and revised the system there throughout.

In 1902 the Criminal Procedure Code was brought into operation, and by it a great and beneficial change was introduced in the investigation of crime by giving the police proper powers of summoning witnesses and taking statements from them compulsorily. Mr. J. R. Innes, C.M.G., was appointed the first Deputy Public Prosecutor, and was of the greatest assistance in facilitating the work under the Code; indeed, without his help its novel provisions could hardly have been made intelligible to the force. Mr. Innes was Acting Chief Judicial Commissioner of the Federated Malay States when he retired in 1919.

In 1904 the Detective Department was reorganised, and the new post of Chinese Sub-Inspector was created,

Mr. Tay Kim Swee being appointed. He resigned fairly recently, and is now clerk to a firm of lawyers.

In 1910 a central finger-print registry was started at Kuala Lumpur and placed under an expert. This was a wise move, as the interchange between the Colony and the States, each having its separate registry, led to delay and confusion.

The great value of the finger-print system was illustrated in 1912 by Chief Detective-Inspector Taylor, in the New Bridge Road gang robbery case, which will be noticed later.

Mr. Taylor is without doubt the finest detective we have had out here, and the public owed him a great debt of gratitude while he was in charge of the Detective Department. Originally in the Army as a gymnastic instructor, he joined the Metropolitan Police Force, from which he went into the Railway Police as a detective, and this proved a fine training-ground for his service in Singapore. In the Johore Piracy case of 1909, which is mentioned in the article on "Law and the Lawyers," he put in some very clever work ; in 1912 he routed out the foreign pimps and bullies who lived on the proceeds of prostitution, and in that year broke up Mah Tow Kuan's most dangerous gang of robbers, referred to later in this article. One of Mr. Taylor's smartest bits of work occurred when a robbery at a foreign firm of pearl merchants had resulted in the removal of a whole season's catch. Consternation ensued ; but the police went at it all through the night, so that the next morning Mr. Taylor was able to report thirty-six arrests and the recovery of every one of the pearls ! In 1914 Mr. Taylor was appointed head of the Preventive Service of the Government Monopolies in succession to Mr. Howard, who had done yeoman service there, and also as Chief Inspector. Mr. Taylor's departure was a great loss to the police force, to which it is hoped he will return when the Criminal Investigation Department starts in earnest.

The formation of this department is essential, and its absence during the Mutiny and the War generally must

have been felt severely ; it resulted, at all events, in Fort Canning having to perform duties that belonged more properly to a Criminal Investigation Department.

In 1901 the establishment of a C.I.D., as it is usually called, was first advocated. The present Inspector-General has been working for long on a scheme, which is now to come into operation.

A Criminal Intelligence Branch is to be organised, and housed, it is hoped, in a fine new administrative block to be erected on the corner now occupied by boarding officers' quarters at the junction of Cecil Street and Robinson Road, near the Detective Station. In this same building the Criminal Investigation Department will be housed, under an Assistant Superintendent and four inspectors, with a staff of detectives, on considerably higher rates of pay than the uniform branch so as to attract a good class of man. The department is to be divided into five branches : (a) Criminal Investigation, (b) Banishment and Deportations, (c) Police Gazette, (d) Criminal Museum for instructional purposes, and (e) Photography.

In the near future it is hoped to start a police depot for the systematic training of the future members of the force, which will supersede the present archaic and inefficient methods.

If these reforms come into being, the Settlement will owe a great debt of gratitude to the energy and foresight of its present Inspector-General. They are essential reforms, as anyone engaged in criminal practice at the Bar will say at once, and they should not be hampered by that parsimony which has for so long blocked the way of police reform.

NOTABLE CRIMES

So far as the statistics of crime go in Singapore, they show it to be far above any town of its size in Europe ; but how far these statistics are really reliable is a matter into which it is not proposed to go here. The Government possesses one very powerful and most necessary deterrent,

banishment ; but this applies only to aliens, and not to British subjects.

The power of banishment was first conferred on the Government by an Indian Act of 1864 ; the present powers are contained in the Banishment Ordinance of 1888, by virtue of which any alien may be banished if it appears to the Governor-in-Council that his presence in the Colony is inconsistent with the public safety or public welfare, and if the person whom it is proposed to banish claims to be a British subject, the burden of proving that fact lies on him. The power rests in the sole discretion of the Executive Council, and the Supreme Court has held that it cannot interfere in any way whatsoever. As Sir Walter Napier wrote in an article in the *Straits Chinese Magazine* in 1899, " that a man may, if he be an alien whose presence in the Colony is considered undesirable, be summoned before the Executive Council, deprived of the assistance of Counsel, and tried by a Court every member of which is sworn to secrecy, irresistibly reminds one of the Star Chamber and of Courts Martial in France." Agitations against the Ordinance have often been engineered ; but it is an essential one for the good government of the Colony, and there is not the slightest reason to suspect that the powers have ever been abused.

The orderliness of large crowds of mixed races in Singapore have frequently been a matter of comment and surprise. Thus in the Police Report for 1887, the Jubilee year, the Inspector-General observed that " the enthusiasm evolved by its celebration amongst the Chinese and Malay and Tamil communities was most remarkable, and the peace and good order maintained by the immense crowds collected in the towns of the Colony showed how genuine the rejoicings were and how very contented our mixed population is." Similarly, the remarkable absence of crime during the Diamond Jubilee celebrations was noted in the Report for 1897 ; and recently the Centenary Celebrations, which caused an enormous concourse of people at the Race Course,

were marked by a total absence of drunkenness and crime.

The most frequent type of crime in Singapore is against property, and of it gambling is the father and the mother. Gambling is one of the curses of the Colony; it is the cause of the greatest distress and misery, too often because of the appeal which gambling makes to Chinese women. It is always rife in Singapore; but at times there are gigantic outbursts, that force public attention upon it. The Gambling Suppression Department does its best; but if gambling is to be really suppressed, the Department must be reorganised and enlarged, and a vigorous campaign must be instituted against the owners (and not merely the occupiers) of common gaming-houses, most of which are well known to the police. A reliance on informers such as is now the case is merely futile, and plays into the hands of these people, who are well known to levy toll from the gaming-houses in return for not informing.

At first gambling was permitted by the Government under licence; but in 1823 Raffles asked the opinions of the Magistrates about the desirability of such licences, and they unanimously represented their great and growing evils; so the system was abolished and public gaming prohibited. The evils of gaming were thus recognised within the first four years of the Settlement's existence.

It was alleged, in support of the gambling farm, that by putting it under regulations the quantity of vice was diminished; but Raffles said that *independently of the want of authority in any Government to countenance evil for the sake of good*, he could not admit that the effects of any regulation whatever, established on such a principle, could be put in competition with the solid advantages which must accrue from the administration of a government acting on strict moral principles, discountenancing vice, and exercising its best efforts to repress it.

It is not merely a matter of ethics or morals that gambling should be stopped, nor does the mischief lie

in the fact that the public are cheated by the gambling proprietors, for as a matter of fact they very rarely are. The real mischief lies in the fact that gambling is an inherent vice with the Chinese and the Malay, and that too great indulgence in it almost invariably leads to crime. There are hundreds of well-known cases of prosperous chops [firms] being ruined by it, estates dissipated, and employees embezzling their employer's property, while robbery and theft are too often the result of serious gambling losses and consequent impoverishment.

In 1870 the Chinese petitioned Government for the suppression of the Wha Whey Lotteries, then wide-spread all over the town. The petition stated that "this gaming has an irresistible allurements to silly poor natives to rush headlong into it," and it referred to the consequent crime and ruination of both sexes. As a consequence the Gaming Ordinance of 1870 was passed in exceedingly strict terms.

In 1886 things were so bad that a Commission of Enquiry was appointed, and in consequence of their report the present very strict Ordinance of 1888 was passed. The Gambling Suppression Department was instituted in 1889 to carry out its provisions.

As has been said, every now and then there comes a great outbreak of gambling in Singapore. In 1893 the great Wei Seng lotteries were held all over the town in defiance of the law, and were stopped only by the banishment of some of the most influential gamblers. This is a form of lottery of which one never hears at this date; another form that has gone out is the Wha Whey, which with the Wei Seng seems to have lost all popularity since 1903.

The last outburst of gaming occurred in 1916, when the Johore Gambling Farm was still in existence. The trains to Johore were crowded, and huge lotteries were held in Singapore, decided by the Johore declarations. So widespread was this wave that lotteries were actually discovered to be held by the employees of a big European

bank and a big European firm, the tickets being sold on the premises, though, of course, on the sly and without the knowledge of the employers, while a most flourishing lottery was conducted in the Marine Police Station until discovered by the Inspector in charge! There was also at least one murder traced directly to Chap Ji Ki.

Singapore is on the whole singularly free from serious crime; but every now and then it is startled by daring crimes, and it may be interesting to note shortly a few of the more serious cases.

On the 31st March 1887 persons residing next to No. 70 North Bridge Road, a coffee-shop, complained to the police of ill-odours arising from the house. The police broke it open, and found that the occupant, a Russian Jewess named Sally Rosenberg, had been murdered, and her body thrown into the well. Three days previously a man named Sigismund Grabowski had been found wandering about at New Harbour Dock almost without clothing; he stated that an attempt had been made to drown him. He was sent to hospital, and discharged on the day the murder was discovered; but as the police found that he had been seen recently in company with the deceased woman, he was arrested and charged with her murder. After very great efforts to obtain evidence—efforts which extended to the bringing of evidence from Japan—he was duly convicted; the sentence to death, however, was commuted to penal servitude for life. This was a particularly brutal murder, for the murderer first strangled the woman, then battered her head with an iron bolt, dragged her downstairs, and threw her into the well. The principal piece of evidence against him was his hat, which fell into the well, and which he forgot to take out of it. The cause of the crime seems to have been jealousy.

During the course of the trial of Grabowski there was some reference to the premises being bewitched, and it is an extraordinary fact that two more murders took place at those same premises, the last being the "Globe Hotel Murders," as they were called.

About eight years after the first murder another Russian Jewess, who also kept a coffee-shop at 70 North Bridge Road, was murdered by strangulation. She was found dead some days after the murder, and the culprit was never discovered.

In 1918 a third Russian Jewess, Mrs. Sally Liebmann, proprietress of the Globe Hotel, as 70 North Bridge Road was now called, was murdered by a Chinese servant. She was first strangled, and then beaten about the head with an iron bolt. The murderer also killed an old lodger named Landau. The object of the murder was robbery, but the servant took singularly little. He was duly hanged. One wonders whether any other house in the world can have been the scene of such extraordinary coincidences as were shown by these three murders.

The last murder brought up again the question of registering domestic servants. In 1886 a petition was sent to Government for this purpose, signed by all the best-known inhabitants and firms. A Bill was prepared, but the Hailam Kongsì agitated so hard that Government dropped it. In 1893 the Inspector-General, in his report, advocated it owing to the many thefts by Hailams in Singapore. "At present," he wrote, and it is just as true to-day, "certificates of characters are handed over by one servant to another, and so long as a man does his work well, no questions are asked by his master." In 1895 there was an outbreak of burglaries in Tanglin; in one week only no less than four European houses were rifled. The servants were considered by the police to be at the bottom of nearly all these burglaries, and compulsory registration was again advocated. In 1904 the Police Report again stated that the Hailams were responsible for most of the thefts in European houses. In 1907 no less than eighty Hailam servants were sent to gaol. Recently an Ordinance providing for compulsory registration was passed, but Government has not yet brought it into force, although the case for registration is overwhelming.

From the end of 1901 until April 1902 there was an

outbreak of thefts and burglaries in Tanglin, which culminated in the shocking murder of Mr. George Rutherford, manager of the Tanjong Pagar Dock Company. On the morning of the 10th April burglars broke into his residence at Ardmore. Their entrance awoke one of the inmates, and the alarm was given by a lady, who was immediately attacked by one of the burglars with a knife, and was wounded several times. Mr. Rutherford was just entering the room when the burglars rushed out past him. He endeavoured to grapple with one of them, and was stabbed in the abdomen, the wound proving fatal within a few hours. The burglars then made their escape; but enquiries were made by the police, with the result that three Cantonese were arrested; two of them were hanged, and the third died in gaol at Penang, while serving a long term of imprisonment. Inspectors Brennan and Howard did fine work in breaking up the gangs of burglars in 1902; the latter retired as head of the Government Preventive Service.

Perhaps the most daring murder that has ever occurred in Singapore was the Pasir Panjang murder in 1911. The deceased was a Chinese Towkay, who lived in a bungalow at Pasir Panjang, and he was murdered by three men, who showed the greatest daring. They first cut the telephone wires from the house so as to prevent communication with the police; then wearing masks they walked into the house, enquired of the persons sitting in the front room which of them was the Towkay, and on being informed shot him dead, after which they made their escape. The only clue was a straw hat, and as the bungalow was some way from the nearest police station, it was some time before the police could get to work. However, within forty-eight hours they got on the track of the murderers, and then began a most exciting chase. The three men were tracked into the country, and thence to the Serangoon River, where it was found that they had taken a boat to Johore. They were then tracked through Johore, and right up the east coast to Bangkok, where two were arrested. The third escaped to Hong-

kong, with the police still hot on his track, and thence to Macao, from which place there is no extradition. All sorts of ruses were employed to entice him into British territory, but they were unsuccessful. It was, however, ascertained that he joined a band of Chinese rebels, and was killed during a looting expedition. This case reflects the highest credit on Chief Detective-Inspector Nolan, who had charge of it, and Sergeant Ah Chong, who tracked the miscreants, particularly when it is remembered that most of the ground over which the murderers were tracked was jungle.

The detective force has been fortunate in possessing three very fine Chinese detectives, Sergeants Ah Chong, Hup Choon, and Ah Piew; their nominal rolls (on which are recorded the various cases with which they have been concerned) are such as any Scotland Yard man might be proud of.

The Pasir Panjang murder was not the only case in which Sergeant Ah Chong distinguished himself. He had much to do with the dispersal of a very desperate gang of Cantonese robbers that gave great trouble in 1912. This gang was responsible in that year for the gang robbery at 141 New Bridge Road, a spirit-shop near the Railway Crossing. The leader of the gang was a most desperate criminal, Mah Tow Kuan, who had been banished for gang robbery in the Federated Malay States, and of whom more will be said later. The gang entered the shop at about 8 p.m., and called for drinks, which were served. At a given signal they closed the door, and threatened the bar attendants with knives and revolvers. Then, having collected all the property upon which they could lay their hands, they left the house, going along New Bridge Road, firing as they ran. The alarm once given, the robbers were followed by a number of persons, amongst others by one of the shop assistants, who was fatally stabbed by one of the gang.

In the meantime some European police and warders, hearing the report of fire-arms near their quarters at Pearl's Hill, appeared on the scene, and arrested one of

the robbers ; the native police arrested two more, and shortly afterwards a fourth was captured. Later still four men were caught. Out of the eight one was hanged, one got a life sentence, two fourteen years, and two ten years ; the rest were acquitted of this crime, but sentenced for other gang robberies. Two of those first arrested had previous convictions for highway robbery at Taipeng.

This was the most daring robbery ever committed in Singapore, and it was fortunate that swift punishment overtook the criminals. The drinks had led to their undoing, for Inspector Taylor carefully preserved the glasses, took the finger-print impressions on them, and so fixed the guilt upon the criminals. The case is probably a world's record, owing to the number of convictions obtained by means of finger-prints only.

The final disruption of this gang is also a very exciting story. The police discovered that they were in the habit of visiting a certain low resort in Chinatown, and Sergeant Ah Chong was instructed to have it watched. He put two police touts on to this duty, and one evening they saw three of the gang arrive. They both went off to find Ah Chong ; but while they were away five more of the gang entered the house, so that when Ah Chong returned there were eight men to tackle, a fact of which he was unaware. He was accompanied by one of the touts, and a very powerful and active detective, who has since made a name for himself, and is now a sergeant in Malacca. The gang were always armed, and had never hesitated to fire on their pursuers, but although this was known to them, Ah Chong and his companions went upstairs to arrest the robbers. The first man to step into the room was the detective, and he discovered eight men and a woman in it. The eight men were all armed with revolvers and knives, which they at once produced. Seeing what was in the wind Ah Chong and the police tout at once made their escape from the house, the former going off to summon the police, and the latter staying to watch the house. While the gang were

questioning the detective, one of them stood in the doorway of the room with his legs apart, guarding the exit. Another of them suggested that the detective had better be killed, and at that moment the woman sprang on his back. He immediately bent down and shot her over his head; then he slipped through the legs of the man at the door, throwing him over at the same time, and dashed out of the house, after which he and the tout closed and barred the front door. The eight robbers then took to the roof, and the police coming up, a cordon was drawn round the house, but not before some of the gang escaped. An all-night chase over the roofs followed, in which Captain Chancellor and Inspectors Taylor and Sheedy and others took part. Several of the gang were caught, one attempting suicide, but the leader, Mah Tow Kuan, escaped. Many attempts were made to capture this man in Singapore without success, but he was finally run to earth in Java, extradited, and punished. During the midnight chase across the roofs it appears that he was concealed in a dark spot near which Inspector Taylor came several times, but without seeing him. When he was brought before the Inspector after his extradition, he said: "Is this the Tuan who came near me that night? It is lucky he did not find me, for I had him covered with two revolvers the whole time." Members of the gang said that on occasions Mah Tow Kuan had executed traitors and others to preserve discipline. This man had a most extraordinary head, very flat looked at full face, a very narrow, high forehead, and the back of the head projecting so that it looked like that of a woman with her hair done up at the back. His head accounted for his name, since Mah Tow means a bean, and the shape of the head was not unlike a bean.

One of Sergeant Hup Choon's best bits of work was when he and Sergeant Bachee (commonly known as the *hantu* or ghost) went along the Dutch coast as private individuals to look for the boat in which the Johore pirates of 1909 committed their depredation. They eventually discovered it, jammed on a rock and water-

logged. It was floated with barrels tied on to keep it up, and Bachee and another Malay brought it to Singapore, after a very rough voyage, in the course of which Bachee said he "died several times"! This is a good instance of police thoroughness, for the boat was, of course, a most necessary piece of evidence.

There was at one time a big outbreak of godown burglaries in town. They were engineered by a very clever gang of Chinese, which was broken up largely through the instrumentality of Detective-Sergeant Ah Piew. At first two men were caught and convicted; but on the very night after their conviction Sergeant Ah Piew captured the two ringleaders, who were in a private rikisha. He tied their queues together, and walked along behind the rikisha, which he ordered to proceed slowly to the nearest station. One of the two burglars had a small pocket-knife, and with it he cut apart the queues of himself and his companion. On entering a dark street where no one was moving about, the burglars and the rikisha-puller then turned on the detective, and a struggle ensued for twenty minutes, in which the detective was stabbed all over the body and the burglars escaped.

Sergeant Ah Piew was a very fine detective, with plenty of initiative. On one occasion a murder occurred at Ann Siang Hill, and the murderer got away. Ah Piew was put on to the case; but the very same day he disappeared, and as days went by and no news could be got of him, he was thought to be dead. About three weeks after, however, he walked up the steps of the Detective Station in a very ragged and famished condition, together with a Chinese in an even worse condition than himself. When asked where he had been, it appeared that he had got on to the track of the murderer, and followed him across the sea and into certain foreign territory near Singapore, where he managed to catch him and bring him back. On another occasion Ah Piew in a similar way tracked a culprit right through the Federated Malay States, and managed to capture him and bring him back. The native police do not usually show initia-

tive, and Ah Piew was much missed when he retired ; he is now dead.

The most celebrated robbery that has ever occurred in Singapore was the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank case in 1901, when \$270,000 in notes were stolen out of the bank safe and a mighty sensation caused. The crime was committed between Saturday the 25th May and Tuesday the 28th, Monday having been a public holiday. Some months prior to the robbery the duplicate keys of the safe had been stolen from another bank where they were kept ; these keys the thieves had evidently obtained, for the safe had not been broken open. Enquiries were made and fourteen Tamils were arrested, \$7,000 being found in several places. Later on information was received that a suspicious telegram had been sent to Colombo by one of the persons arrested, and this clue being followed up, \$257,000 were recovered. The head tamby of the bank and others were convicted ; they had removed the notes in a portmanteau, and then packed them up and forwarded them to Ceylon by the French Mail. Chief Inspector Jennings had much to do with the successful issue. He had retired from the police at the time, but was retained by the bank to assist the regular authorities. The case had a sequel, for the accused charged some of the police with maltreating them to extract confessions, but after a trial at the Assizes all the police so charged were acquitted.

Burglary and house-breaking are amongst the commoner of crimes in Singapore, which has had its Charles Peace. During the last quarter of 1907 an epidemic of burglaries broke out in Tanglin, and continued until a Chinese named Lim Koon Kee was arrested in Grange Road at four in the morning on the 7th January 1908. On his person were found a silver watch, the property of an officer at Pulo Brani, and a gold pin and studs, which had been stolen from the Officers' Mess there. Further enquiries were made, and the lodging occupied by his wife was searched, where a great quantity of stolen property was found. His success was the fruit of

individual cunning and daring. Local experience shows that burglars work in couples, but Lim Koon Kee, like Charles Peace, preferred to work alone, and, like that great burglar, was a mild-looking individual of respectable appearance. He was put away for a long term and released at its conclusion, whereupon another epidemic of burglaries broke out, and continued until he was again captured.

Coining and forgery are very common crimes, and hardly an Assize goes by without one or two cases. In 1898 the Far East was saved from a flood of forged notes by the arrest in Singapore of two Germans named Grosse and Schultz, passengers to Hongkong by the German Mail. They tried to buy 500 sovereigns from a Tamil money-changer in return for notes of the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank. The money-changer had actually parted with £236 in gold when he became suspicious, and by means of a trick got Grosse to go with him to the bank, where the notes were pronounced to be forgeries. The police were called in, the steamer was searched, and counterfeit notes to the extent of \$221,015, besides instruments for forging more, were found in the possession of the Germans, who were arrested and received long sentences. Letters were found in their boxes which showed that the forgeries had been carried out in Cologne.

Traffic in deleterious drugs forms another type of offence that is fairly common owing to its profitable nature. Morphia was introduced into the Colony in large quantities in 1906 by some European chemists, and administered as an antidote for the opium habit. The cure was worse than the disease; the poorer classes found it cheaper, and a roaring trade was done. The Opium Farmer, to protect himself, began importing the drug, but Government stepped in and prohibited him. Stringent legislation was passed, and the sale of deleterious drugs save under a licence became heavily punishable.

Offences against the Revenue are, of course, very

common. A large smuggling business in chandu is run by Hailams, but it is chiefly for transhipment to Australia. They employ agents of every nationality, even Europeans, and the devices used are very ingenious; but our preventive service is very smart, and the penalties inflicted are very heavy. Amongst places utilised for the concealment of chandu may be mentioned the soles of shoes, the wooden framework of deck-chairs, false bottoms to buckets and boxes and cooking utensils, vegetables and fruit, bicycle tyres and bedstead frames. Finally it may be remarked that there is a singular absence of sexual crime.

SECRET SOCIETIES AND THE CHINESE PROTECTORATE

The Triad Society may be said to be a thing of the past in Singapore at this date; but for years these societies played a great part in the life of the place, and no history of Singapore could be complete without a notice of them.

The secret society proper was really a political organisation; they were all branches of the great Chinese Secret Society, the Thien-Ti-Hui or Hung League. This great Triad Society was established in China in the seventeenth century, and had for its object the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty. To belong to it in China held a person liable to decapitation, and every endeavour was made there to stamp it out. It was extraordinary, then, that for many years our Government should countenance it in the Straits. Commencing as a purely political movement, the Triad Society soon cast a baneful influence over every branch of the administration of government in China. In the Straits, however, the purely political aspect hardly existed; the secret societies were, in fact, but large friendly societies. Every sinkeh (new-comer) joined them on his arrival for the assistance and advice which the headman could give him. The Chinese are accustomed, or were in the past, to lean upon or dread some superior and ever-present power in the shape of their Government, clans, or village elders, and it was natural, therefore, that the

ignorant Chinese who came to Singapore in the old days should have flocked into the secret societies. In addition to these new-comers, most shop-keepers and traders were members, in order to receive the protection of the society which they joined.

These societies were good in so far as the headmen were the counsellors and protectors of their ignorant countrymen, and in so far as they assisted the authorities, which they did to a large extent ; in fact, both Mr. Pickering, the first Protector of Chinese, and Major Dunlop, the Inspector-General of Police, at one time advised the necessity for retaining them because otherwise the police would often be powerless. They were bad in so far as that disputes between rival societies frequently led to rioting and bloodshed, and they were also dangerous to a certain extent for the reason that each society, or Hoey, contained a large proportion of lawless and unprincipled characters, so that some of them offered a degree of protection to criminals when the headmen were evilly disposed. As late as 1893 a secret society was discovered, called the Sui Lok Peng On, or Broken Coffin Society. Its members travelled as passengers between Penang, Singapore, and Hongkong, and robbed other passengers on the voyage, throwing their rifled boxes overboard ; hence the name of the society. In 1902 another, the Kwong Woh Pit Soi Society, was formed by some Cantonese for the purpose of committing gang robberies, and had its headquarters in Sago Lane.

Amongst the first laws enacted in Hongkong was one for the suppression of Triad Societies. The Ordinance of 1845 described them as " associations having objects in view which are incompatible with the maintenance of good order and constituted authority and with the security of life and property, and afford by means of a secret agency increased facilities for the commission of crime and for the escape of offenders."

These words were even more true of Singapore ; but our Government was more time-serving, and, looking weakly towards the uses of the societies, it shut its eyes to

their dangers, so that it was not until 1869 that anything was done towards dealing with them, although Grand Juries and public meetings had repeatedly urged action. In that year the Government legislated for the registration and control of the societies, but not for their suppression. It acted in consequence of riots having taken place in Penang between members of two societies there, which resulted in great destruction of property and loss of life. The Ordinance carried out the recommendations of a Commission of Enquiry consisting of Messrs. Braddell, the Attorney-General, W. H. Read, Thomas Scott, and F. S. Brown, Members of the Legislative Council ; and the operation of the Ordinance was entrusted to the police, who carried it out very slowly and in a very slipshod fashion.

There was no European officer in the Straits who was a Chinese scholar until 1871, when the late Mr. William Alexander Pickering, C.M.G., was first appointed as Chinese Interpreter to the Supreme Court. He was one of the most remarkable characters who have ever been here. He spoke Hok-kien and Cantonese especially well, and also Kheh and Teo-chew. In 1877 he was appointed to the newly created office of Protector of Chinese. His success was instantaneous, and to this day the Protectorate is called Pik-ki-lin, the Chinese version of his name. The Protectorate opened in that year in a Chinese shop-house in North Canal Road ; from there it moved to two four-storey shop-houses in Upper Macao Street, then to a new shop-house in Boat Quay, and finally, in 1886, to its present offices, which were specially built for the purpose, in Havelock Road.

As soon as the Protectorate was started, the registration and control of the secret societies were transferred to it, and Mr. Pickering soon reduced chaos to order. He had under him two student interpreters : Mr. W. Cowan, who later became Protector of Chinese in Perak and Selangor, and the late Mr. Hoo Wing Chong, who was a nephew of the late Mr. H. A. K. Whampoa, C.M.G., M.L.C., and was the first Consul for China in Singapore.

Mr. Pickering gained the most extraordinary influence over the Chinese here, and the Protectorate under him acquired those traditions that have made it, perhaps, the most efficient and beneficial department in the Government Service. These traditions have been ably fostered and added to by subsequent Protectors, such as the late Mr. G. T. Hare, the late Mr. G. C. Wray, the late Mr. Warren Barnes, Messrs. C. J. Saunders, Peacock, and Beatty, the present Protector. If the police are the Government's right arm in suppressing crime, then the Protectorate is its very powerful left arm.

In 1878 Mr. Pickering was able to report that the registration of the societies was complete, that the headmen had rendered prompt and efficient assistance whenever called on, and that there was a growing disposition to refer disputes and quarrels to the Protectorate instead of fighting on every occasion. The party in the wrong was invariably ordered in serious matters to pay compensation in money or to apologise to the aggrieved party, presenting to him a pair of red Chinese candles and a piece of red cloth. At the same time, as a token of respect to the Protector, a pair of red candles was always presented to him, so that in those days the Protectorate always had from twenty to thirty pairs of red candles, wrapped in Chinese red paper, hung up on the walls of Mr. Pickering's office. The Protectorate to this day is just as popular with the Chinese for the settlement of their disputes, though, of course, many are referred to the Chinese Chamber of Commerce.

In 1878 a refuge for Chinese women was established, and ever since of all the good work done by the Protectorate not the least has been its work in the protection of women and girls; the Poh Leong Keuk Home for women was first occupied in 1887, since when it has done splendid work.

Mr. Pickering used to visit the lodges of the societies frequently, and often attended the initiation of candidates. The lodges were run on lines somewhat similar to Masonic ones: each lodge had its Master, and all

combined to form a Grand Lodge with a Toa-Ko or Grand Master; but for many years previous to 1876 no one had dared to come forward and undertake the onerous and responsible duties of that office. Each lodge had a substantial Hui-Koan or meeting-house; thus Carpenter Street is still called Ghee Hok Street in Chinese, from the fact that the Ghee Hok Society had its meeting-place there, and China Street is similarly called Ghee Hin Street. The Grand Lodge had a very superior building at Rochore, where twice a year the Five Ancestors were worshipped, and feasts with theatricals held in their honour.

In 1879 the Police Commission went into the question of suppressing the secret societies, and reported against the expediency of Government using the societies for assistance in keeping order and arresting criminals, which they said was only bolstering up the waning influence of the headmen and office-bearers; but nothing was done until a brutal assault on Mr. Pickering by a member of the Ghee Hok Society, in 1887, brought the question vividly to the front again. This attempt on Mr. Pickering's life was considered to be due to his action in getting the Gambling Commission appointed with a view to suppressing the gambling then very rife in the town. The criminal, a samseng (hired bully) named Choa Ah Siok, went to the Protectorate with the head of an axe hidden in his sleeve. On arriving before the Protector, he hurled this weapon at Mr. Pickering's head. Fortunately only a glancing blow was the result, but the blow caused complications that led to Mr. Pickering's retirement in 1889. Choa Ah Siok was captured, and received a long term of imprisonment. While in gaol he stabbed Chief Warder Harrington in the stomach, and for this offence was given a life sentence, in the course of which he died in gaol. Mr. Pickering died on the 26th January 1907.

In 1888 Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, the Governor, opened the question of the total suppression of the secret societies with the Secretary of State, and his despatch is

very interesting. He stated that there were in that year eleven societies in Singapore, with 1,122 office-bearers and 62,376 members; while in Penang there were five, with 361 officers and 92,581 members. This gave a total of 156,440 registered members; and some idea of the size and influence of these societies in the Colony may be gained from the fact that the 1881 census numbered the Chinese at 153,532. By 1888 the Chinese had, of course, increased enormously, but the figures are startling.

The Governor gives an account of an initiation which he had witnessed, and says that all the sinkehs on arrival were made members of some one or other of the societies :

“ A lodge is held. They are admitted one by one under an arch of drawn swords. Passwords are taught them as they go on from stage to stage round a lofty altar decorated with the insignia of the society. Subsequently the oath is read out to them from a paper, which is burnt, and the ashes are mixed in a cup with water into which a drop of blood is made to fall from the pricked finger of each novice. A portion of this horrible mixture is then drunk by everyone, and after a cock has been strangled and thrown out into the street—one of the officers of the society shouting, ‘ May ye perish like that cock if you break the oath you have taken ’—the ceremony is concluded.”

The whole ceremony, which was very long and very interesting, will be found described in two articles by Mr. Pickering in Numbers 1 and 3 of the Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

As a result of the Governor's taking the matter up, an Ordinance was put through in 1889, which provided for the total suppression of the secret societies. The enquiries instituted to ascertain the best substitute resulted in the creation of the Chinese Advisory Boards in 1890. A substitute was, of course, necessary, as otherwise the large number of ignorant Chinese in the Colony would have been left without guidance at all.

The *Straits Chinese Magazine*, in 1897, said that the

gratitude of the Chinese was due to Sir Cecil Smith, who was unsupported by the Unofficial Members of Council, but was backed only by his Executive, particularly Sir John Bonser, the Attorney-General.

A very well-known figure at the Protectorate is that of Mr. Ho Siak Kuan, who joined the Government Service as a student interpreter in February 1884. He was born in Canton, where he studied Chinese in Canton City, and coming later to Singapore, learnt English at St. Andrew's Mission School and Raffles School. Ever since entering Government service, Mr. Siak Kuan has worked in the Protectorate, where for many years he has held the position of Chief Chinese Translator. He was standing beside Mr. Pickering when that officer was assaulted. Owing to his long connection with the Protectorate and his straightforward character Mr. Siak Kuan has earned the respect and confidence of the Cantonese, Hok-kien, Teo-chew and Kheh communities in particular, and his influence amongst the various Chinese communities generally has been of much assistance to the Government.

The exact functions of the Chinese Protectorate have never been defined. It is responsible for the administration of the Societies Ordinance, the Women and Girls' Protection Ordinance, and the Native Passengers' Lodging House Ordinance. Until indentured labour was abolished in 1914, the Protectorate used to control all Chinese indentured labour. One of the most important of its duties is the recommendation of persons for banishment, more especially in the cases of traffickers in women and girls, the headmen of dangerous societies, and promoters of public gaming. The Protector is Chairman of the Chinese Advisory Board, and thus is the channel through which the Board conveys its views on proposed legislation, and other matters to Government.

The Protectorate endeavours to know as much as possible about the Chinese in Singapore and their affairs, a difficult task with such a large Chinese population

speaking at least ten different dialects, but one that it has always performed with great success owing to the high personal qualities which its officers have always possessed, and the confidence and trust with which they have always been regarded by the Chinese of Singapore.

PRISONS AND CONVICTS

The original gaol seems to have been a wooden building near the end of the east bank of the river, and was only intended to be temporary ; but it was not until about 1833 that a new gaol was built on the site of the present Central Police Station. It was built on a swamp, and was inundated at every high tide, which was very prejudicial to the health of its inmates. It was, moreover, a very insecure place, the custody of the prisoners depending practically upon their inability to avoid being hunted down in the small Settlement. In 1833 the Grand Jury presented that certain prisoners who had escaped had done so because they were permitted to go a considerable distance outside the gaol without any guard to fetch water. The wall round the gaol was only a few feet high, and on Sundays those imprisoned for debt used to enjoy a walk in the evening by the simple expedient of stepping over the wall ! Being built on a swamp the gaol sank gradually, until the prisoners had finally to be put in what had been the upper storey of the building. On the 6th February 1847, the twenty-seventh anniversary of the Settlement, the foundation-stone of a new gaol was laid at Pearl's Hill, now enclosed, and forming a part of the present Criminal Gaol.

These gaols were those in which were detained persons awaiting trial and persons imprisoned for debt ; they were called His or Her Majesty's Gaols (whichever was the case), and were under the control of the Sheriff for a long time.

No history of Singapore could be complete without some considerable reference to its very remarkable convict system and to the work done by the convicts. At about the time, 1787, when the transportation of

English convicts to Australia was sanctioned by our laws, convicts from India began to be sent to Bencoolen, a place singularly adapted for the purpose. Sir Stamford Raffles had the faculty of ameliorating the conditions of all the places into which he came, and of their inhabitants it is natural, therefore, that it should have been he who first set to work to improve the condition of the convicts at Bencoolen, with the result that a large body of people who had been living in the lowest state of degradation soon became useful labourers and happy members of society. He thus laid the foundation of the remarkable Singapore system ; for, when Bencoolen was given up, the convicts were removed, in 1825, to Singapore, where Raffles's system continued to be applied to them.

The convicts thus received into Singapore numbered eighty from Madras and 120 from Bengal, and Singapore continued until the Transfer to rank with Malacca, Penang, and Moulmein as the Sydneys of the East. Lines were built for the reception of these convicts and more, up to the number of seven hundred, while space was left for extension so as to accommodate two thousand. The lines were on the present old gaol site, and extended from Bras Basah Road to Stamford Road. They consisted of long ranges of low attap-sheds enclosed by a high wall, but being built on swampy land were far from healthy.

Although the utilisation of Singapore as a convict station drew frequent opposition from the public, it turned out to be a boon to the town. Labour was scarce and expensive, with the result that the convicts were soon employed to reclaim swamps, make roads, and erect buildings and bridges, so that for years the history of the convicts is the history of the Public Works Department. They filled in the swamp to the east, and made Commercial Square (the present Raffles Place) ; they built St. Andrew's Cathedral and Government House ; they made South and North Bridge Roads and the big roads leading out of town into the country ; and it is impossible to walk anywhere in the town and environs of Singapore

without continually being reminded how the place was once a convict station.

As the convicts were the labourers for the Public Works Department, it was natural that the post of Superintendent of Convicts should be doubled with that of Executive Engineer; and even after the Transfer, when the post of Colonial Engineer was created, that officer at first had his offices in the old gaol at Bras Basah Road. In 1833 Mr. George Drumgold Coleman was appointed Superintendent of Convicts and head of the Public Works, and he it was who first began the employment of the convicts on large outside works by reclaiming land from the sea and marshes. He died in Singapore in 1844, and was succeeded next year by Colonel Man, of the Madras Native Infantry, who held the post until 1855, when he was promoted to the position of Resident Councillor at Malacca. The Public Works Department was constituted in 1872, and two Royal Engineer officers and two non-commissioned officers were sent out from England to make it efficient.

The system of control applied to the convicts at Singapore is best described by the title of Major McNair's well-known book, *Prisoners their own Warders*, and at the time when it was evolved it was as far ahead of contemporary thought as was the free trade upon which Raffles insisted for his new Settlement. Its author was Mr. Bonham, who, finding that the convicts worked willingly and behaved well, discharged the peons who had acted as warders, and selected certain of the convicts to supervise their fellows, giving them pay and advantages over the rest, and thus affording a strong inducement to the convicts to behave well.

The convicts were allowed great latitude; indeed, the paper in 1856 said that they possessed privileges which many free subjects did not. Besides working almost unguarded on the roads and other public works, the convicts were in great demand for long as domestic servants. They were paid both for their private and public work, and the short-period ones generally contrived to save

enough to set themselves up on their release as cattle-keepers or owners of bullock-carts, carriages, and horses for hire ; one died in 1865 leaving \$50,000 to his heirs. In the early days the convicts were allowed to go freely into the town to make any necessary purchases, and at the Mohurru were allowed to go in procession round the town until 1856, when the practice was stopped. It will be seen, then, that some of the worst characters from India were kept in check by what was really almost personal influence alone ; and not merely were they kept in check, but happy and contented. In 1854, during the Chinese riots of that year, the convicts were actually so reliable that they were employed to follow the rioters into the jungle and disperse them, which they did, and duly returned to captivity with none missing.

The secret of it all seems to have lain in three principal factors : the personal influence of the Superintendents, the system of promotion, and the provision of congenial occupations. The mention of this last factor serves to remind one of the wonderful economic organisation of the gaol. It has been stated how the convicts were used as labourers and domestic servants ; it remains now to notice shortly how they were used as artisans. The introduction of handicrafts was due to Colonel Man, who commenced by carpentering on European methods and with English tools. By 1849 the work of the convicts was such that no Chinese carpenters could come near it, and it may be remarked that the old Guthrie's timber bridge across the river was entirely the work of the convicts. Brick-making and blacksmith's work was next started, with equal success ; a large brick-field was started in 1858 at the Serangoon Road, under a trained European brick-maker, and bricks continued to be made there until the abolition of the convict system in Singapore. The pits can still be seen between Balestier Road and Moulmein Road. In 1867 a silver medal was won by the convicts' bricks at the Agra Exhibition. The blacksmiths learnt to cast and forge from the raw state all ironwork needed for public

works, and eventually there was practically no trade that was not taught and carried on in the gaol, which consequently became one of the most wonderful sights of the town. The long lounge cane chair which is to be found so much in use all over the Far East was invented and perfected in the Singapore convict gaol.

It has been said that the lines originally were long ranges of attap-sheds; but these were gradually replaced by permanent buildings, until by 1860 the whole gaol had been rebuilt, and every building in it was a permanent one; so that the proverb amongst the convicts was that "an open kampong had become a closed cage," and this cage itself was entirely made by its inmates. This gaol extended from Victoria Street to near the present Ladies' Lawn Tennis Club, the main entrance being in Bras Basah Road; the only parts remaining now are a portion of the Maternity Hospital in Victoria Street, including the entrance to it, and the present Malay Volunteer headquarters.

After the Transfer a great change came about; but before going to that it will be as well to look at the careers of the men who made the old system what it was.

Of our three great prison reformers, Colonels Man and Macpherson and Major McNair, Dr. Mouat, the Inspector-General of Gaols, Bengal, reported in 1865 that they were "entitled to rank in the first class of prison officers and reformers in India."

Colonel Man, who was appointed in 1845, died in England with the rank of a General Officer. His last office in the Straits was that of Resident Councillor at Penang, and after the Transfer he went to the Andaman Islands to inaugurate the Singapore system there, as all the transmarine convicts were sent to these islands after the Transfer.

In 1855 Colonel Man had been promoted to the post of Resident Councillor at Malacca, and he was succeeded as Superintendent of Convicts by Colonel Macpherson, of the Madras Artillery, who held the post until 1858, when he succeeded Colonel Man at Malacca,

and became Lieutenant-Governor in 1868 and Colonial Secretary later. He had served in the China War in 1841-2, and in 1843 was appointed Staff Officer to the Artillery in the Straits. He goes down to posterity as the architect of St. Andrew's Cathedral, in the compound of which there is a monument to his memory, and in the body of which there is a memorial window over the west doorway. He died in 1869, in Singapore, and lies buried in the Bukit Timah Cemetery.

The next Superintendent, and most famous of the three, was that very able officer, Major McNair, R.A., C.M.G., F.R.G.S., F.L.S., of the Madras Artillery, who had come to Singapore in 1856 as Adjutant to the Artillery. He first came to the Straits in 1853, but was posted to Malacca at that time. He retired in 1884, and so had a residence in the Colony of thirty-one years. In 1861 he learnt photography in England while on leave, so as to introduce into Singapore the practice of photographing convicts. In 1867 he was appointed Colonial Engineer, and the first works which he had to undertake were the construction of Government House, which he completed in 1869, and the waterworks, with which previous engineers had tinkered without success. Mr. Buckley thought his best epitaph would be that "waterworks were finished in his time, and the water ran through the pipes." In 1875 he went as Chief Commissioner to Perak during the disturbances, an account of which he wrote under the title of *Perak and the Malays*. His eldest daughter married Mr. Thomas Scott, of Guthrie and Co., and his youngest, Mr. Charles Stringer, of Paterson, Simons and Co. He shared with Mr. W. W. Willans, the Colonial Treasurer, the honour of being the oldest surviving servants of the Honourable East India Company.

To return to the history of the prisons and convicts, it should be remarked that the local convicts were kept in the same gaol as the transmarines. The Prison Commission of 1872 reported that this was bad, because punishment was lost sight of, and no deterrent or re-

formatory influence was brought to bear. This Commission reported that the whole prison system for the local convicts was utterly defective. From the Report it appears that the men worked in association by day and slept together in one ward by night. The Commission consisted of Messrs. J. W. W. Birch, Colonial Secretary, T. Braddell, Attorney-General, and Thomas Scott, Whampoa, and W. H. Read, with Dr. H. L. Randell, the P.C.M.O. The Attorney-General and Mr. W. H. Read did not agree with the employment of prisoners on non-productive work, such as the tread-wheel, crank and shot drill; but the rest of the Commissioners did, and Lord Kimberley, the Secretary of State, ordered a tightening up of discipline and more severe punishment. Penal labour, he said, should not be sacrificed for the profit to be derived from the industrial labour of prisoners, for reports from Governors of Colonies where penal labour had been introduced were uniformly in its favour. So the old system passed, and the convicts were employed no more upon public works.

In 1873 the transmarine convicts (of whom there were 1,327) were removed to the Andamans, save those who were released or were shortly to be released. The gaol was handed over entirely to the Colonial authorities for a criminal prison; but it proved unhealthy, and was condemned later by a Commission of Enquiry, which advised the erection of a new one. In the meantime the new prison system had been introduced. The essential features were penal labour, separation and classification of convicts, penal diet, and remission for good conduct marks. On the 13th February 1875 there was a serious outbreak at the criminal prison, in the course of which the Superintendent, Mr. Dent, was killed. The immediate cause of this outbreak was due to a preconcerted arrangement on the part of some Chinese prisoners in the middle grade to effect their escape. They were able to concert their plans because the prisoners were not yet entirely separated; working unobserved, they prepared many of the weapons used

in the outbreak. The Superintendent lost his life in defence of a warder who was being attacked, and it is an extraordinary fact that none of the warders at this time were armed.

A Committee was appointed to enquire into the circumstances of this outbreak, and they recommended the construction of a new gaol on the cellular plan at Pearl's Hill, near to the Civil Prison. The construction of a new gaol had already been considered by the Government ; at first it had been proposed to build it at Pulo Brani, but eventually the site of the present gaol was settled upon, and Major McNair drew up the plans for a new cellular gaol (the present one) on the most approved English model at the time. The foundation-stone was laid, on the 30th January 1879, by the Governor, Sir W. C. F. Robinson, and the gaol was completed by 1882, when the prisoners were all moved in and the old gaol site was abandoned.

In 1877 trained warders were first introduced, a chief warder and two warders being brought out from English convict prisons. The experiment proved successful, and these men gave efficient aid in improving the state of discipline. But the success of the new system was due chiefly to Major W. R. Grey, the Superintendent who succeeded Mr. Dent. In 1875 he went through a special and thorough course of training in England, and was very well reported upon by the various Governors of the prisons to which he was attached. How thorough this training was may be seen from the fact that he served a week in all the offices from assistant warder to Governor. Major W. R. Grey had been in the 30th Regiment, and had served in Ceylon, China, and New Zealand before coming to the Straits. He was through the China War of 1860, mentioned in dispatches, and specially promoted to Major. He was also mentioned for his services during the campaign in New Zealand, for which he held the medal, as also the China medal and clasp. He was appointed Superintendent of the Singapore gaol in 1875, and Inspector of Prisons in 1880, retiring in 1893, when

he was succeeded in the latter post by Mr. (now Sir) E. M. Merewether, ever since which time the post has been held by a member of the Civil Service.

PIRACY

By Dr. Gilbert E. Brooke

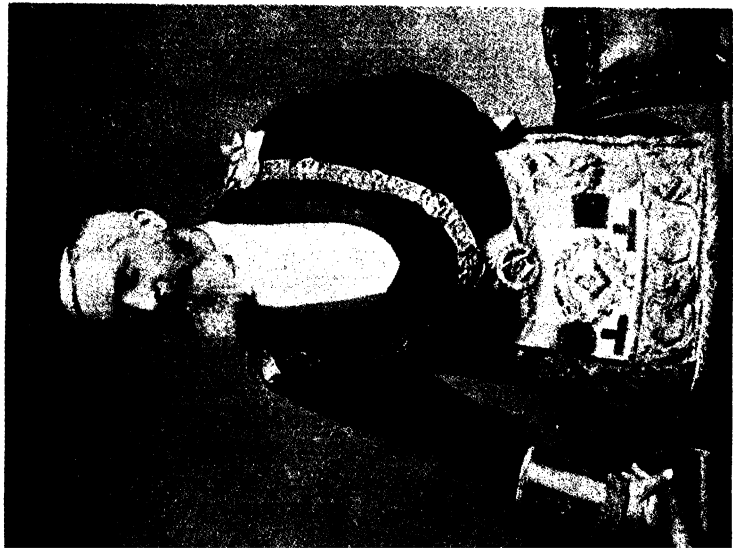
"And a little breeze blew over the rail that made the headsails lift,
But no man stood by wheel or sheet, and they let the schooners drift."

FROM the dawn of ocean-going trade the cupidity of man was probably at work in devising the best methods for relieving the trader of his merchandise as swiftly and cheaply as possible ! Opportunity makes a thief ; and the facilities afforded for ambush and escape by the numberless islands, creeks, and mangrove swamps of the Malayan Peninsula and Archipelago were dominant factors in determining the freebooting career which was so largely adopted on the trade-routes of those regions.

As early as June 1823 Sir Stamford Raffles applied for a vessel to cruise against pirates, whose attacks on traders he described as being extraordinarily frequent, and as affording serious obstacles to native trade with Singapore. On the 27th August in that year, Mr. Crawford, the Resident at Singapore, hired the ketch *Bona Fortuna*, Captain Johnston, to proceed with troops against the pirates of the North-East Coast ! The rate of hire was to be \$500 for fifteen days, with \$167 extra if five more days were required. The troops were in charge of Dr. Jackson, and the Government was to make good any enemy damage. The ketch, however, returned on the 11th September after a fruitless search.

The first piratical attempt on a European vessel from Singapore took place in May 1826, when seven pirates, who had shipped as deck-passengers from Singapore to Batavia by the Dutch schooner *Anna*, rose and attacked the crew during the voyage. They were, however, driven into the sea and drowned.

It was in that year that the fifth number of the



RT. WOR. BRO. COLONEL SAMUEL DUNLOP.
District Grand Master, 1885-91.



RT. WOR. BRO. SIR CHARLES WARREN, G.C.M.G.
District Grand Master, 1891-5.

Singapore Chronicle contained an excellent sketch of Malay piracy—probably from Mr. Crawford's pen. A peaceful agricultural population was to be found chiefly in Java and in certain districts of Sumatra. Most of the other coastal regions of the Peninsula and Archipelago supported a Malay population, nominally fishermen, but usually pirates, with the secret connivance of their reigning princes.

The pirate "prahus" were generally from forty to fifty feet in length, with a beam of about fifteen feet. The decks were made of split Nibong palm, cut into lengths so that any part of the deck could be rolled up. They were furnished with a large mainsail for'ard made of kajang (mat) stitched on bamboo spars, hoisted on a tripod bamboo mast, and there was generally a smaller sail on a single spar aft. The smaller prahus put up a thick plank bulwark when fighting; but larger ones, like the Illanoon (Lanun) prahus, were fitted with a stout bamboo ledge, which hung over the gunwale fore and aft, and was flanked with a protecting breastwork of plaited rattan about three feet high. The ordinary crew consisted of about twenty to thirty men, but they were augmented by a rowing gang of lower caste or captured slaves. A small prahu would have nine oars a side; a large one would be double-banked, the upper tier of oarsmen being seated on the bulwark projection and hidden behind the rattan breastwork. The armament consisted of a stockade near the bow, mounting iron or brass four-pounders, and another stockade aft, generally furnished with two swivel guns. There were also four or five swivels, or "rantakas," on each side, mounting small brass guns. The pirates kept their hair long, and let it loose in battle to increase their ferocious appearance. Many of them carried bamboo shields, and they were armed with spears and krises, and such muskets or other fire-arms as could be obtained. As a rule, in the early days, they chiefly attacked vessels which were stranded or becalmed, but their daring greatly increased as years went by.

Their hunting-grounds, of which Singapore was one of the favourite pivots, formed an ideal *venue*, not only on account of their topographical facilities, but because they lay in the main routes of commerce, which became yearly more prosperous.

As the trade of Singapore increased, the menace of piracy loomed on the horizon with unpleasant persistence. Many remedies were suggested, of which perhaps those by Crawford were as reasonable as any. He suggested that industrial habits should be encouraged amongst the natives ; that a ready and free market should be found for their productions ; that discovered piracy should be condignly punished ; that native princes, when found to be implicated, should be heavily fined ; that the headquarters and haunts of pirates should be destroyed ; that the various European Governments should act in concert ; and that armed steamboats should be more frequently employed in hunting for and attacking the pirate fleets.

Notwithstanding these and other suggestions, however, piracy continued its course more or less unchecked for the subsequent twenty years, and Government assistance was often spasmodic and ill-directed. The Netherlands Indies Government were occasionally to the fore in taking official action. The Governor-General, Van den Bosch, who took office about 1830, combined the Naval Residency cruisers and small-draft schooners into an anti-pirate flotilla, which was put in charge of a Captain Kolff, an officer of the Colonial Marine. An admirable report by this officer (which was, however, not published until 1846-7, when it appeared in the *Moniteur des Indes-Orientales*) showed the wide distribution of pirate haunts, comprising Mindanao, Sulo, the whole of Borneo, Buro, Pilolo, Celebes, Billiton, Lingga, the East Coast of Sumatra, and all the southern portions of the Malay Peninsula. This Dutch action roused the British Government, who sent H.M.S. *Southampton* to act in concert with the Honourable Company's schooner *Diamond*, and they were instrumental in routing a fleet of thirty prahus ; and the Governor-General of British

India wrote to the Governor of the Netherlands Indies recommending concerted action, a suggestion heartily acceded to by Van den Bosch.

The first result of this action was the appearance of H.M.S. *Wolf* in May 1831 ; but instead of dealing with pirates she was used to blockade the coast of Kedah.

In August a number of Bugis Nakodahs, headed by the chief of the Bugis kampong in Singapore, notified the Government that their trade was being jeopardised by the pirate fleets of Pulo Tinggi ; and that, if the Government did nothing, they would be forced to leave Singapore altogether. H.M.S. *Crocodile* and H.M.S. *Cochin* were at once despatched, but returned empty-handed.

During the following June, as no further official action was being taken, the Chinese merchants of Singapore armed four large trading junks, with the idea of using them against pirates, in which service they proved very useful.

In 1833 H.M.S. *Harrier* destroyed a notorious haunt in the Straits of Dryon. Pirate fleets blockaded the coast of Pahang, but lay low when the Government schooner *Zephyr* went up to look for them. At the session of Oyer and Terminer of the Court of Judicature in May, the Grand Jury reverted to the subject of piracy, and the Recorder, Sir B. Malkin, remarked that the matter of Admiralty jurisdiction had been overlooked when framing the Charter of the Straits Court. Things got worse rather than better, and, on the 23rd April 1835, a public meeting was held, at which a Memorial was drafted to the Governor-General in Council asking for effective measures to be taken ; and a further Memorial to the King in Council, asking for the grant of Admiralty jurisdiction to the Straits Court. These Memorials had the desired effect, for Letters Patent were issued on the 25th February 1837 granting Admiralty jurisdiction to the local Court. H.M. sloop *Wolf*, Captain Edward Stanley, arrived once more, in March 1836. Her First-Lieutenant was a Mr. Henry James, who died in 1898

as a retired Commander, in his ninety-ninth year. His life was published in 1899, under the title of *A Midshipman in Search of Promotion*, which narrates the doings of the *Wolf* in Singapore. The concession on the part of the Government of India in sending the *Wolf* was not, however, quite as generous as would appear at first sight ; for, on the 13th January 1836, the Governor informed the merchants of Singapore that the Supreme Government had directed him to submit a draft Act and Schedule for the levying of duties on imports and exports " to meet the expense of effectually protecting the trade from piracy ! " This caused great alarm, and vigorous measures were taken to prevent this death-blow to the prosperity of the Settlement. The opposition proved effectual, and the intention was abandoned.

It was about this time that the authorities at Singapore sought the co-operation of the Resident at Rhio. The latter official was sympathetic, but pointed out that, although the population of Rhio and Lingga was altogether bad, it was notorious that a great number of the pirates actually lived in the New Harbour and Telok Blanga districts of Singapore itself—where they got their information and their powder and shot, and where they were able to get rid of their booty without difficulty.

The *Wolf* was at first occupied in taking captured pirates to Calcutta for trial, whence they were brought back after conviction and hanged on the beach in Singapore. When Admiralty jurisdiction was obtained, the *Wolf* devoted herself to pirate-hunting, in concert with H.M.S. *Rose*, and the H.C.'s schooner *Zephyr* (Captain Congalton), especially off Tanjong Panyusu (Point Romania) in Johore. They often met with indifferent success, but commented on the vast numbers of wrecks and skeletons with which the shores and islands of Johore were strewn.

In May 1836 H.M.S. *Andromache*, Captain Chads, arrived from Trincomalee on special anti-piracy work. Mr. S. G. Bonham, the Resident Councillor of Singapore, was appointed Joint-Commissioner with Captain Chads,

and the expedition left Singapore on the 23rd June, proceeding via Rhio to Gallang, where they destroyed a noted pirate stronghold. They then worked up the east coast to Pahang, and then sailed via Singapore for the Siak River, in the north-east of Sumatra, eventually returning by way of Penang and the Native States. Their diary and report constitute volume 335 of the Early Colonial Records in the Straits Settlements Secretariat. Captain Chads had already seen active service, having been First-Lieutenant of the frigate *Java*, which was fired, and sank in action with the American ship *Constitution*, on the 29th December 1812. Years afterwards, Captain Chads was in command of the *Cambrian* in Singapore Harbour, when the old *Constitution* entered the port round St. John's Island. The old captain's eyes glistened, and he was heard to remark : " What would I not give to have twenty minutes with her now ! "

Another man-of-war which frequented Singapore about this time was the *Raleigh*, Captain Michael Quin, which did valuable work in the neighbourhood of Lingga, on the lines mentioned by the well-known Senior Surgeon Montgomerie, who had written a long report to Government on " Piracy and its Prevention."

In March 1837 the steamer *Diana* was sent to Singapore by the Indian Government, and was given to Captain Congalton, who had commanded the *Zephyr* and other Government schooners for many years. The encounter of this first Colonial steamer with pirates is worth recording. She was the first steamer to be built in India, with a tonnage of 160 and a speed of five knots. Her complement consisted of three Europeans and thirty Malays. In company with H.M.S. *Wolf*, which was a sailing craft, she started off on her first adventure, leading the way by virtue of her superior speed ! They fell in with six large pirate prahus, which were attacking a junk. The pirates, seeing the smoke from the *Diana's* funnel, took her to be a sailing ship on fire, and scenting an easy prey, they transferred their attentions from the junk to the *Diana*. To their horror,

the vessel came right up against the wind, and poured a destructive fire into each prahu as she passed it, and then repeated the process after turning. For nearly two years the *Wolf* and *Diana* worked together, chiefly on the east coast of the Peninsula ; and many a pirate was caught and stronghold destroyed. In recognition of his services, the mercantile community of Singapore presented Captain Stanley, of the *Wolf*, with a hundred-guinea sword ; and he was both the recipient of thanks from the Chamber of Commerce and guest at a public dinner in his honour.

Captain Congalton got no public recognition of his long services, but his name is one which will never die in the annals of the Colony. He was born in Leith on the 23rd March 1796, and ran away to sea as a boy. After reaching the East, he joined the H.C.'s armed schooner *Jessy*, Captain Poynton, as Mate. He was in that ship in the Burmese War, and there he won the approval of the famous novelist Captain Marryat, of H.M.S. *Larne*. In 1826, when Captain Poynton was made Harbour Master at Malacca, Congalton took command of the *Zephyr*, and remained in the Colonial service until his death in 1850.

For a few years the fierce activities of the pirates seemed actually to diminish ; but a recrudescence soon occurred, and the period 1843-9 was full of gruesome activity and dogged retribution. The attacks were often made quite close to Singapore, as in the case of a junk which left with twenty-two crew and twenty-six passengers, and had six chests of opium as part of her cargo. She was shortly afterwards set upon by pirates, who butchered forty-three, and looted and burnt the junk. The five survivors were picked up by H.M. brig *Algerine*.

It was about this time that the Hon. Harry Keppel, twelfth child of the fourth Earl of Albemarle, and later an Admiral of the Fleet, began his long connection with the East and friendship with Sir James Brooke of Sarawak. In 1843 he was in command of the *Dido*, which did

doughty deeds against the pirates of Borneo, and destroyed vast numbers of prahus.

To the *Hecla* fell the honour of finding a new method of attacking the enemy. They allowed the prahus to get alongside, and then turned their fire-hose on them charged with boiling water. The pirates, who were generally nearly naked, preferred to face the sharks, and promptly disappeared overboard !

During the following year H.M. surveying ship *Samarang*, Sir E. Belcher, K.C.B., had an uncomfortable experience. They were making some observations off Gilolo, an island near Celebes, when they were attacked by ten Klanoon prahus. They managed to destroy several of the latter ; but Sir Edward was wounded in the thigh by a one-inch swivel ball, which knocked him into the sea. One of the officers of the *Samarang* was a midshipman named Brereton, a cousin of Sir James Brooke, and a great-nephew of Dr. Wilson, the Bishop of Calcutta, who laid the foundation-stone of St. Andrew's Cathedral, Singapore, on the 4th March 1856.

In 1849 the Sarebas pirates became very active, and H.M.S. *Albatross*, Captain Farquhar, was sent to deal with them. This turned out to be the largest pirate engagement on record. They fell in with a fleet of more than a hundred war-prahus, manned by about 3,500 men. This whole fleet was practically demolished, and Captain Farquhar and others were awarded £20,700 by the Singapore Supreme Court. Sir Arthur Farquhar, K.C.B., was afterwards Commander-in-Chief in the Pacific and at Devonport.

From the year 1849 Malay piracy gradually declined ; but a reign of Chinese piracy began, which did not die out until the 'Seventies. As an example of their methods the case of a Cochin-China junk might be mentioned. After anchoring in Singapore, a number of Chinese boarded the ship, which they would have searched and doubtless looted had it not been for the intervention of a French missionary-passenger, the Rev. Father Beurel. When the junk was about to leave Singapore, another

French missionary took passage by her ; and Father Beurel, who was afraid of what might happen, applied to the Master Attendant (Captain Russell) and the Resident Councillor (Mr. Church) for protection. This was refused, as one gunboat and four of the Temenggong's vessels had already gone to Pedra Branca, and the other gunboat could not be spared. Off Cape Romania the junk was becalmed, and they were at once attacked by pirates. The crew had only two muskets, and things looked serious when the missionary's pistol (which was overloaded) exploded and put him out of action. Fortunately a breeze sprang up just then, and they were able to shake off the prahu and to return to Singapore.

The year 1855 saw a remarkable increase in piracy, chiefly Chinese. The Government steamer *Hooghly* proved to be too slow, so a public meeting was held in May, at which the following resolutions were adopted :

“ 1. That the meeting viewed with deep concern the ravages committed by pirates, Chinese particularly, in the immediate vicinity of the port, to the great destruction of human life and detriment to trade.

“ 2. That in order to remedy the present insecurity of life and property, petitions be prepared and forwarded to the Supreme Government, the Houses of Parliament, and the Admiral on this station, urging them to take vigorous measures to suppress piracy in these parts.

“ 3. That the Singapore Community are so thoroughly convinced of the necessity of protection for the junks now about to leave for China, and so indignant at the long-continued supineness of the Authorities on the subject of Chinese piracy, that if the men-of-war now in the roads will not interfere, the Community itself agree to subscribe to hire an English vessel to see the junks safely beyond the Gulf of Siam, and that the local Government be requested to license the said vessel.

“ 4. That the meeting highly approves of the conduct of the local Government in detaining the suspicious junks now in the harbour until the trading junks are safely beyond their reach.

“ 5. That Messrs. Guthrie, W. H. Read, Logan, and

R. Duff be appointed a Committee to carry out the foregoing resolutions."

The result was that the Admiral was ordered to send a vessel to the Gulf of Siam.

During the next fifteen years piracy died out ; and, for the latter half of the Colony's life, instances have been rare and adventitious. On the 5th May 1884, at early dawn, a tongkang was at anchor outside New Harbour, and her crew of six were fast asleep. The boat (which was loaded with twelve piculs of rice) had left Singapore on the previous afternoon, and anchored off Pulo Sudong. Suddenly a prahu from Pulo Siking, containing six armed Malays, came alongside, and methodically proceeded to kill the Chinese. The sixth man (in the attitude of supplication) had his hands cut off and throat gashed, and was left for dead. The pirates were about to disembark the rice into their prahu, when Pilot Captain J. C. Davies passed in his steam-launch on the way to s.s. *Glengarry*. Seeing something amiss, he approached the tongkang ; but the pirates prepared to attack him, so he backed his launch and then rammed the prahu, which sank at once. The pirates dived, and swam to a reef, where five of them were captured by the headman of Pulo Bukum. Accompanied by three boatsful of Malays, they were brought to s.s. *Glengarry*, but were mistaken for additional pirates, and were received with a fusillade, much to their disgust. The five men were convicted, and hanged outside the gaol on Saturday, the 2nd August, in the presence of about 5,000 of the public ; and the bodies were buried at the foot of the gallows.

The final piracy of the century took place on the 12th April 1909, at Cape Romania, a spot which had seen so many similar encounters in the past. A large junk bound for China was becalmed on a bright moonlight night, and had anchored some distance from shore. The crew and passengers were all asleep, when they were stealthily attacked. Five had already been mutilated and killed, and four more had been seriously injured, when a dog barked on shore, and the pirates hurriedly

decamped. The junk returned to Singapore on the following day with her gruesome cargo.

This closes our brief review of piracy and its connection with Singapore.

For the first fifty years of the Settlement's existence the evil ran like a scarlet thread through the warp and weft of local circumstance. Not a week passed without the shadow dominating the horizon. Not a volume of official correspondence was bound that did not contain its reiteration *ad nauseam*.

To-day the grandsons and great-grandsons of the bloodthirsty and turbulent pirates assimilate mild instruction at the feet of Government Gamaliels, and make their peaceful pilgrimage when the necessary tale of dollars is complete.

CHAPTER V

LAND TENURE

By James Lornie, Collector of Land Revenue, Singapore

ABOUT a hundred years ago all land in Singapore was the property of the State. The history of the land tenure is, therefore, a reflection of the views of successive administrators regarding the best means of encouraging the permanent occupation of the land and the amount of compensation to be paid to the State for the total or partial surrender of its rights. The Treaty of the 6th February 1819 between Sir Stamford Raffles and Sultan Husain and the Temenggong Abdul Rahman was merely an arrangement which secured permission to erect a factory or factories on part of the Sultan's dominions. It was natural, therefore, that in the early days of the Settlement little could be done beyond making what appeared to be the necessary reservations for public purposes, and arrangements for the settlement of the various nationalities who flocked to it as soon as it was founded. In a letter dated the 25th June 1819, Raffles gave instructions to Major Farquhar regarding the allotment of the ground available, and instructed him to take proper measures to secure to each person "the indisputable possession of the spot he was allowed to occupy." A proper register was to be kept, and each occupant was to be granted a certificate entitling him to clear a spot of ground of specified dimensions, and to hold it according to such regulations as had been or might afterwards be established for the factory. These instructions, however, were not fully carried out. From the very beginning the influx of settlers was too great to be dealt with by Major

Farquhar and his limited staff, and when Raffles returned in 1823 he found he had to alter many of his arrangements. At an early date permanent leases appear to have been given, and about the beginning of 1823 instructions were received from India that land was to be let either on perpetual leases or for a term of years to the persons offering the highest amount of quit rent. The Bengal Government apparently intended to limit the term of the leases to ninety-nine years ; but their views were not followed by the local authorities, the explanation given in 1827 being that in the minds of the applicants a ninety-nine year lease conferred too limited an interest in land. In the same year it was reported that 576 of such leases had been made by Sir Stamford Raffles, or Major Farquhar by his authority, that the leases conferred only the privilege of occupancy and conveyed no right, not even that of transfer to others, and that the rents of them had never been paid. In addition to these leases, what were known as location tickets were issued, giving the right of possession for two years, during which the land was to be cleared and application made for regular leases—a modification of the original certificate of occupation.

It was not long before it was found that the arrangement with the Sultan and Temenggong required modification, and before his final departure in 1823 Raffles made an agreement by which, with the exception of the portion which had been allotted to the Chiefs at the beginning of the year, the whole of the island of Singapore and the islands immediately adjacent were placed at the entire disposal of the British. This agreement was, however, regarded as incomplete, and the final settlement was left to his successor, Mr. Crawford, who carried out the negotiations which ended in the Treaty of the 2nd August 1824, by which the island of Singapore, and the adjacent seas, straits, and islands, were ceded to the East India Company in full sovereignty and property. At the beginning of the same year the Treaty of London had been signed, by Article XII of which the King of the

Netherlands withdrew his objections to the occupation of Singapore by British subjects. The uncertain tenure of the island and a long discussion regarding the form of grants for a time prevented the issue of permanent titles; but in a report in January 1824 Mr. Crawford recorded his opinion that in order to attract agriculturists it was necessary to give a good and permanent tenure, of a simple nature, with few formalities of transfer, and without real property rights as in England. To discourage the appropriation of large areas by speculators, he proposed in the first instance to grant an occupation or location ticket, entitling the holder to a permanent grant after a proper survey, provided the land had been cleared within a specified time; this procedure, he pointed out, would reduce the number of conditions in the grants, and enable the area granted to be defined with precision. His proposals were approved in a letter of the 27th October 1825, which authorised him to issue location tickets and to grant leases to persons having commercial establishments at Singapore or desiring to settle there. The location tickets were issued in great numbers, apparently without registration, and in 1827 it was computed that they had been granted in the vicinity of the town to an extent only 14,000 acres short of the whole area of the island, which was accounted for by the fact that the measurement of land could not keep pace with the rush of applications.

In 1826 took place the incorporation of Penang, Malacca, and Singapore as a single Settlement under the Government of Penang, Resident Councillors being appointed for Singapore and Malacca. This resulted in a serious attempt being made to settle the land question. The lands cleared and occupied were then estimated to amount to 13,800 acres, most of which was held without any title whatever. The explanations given were the sudden increases of population, and the fact that as rent became payable only on the issue of a grant, many persons preferred to postpone their applications for the permanent title. In January the following

year a notification was published that all persons who failed to fulfil the terms of their contracts to clear and build on land before the 1st May would forfeit their rights, which led to the resumption of 217 lots of leasehold land. At the same time persons who had complied with the conditions of their titles or location tickets were granted new leases in the form which had been approved by the Government of Bengal. These constitute the earliest of the existing titles, Numbers 1-43 and 46-53 being issued on the 20th April 1826. The exchange proceeded with considerable rapidity, and in 1828, after the new titles had been issued to all who were held entitled to them, it was reported that they comprised 481 lots of land amounting to 313 acres, and that, with the exception of two for what is now known as Government Hill and Mount Sophia, they were within the narrow limits of the town.

About the same time Mr. Fullerton, the first Governor of the combined stations, fixed the terms on which 999-year leases could be obtained by the holders of land within the town limits at a quit rent of \$45 an acre—the average rate of the earlier titles. In the case of lands outside the limits of the town, it was felt that there was not sufficient information available for the determination of a fair rent on a permanent title, which led to the introduction of a system of renewable leases. Applicants were allowed a certain period in which to clear the land for which they had applied, at the end of which they were required to apply for a survey of the land they had cleared, when they became entitled to a series of fifteen-year leases, at gradually increasing rents up to a maximum originally fixed at \$10 an acre, and subsequently reduced to \$6 for lands beyond the limits of the town, but within two miles of the Bridge of Singapore, and \$3 outside these limits. At any time during his tenancy the holder of a fifteen-year lease was entitled to a 999-year lease at the rate declared to be the maximum.

These conditions formed what was known as the Singapore Land Regulation of 1830, which made pro-

vision for the appointment of a Superintendent of Lands, Registrar of Titles, Transfers, and Mortgages, and Collector of Quit Rents, fixed the terms of which land could be obtained and the procedure to be followed, and the fees to be charged in the registry. This regulation was approved by the Court of Directors of the East India Company; but about 1833 it was declared by the Recorder to be invalid on the ground that the Governor-in-Council of Prince of Wales's Island, Singapore, and Malacca, on whose authority it had been passed, had no power of passing regulations except for imposing duties and taxes. In approving the regulation the Court of Directors had taken exception to the term of 999 years and the fixed quit rent of \$45 an acre for town lands, and asked that these matters should be reconsidered, the result of which was that the Bengal Government in 1831 sanctioned all leases already granted, but prohibited the issue of any further leases on the old terms. This decision left matters in considerable uncertainty, and apparently the local authorities permitted various persons to occupy land without title, and without payment of rent, in the hope that titles could be obtained on more favourable terms when experience had shown this to be necessary. In 1833 the Governor reported that 415 acres were held on fifteen-year leases under the old regulation, the holders of which were anxious to know the terms on which they could obtain renewal, and that in his opinion the price of agricultural produce was so low that no one was likely to engage in agricultural pursuits unless he could obtain land on long leases or a grant in perpetuity at a rent of one to three rupees an acre, according to the situation and quality of the land. In 1836 the Agricultural and Horticultural Society drew up a petition to the Governor-General, pointing out that the soil of the island was suited to the cultivation of cotton, sugar, pepper, and nutmegs, and that in their opinion a great portion of the island was likely to remain an impervious jungle unless a more liberal system of sale or leasing of land

was adopted. They asked, therefore, that lands might be sold outright, or leased for a term of not less than ninety-nine years. In forwarding the petition, Mr. Bonham, Acting Governor, remarked that the small amount of quit rent which the petitioners were prepared to pay for land would seem to indicate that they were not very sanguine as to the suitability of the soil for the cultivation of the products specified in the petition, and that so far from the greater portion of the island being likely to remain an impervious jungle, cultivation had never extended so rapidly as at the time he wrote, owing to the rise in the price of gambier, which rendered it probable that all the high ground in the island would be under cultivation in four or five years. All this land was being occupied by Chinese planters without title, and as most of the earnings of the Chinese cultivators were spent on goods which paid an excise-tax, he did not think the Government was likely to lose thereby. In his opinion it was better that the soil should be cultivated than that large tracts of land should be encumbered by speculators who would take advantage of a low land-tax to hold up land in the hope of making a profit from its rise in value.

The petition arrived at a time when the affairs of the Straits Settlements were receiving a considerable amount of attention from the Government of India, and it is referred to in a minute of the Governor-General, Lord Auckland, in which he dealt at great length with the history of the land tenure of each of the Settlements, the nature of the various products, and the best means of securing permanent cultivation of the land. The conclusion he arrived at was that the best policy was to grant the land in perpetuity at a fixed rent, or at rates of rent assessable according to some fixed principle; but in view of the restrictions imposed by the Court of Directors, he proposed to grant twenty-year leases, renewable at a fixed rent for a further term of thirty years, for so much of the land as had been for the last five years cultivated or chiefly occupied with produce of a specified nature, or in cases where money had been

sunk in irrigation works or the erection of valuable buildings. In the case of town lands he favoured sixty-year building leases, or preferably similar leases, for a term of ninety-nine years. A decision of the Governor-General-in-Council, in accordance with these views, was communicated to Mr. Young, the Commissioner, specially sent from India to report on the land administration of the Straits, and was published by him as a Government notification on the 7th September 1837. The appointment of the Commissioner was made under a special Indian Act No. X of 1837, and in the same year another Act, No. XX, of great importance to the Straits, was passed providing that all land in the Eastern Settlements was to be treated as if it were and had always been of the nature of personal property. At the time the Act was passed the only titles existing in Singapore were leases, so that for the time being it affected only Penang and Malacca. At the beginning of 1838 the first of the present ninety-nine year leases were issued, in accordance with the notification of the preceding year, seventy-one leases bearing date the 1st January 1838, and during the next few years they were issued in considerable numbers. The prices obtained for the early leases naturally compared unfavourably with what had been paid for 999-year leases; but there was soon a considerable improvement, and the number of leases issued about the year 1842 shows that there must have been considerable demand for land throughout the town. The ninety-nine year leases were subject to the condition that a tile-roofed house should be erected on each leasehold within a period of two years: the sixty-year leases which were issued in 1838 and 1839, and have all expired, only required the erection of a house.

In the case of agricultural land the terms were not regarded as satisfactory. In his report on the land tenure of the Straits, the Commissioner expressed his strong disagreement with the policy of short leases favoured by the Court of Directors. His objections were based on the experimental nature of the policy,

which was entirely different from what had proved a success in all the larger colonies throughout the world, the lack of encouragement to incur the expensive outlay required for the cultivation of valuable products, and the existence of a more beneficial tenure in Penang, Province Wellesley, and Malacca, and also in Ceylon. The evils of the short-lease system he summarised as the encouragement to speculators to hold large tracts of land in the hope of disposing of them at a profit, the use of land under the pretence of agriculture for the extraction of timber and the burning of charcoal, the partial clearing of land for the sake of one or two crops, and the wasting of the soil by the cultivation of pepper, gambier, and other exhausting crops. He had little sympathy with the gambier planter, whom he regarded as by no means the pioneer of colonisation as some had supposed, but rather as the locust of cultivation. In his opinion nothing was clearer than the fact that the man who in a country like the Straits merely cut down the large forest trees and neglected to follow this up by effective clearing and treatment of the land was not a benefactor, but an enemy of agriculture, the mischief being aggravated by the forcing of the soil to the utmost by gambier and pepper planting. At the same time he considered the interests of the people and the State would be better served by the small native cultivators than by the more imposing efforts of the spice cultivators or the speculative undertakings of the growers of sugar and cotton. During his stay in the Straits, Mr. Young was also engaged in a report on a draft Act for the collection of land revenue and the registration of transfers of land, and in 1839 this Act was passed by the Legislative Council of India, and received the assent of the Governor-General. The Act, known as the Straits Land Act, made provision for dealing with unauthorised occupation of Crown land, the granting of leases, and of permits for temporary occupation pending survey, the erection and preservation of boundary marks, the subdivision of grants and leases, the collection of land revenue, and the registration

of mutations of title. The last provision had been the subject of some discussion, and a suggestion had been made to omit it altogether and leave it to be dealt with in a separate enactment. The Singapore Land Regulation, with its provisions for registration, had, however, been repealed by Act X of 1837, and Mr. Young strongly urged the necessity of having some form of registration, and the Government of India adopted his views. The provision made was admittedly imperfect, and it was expressly stated that it was to be replaced as soon as possible by a more elaborate system; but it remained in force in Singapore until it was superseded by the Registration of Deeds Ordinance of 1886, and it is in force in Malacca at the present day.

The Act provided that the conditions of land alienation should be determined by the Government of Bengal, but this Government preferred to leave the matter to the Government of India, which had passed the Act, and early in 1840 the subject received the consideration of the Governor-General-in-Council. The question of the term of the leases was again brought up, when it was decided that without reference to the Court of Directors no longer term than that provided by Section V of the Act could be granted. This was the term of twenty years, renewable on certain conditions for a further period of thirty years, as laid down by Lord Auckland. At the same meeting it was decided to sanction the appointment of a Surveyor, with a suitable establishment, for Singapore, and in November of the following year Mr. J. T. Thomson came to Singapore to take up the duties of the appointment. Soon after his arrival a notice was published calling upon all holders or occupiers of land to point out their boundaries, and the first serious survey of the island was undertaken. At this time agriculture was in a flourishing condition, and there were further demands for an improvement in the conditions on which land could be obtained from the Government, which now obtained the support of Mr. Bonham, Acting Governor, and of the Resident Councillor, Mr. Church.

In a letter dated the 21st June 1842, the former proposed the alienation in fee-simple of all land required for agricultural purposes within two miles of the limits of the town at a rate of ten rupees an acre, and of all land situated at a greater distance from the town at five rupees an acre, the rate of ten rupees to be subject to modification by the local authorities according to circumstances. These proposals were referred to the Government of India, and approved in April 1843. A few exceptions were made in the case of certain leaseholders; but the restrictions in their case were removed the following year, when it was declared that the object of the Government in relinquishing their rights in the soil for ever was not so much to secure an immediate and adequate pecuniary return as for the purpose of creating improving proprietors. In the case of town lands no modification was allowed, and the issue of ninety-nine year leases continued.

The Court of Directors had previously left the matter to the discretion of the Government of India, and time has fully justified the criticism contained in the following comment made by them on receipt of the news of the decision: "From the map which you have now transmitted of the town and environs of Singapore it appears that the new limits within which the land is to be retained as the property of the Government coincide in most places with the present outline of the town, and that its future extension is scarcely at all provided for except on the western side. We presume that this was well considered; but we should have expected that you would have reserved at so flourishing a Settlement a more ample margin for future increase." When it is remembered that three years previously Mr. Bonham had reported that there were many valuable spots adjacent to the town for which he could obtain a rental of five rupees an acre, and strongly urged the desirability of granting ninety-nine year leases for all land for which he could obtain this rent, and that among the areas affected by the decision were what is now the most densely

crowded part of the town—the area round Sago Street, and localities like Government Hill and Oxley Rise, situated over a mile from the mouth of Singapore River, it is easy to see that the Court of Directors took a sounder view of the matter than the authorities and the Government of India.

The new titles—the existing freehold grants—are expressed as made under Indian Act X of 1842, an Act for the simplification of conveyancing, and from 1845 onwards they were issued in large numbers. The original intention of granting them for the encouragement of agriculture was soon forgotten, and large areas were alienated which have remained tidal swamps until this day. Curiously enough the decline of agriculture started almost immediately afterwards, and in the majority of cases the Government had as little success in their endeavours to create improving proprietors as they had in obtaining an adequate pecuniary return. No change, however, was made in the land policy until the transfer of the Settlements to the Colonial Office in 1867. After that date a few grants in fee-simple were made, which may have been on terms previously approved ; but in the majority of cases the titles were 999-year leases, which in some cases contained a provision for renewal for a further period of 999 years. The rents fixed were very low, and there were no onerous conditions, so that these titles are practically as favourable as those granted by the East India Company and the Secretary of State for India before the Transfer. From 1880 onwards the terms become harder, and for the first time appeared a condition prohibiting the use of land for burial purposes without the consent of the Governor, an indication of one of the great evils which had grown up under the previous system. The great drawbacks at this time were the absence of a systematic survey of the island and the inadequacy of the Land Office staff, which allowed encroachments on Crown land to go on unchecked, and favoured the accumulation of arrears of rent. It was obvious that the whole question of land administration

and tenure required reconsideration, and the result was the appointment of another Commissioner, Mr. W. E. Maxwell, who dealt with the various problems with great thoroughness. The first important step was the passing of Ordinance X of 1883, which made encroachment on Crown land an offence punishable with fine, and on a second conviction with imprisonment, and also provided for the resumption of abandoned land. This was followed by another important Ordinance, VIII of 1884, for the demarcation of lands and the establishment and maintenance of boundary marks, which involved a systematic survey of each Settlement, district by district, and the preparation of maps representing the holdings, an essential preliminary to a comprehensive land settlement. In 1886 appeared a series of Ordinances, No. II dealing with the issue of Crown Titles, No. IV with the Collection of Land Revenue, and No. XIII with the Registration of Deeds—subjects which had previously been included in one enactment, Indian Act XVI of 1839. The first of these provided for a statutory form of Crown title—the present Statutory Land Grant, which is a grant in perpetuity subject to a quit rent, the form of which was simplified by the omission of various covenants and conditions previously inserted in leases, most of which are implied by virtue of the Statute. In the original Ordinance there was one important omission—the failure to reserve the power to mark out rights of way for the benefit of adjoining owners, which had been a condition of most agricultural leases issued in the preceding years. This was subsequently rectified on instructions from the Secretary of State, and was provided for by an amendment of the Ordinance in 1915. Mr. Maxwell's intention was to secure a uniform Crown title as a preliminary to registration by title; but the Statutory Land Grant has never had any attraction for the 999-year leaseholder, though from time to time sixty and ninety-nine year leases have been replaced by the permanent title. An important part of the Ordinance was the provision enabling the Governor-in-Council

to make rules for the carrying out of certain of the objects of the Ordinance, as a result of which the Ordinance has remained practically in its original form for over thirty years, while the rules have been constantly amended. The earlier grants were issued on comparatively low terms of premium and quit rent ; but as land increased in value, it became harder for the poor cultivator to obtain it, and a modification of the original conditions providing for the payment of five per cent. interest on the purchase price in lieu of premium was in force for a few years, from 1902 to 1908, but this system led to much abuse, and had to be stopped.

During the last ten years various forms of cultivation clauses have been introduced, with the object of securing the permanent cultivation of agricultural land. These are now practically of a uniform type, providing for rebates of rent during the first five or six years on the fulfilment of certain planting conditions.

At the beginning of the present century two Ordinances were passed, which have given rise to special forms of Crown title. The Foreshore and Sea-Bed Ordinance I of 1901 provided a procedure for the leasing of portions of the foreshore and sea-bed for periods not exceeding one hundred years, which might be extended, with the consent of the Secretary of State, in cases where, after a public notification for a period of three months, a declaration was made by the Governor-in-Council that the proposed leases did not create a substantial infringement of public rights. The Ordinance at the same time validated a number of grants and leases of portions of the foreshore and sea-bed which had been reclaimed in accordance with the titles.

In 1903 was passed " The Crown Lands (Grants Fee-Simple) Ordinance," restricting the issue of grants in fee-simple to a few cases of substitution for earlier grants of a similar nature, which had been surrendered in consequence of incorrect surveys, or boundary disputes, or when the land was required for some public purpose. The provisions of this Ordinance have been somewhat

modified in favour of the Municipal Commissioners, but the principle of the Ordinance remains the same.

In recent years, with the rise in the value of land due to the prosperity of the rubber industry, there has been a noticeable tendency towards the formation of large estates and the disappearance of the small fruit and vegetable cultivator from many parts of the island. A change of this nature can hardly be said to be in the best interests of the Settlement, and to counteract it there has been a marked increase in the number of permits for the temporary occupation of Crown land, which are renewed year after year, and have had considerable effect in keeping the small cultivator on the land. With the same object in view it has recently been decided to issue thirty-year leases at reduced rates of premium and quit rent, requiring the cultivation of one-fifth of the land with fruit and vegetables. It is hoped in this way to increase the supply of foodstuffs, and to give a better tenure than that of the annual permit, but at the same time one which will not be sufficiently attractive to encourage the absorption of the land in a large estate.

CHAPTER VI

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

By F. J. Hallifax, formerly President of the Municipal Commissioners, Singapore.

A HISTORY of the Municipality of Singapore within the limited space at the disposal of the writer must be either a bald chronological table with lists of names, events, and statistics, or must elect to refer the reader to other records for mere statistics, and content itself with being little more than a sketch.

The chronological and statistical method, though doubtless it would appeal more strongly to a specialist, would be out of place in a history such as this, compiled as it is to commemorate one particular milestone in the life of the city. A century in the life of a city is "like an evening gone." What the archæologist of A.D. 2019 will seek to find in the archives of the Raffles Museum of his day will not be how many dollars we collected and how many we spent, but rather to get an idea of what sort of a city it was in its younger days. The dry bones of statistics are available in many forms, much more accurate and concise than any likely to be found in a Centenary History, and it is certainly not this volume that the student would take down from the shelves if he wished to lighten some dark spot of revenue, expenditure, or vital statistics. I will attempt, therefore, to outline the growth of the Municipality since its birth, making passing references to outstanding events and persons only so far as they affect the Municipality, and must leave the curious reader to fill in details of the picture for himself from the materials to be found in

musty records of the Municipality or of the Government. For interesting incidents and persons other than municipal the reader must seek elsewhere in this volume. Lists and rows of figures unfortunately cannot be altogether avoided, but they will be introduced as sparingly as possible.

Municipal government owes its life in the first instance to the need for roads. Before long roads have to be followed by drains, and then by the collection and destruction of the refuse that accumulates on and in them. The provision of means of lighting would probably follow next, water supply being still left to individual effort, and not becoming a municipal care till a later period. Then with the growth of the community it becomes necessary to interfere with private and insanitary ways of living and of obtaining water, and a Municipal Water Supply and Markets would be established, which in turn would lead to the evolution of a Health Department. Finally would come organised protection from fire. Legislation for the constitution of the Governing Body would not necessarily be an early stage in the evolution, though the collection of money to pay communal expenses would have to be provided for from the beginning. Such things as building regulations, public gardens, and amenities would only come within municipal purview at a much later stage, with means of public transport and public housing probably last of all.

The bibliography of the Municipality can be dismissed in a very few words. In the beginning there was no special municipal law, the town, such as it was, being administered directly by the Central Government. But the Government had other things to attend to, and was apt not to give as much attention to the parish pump as the inhabitants of the town thought it deserved. So agitation was set on foot, and produced a Municipal Committee or Watch Committee, the first embryo of the Municipal Commissioners of to-day. It was modest in its scope, and was concerned chiefly with providing

and upkeeping a small force of police to keep order in the town, though it also drew the attention of the Government to such abuses as it considered should be dealt with, a function that it shared for many years with the Grand Jury. Various Committees were formed to attend to drains, street lighting, and regulation of buildings, the first recorded being in 1822, but no special municipal law was enacted. The Committees were appointed as occasion demanded *ad hoc*, and had no continuous life, nor were they in any way representative. Naturally they failed to give satisfaction. Strong protests about them induced the Government in 1854 to take steps to extend the Indian Municipal Laws to the town, but it was not till 1856 that an Act to establish a Municipality was passed. This remained the charter of the town for thirty years. The transfer of control from the East India Company to the Home Government involved merely the adoption of the Indian Act, which was not superseded till 1887, when the first Municipal Ordinance by the Straits Settlements Government was passed. The representation on the Governing Body was intended to be popular. In this it cannot be said to have had any conspicuous success. This Ordinance remained in force till 1896, when an amplified Ordinance superseded it, which was in turn repealed and superseded by the Municipal Ordinance of 1913, the law in force to-day. By the last-mentioned Ordinance all pretence of popular representation on the Board of Municipal Commissioners was finally abandoned. It had never been more than a fiction, and had led to abuses. It is (more or less) authentically related that one of the infrequent contested elections was won by one vote by an astute candidate with a memory for faces. He sat at the polling-booth all day. Voters were not numerous, and it was easy to tell for whom their votes would be cast. As the hour for closing the poll drew near, it was pretty clear that there was going to be a dead-heat. This was a contingency that had not been altogether unexpected, and an extra voter or two had been induced to remain in reserve in an

adjoining hotel. The proud privilege of exercising their rights of "popular representation" would not alone have brought them to the booth, but they were willing to wait and confer the honour of their votes on anyone who would supply them with refreshments at intervals. At the psychological moment one was supported to the polling station, and his strategic use of reserves duly rewarded the candidate by a victory by one vote.

An index to the activities of the Municipality will be afforded by its finances. In the beginning whatever funds were required were doled out of the general revenues of the Government. There was trouble about using such funds for the benefit purely of the inhabitants of Singapore, and in 1825 or 1826 an assessment on houses to defray expenses of municipal works had already been established. It brought in about \$400. Previously the Committees had evidently been hard put to it to find money, the most original method of raising it being a proposal to have a public lottery for the purpose. In 1840 the assessment on houses was fixed at $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., reduced to 8 per cent. in 1843, but very little appears to have been attempted. Buckley records that in 1843 "\$1,900 was spent on roads" and "a sum of \$18.62 was spent to enclose the Esplanade."

With the passing of the Municipal Act of 1856 the revenue and expenditure were put on a more regular basis. The rapidity of the growth of the town as revealed in the accounts of income and expenditure is remarkable. In 1856, the first year after the establishment of a regular municipality, the income amounted to \$56,688.72 and the expenditure to \$62,799.96. Incidentally this is instructive as an early instance of precocity. To spend more than your income is perhaps normal for municipal commissioners of longer-established municipalities, but it would have been expected, perhaps, that in their first year they would have cut their coat more according to their cloth.

In 1863 the revenue had increased to \$114,928.87.

The expenditure was on the right side of this for the first time, and stood at \$103,319.62.

Twenty-five years later, in 1888, the revenue stood at \$597,929.48 and the expenditure at \$539,097.55. This was the first year after the new Municipal Ordinance had been brought into force. Taking the figures of municipal revenue and expenditure as the criterion from 1887 onwards, the growth of the town was steady if not rapid. This continued till 1902, when there was a slight set-back; but the progress was resumed the next year, and has continued ever since. The \$597,929.48 of 1888 had grown to \$4,514,543 in 1917, and expenditure had increased from \$539,097.55 to \$4,263,787. For the growth of thirty years these figures are remarkable.

With the passing of the Municipal Act of 1856 a regular Municipal Council was established. The first Chairman was Captain H. T. Marshall, Superintendent of the P. and O. Company, and member of the Chamber of Commerce. A secretary was naturally appointed at the same time, the first holder of the post being Mr. C. R. Rigg, who held it for ten years. Captain Marshall's tenure of office was only for one year. When he vacated his appointment there seems to have been some difficulty in filling it, for no less than three other gentlemen held the office before the next twelve months.

The Directory for 1857 gives "Assessment Department, Commissioners, *pro tem.*, Chairman H. T. Marshall, Captain McPherson, Thomas Dunman, ex officio, John Harvey, Tan Kim Seng; Secretary and Collector of Assessment, Christopher Robert Rigg; Overseer of Works, L. Pahill, temporary office, Commercial Square, over Messrs. J. G. Boyd and Co.'s godown." In 1861 the Municipal Secretary had a room in the Police Office, and the Commissioners held meetings in the old Court House.

Afterwards Captain Macpherson seems to have held the substantive appointment for ten years till 1869, with short intervals, probably when he was on leave. During the intervals the office was temporarily filled by others, of whom the best known in the history of Singa-

pore is Mr. W. H. Read, who was Chairman for a few months in 1869. He again held office from 1875 to 1880. Mr. J. W. W. Birch, whose subsequent death in 1875 in Perak led indirectly to the establishment of the Federated Malay States, was Chairman from 1870 to 1874. Captain McCallum, R.E., afterwards Sir H. E. McCallum, G.C.M.G., Governor of Ceylon, was Chairman for three years, from 1883 to 1886. Mr. Alexander Gentle was Chairman for ten and a half years, from June 1890 to the end of 1900, the longest single period. There was one interval in it of eight months, in 1897, when Mr. W. Egerton, afterwards Sir W. Egerton, K.C.M.G., Governor of British Guiana, acted for Mr. Gentle while the latter was on leave. From the retirement of Mr. Gentle to the present time the office has been held by Messrs. J. O. Anthonisz, two and three-quarter years; W. Evans, three months; E. G. Broadrick, six and a half years; F. J. Hallifax, seven and a half years; W. Peel, at present in office, with short intervals during which Messrs. J. Polglase, R. J. Farrer, and Dr. W. R. C. Middleton have acted during the absence on leave of the substantive holder.

The office of Municipal Secretary has seen fewer changes. The first Secretary was Mr. C. R. Rigg, who held office from 1856 to 1866, when he resigned. He was succeeded by Mr. H. Hewetson, who came from the Land Office. He died in 1882, and is chiefly remembered as an enthusiastic amateur conjurer. Judging from the pieces of discarded conjuring apparatus left lying about, he appears to have found time to keep his hand in practice during business hours. He was succeeded by Mr. D. G. Presgrave, who went on leave in 1891 and did not return to Singapore. The vacant office was filled by Mr. John Polglase, who still holds it in the centenary year, a period of continuous service of more than a quarter of the total life of Singapore.

Of the municipal engineers, the first was Mr. J. W. Reeve, who was appointed in 1858. Previous to that time such advice as was required in engineering matters



ALEXANDER GENTLE.

was provided by the technical advisers of the Government, occasionally supplemented by civil engineers in practice in the town. Subsequent holders of the appointment were Mr. Carrington (died at Batavia in 1878 while on short leave), Mr. Howard Newton (went to Bombay and died in 1897 of cholera), and Mr. T. C. Cargill. Mr. Cargill left the Municipal service in 1883, and set up in practice in the town as a civil engineer. He designed the present Coleman Bridge, and built part of it as a contractor. Mr. James MacRitchie was appointed in 1883. He built the filters at Bukit Timah Road, and did much to improve the roads of the town. On his death, in 1895, Mr. S. Tomlinson was appointed from Bombay. He held the office till 1900, when he resigned, and was succeeded by Mr. R. Peirce. Mr. Peirce effected a very great number of changes and improvements during his tenure of office, the most important of which are the extension and improvement of the water supply and the installation of a water-carriage system for sewage for the city. He resigned on account of ill-health in 1916. The work of the appointment had by that time increased so greatly that it was decided to split up the duties. Mr. B. Ball was appointed Municipal Engineer for roads, sewers, and general engineering works, and Mr. S. Williams was put in independent charge of the waterworks. The lighting of the town was also at the same time made an independent charge, under the control of Mr. J. P. Hallaway as Gas Engineer and Mr. J. H. Mackail as Electrical Engineer. That is the constitution of the Municipal Engineering Department in the centenary year. The public health of the town seems to have been left to look after itself for many years. Epidemics of disease fortunately never became serious, and such advice as was required was supplied by the Medical Officer of the Government. It was not till the Municipal Ordinance of 1887 was passed that a separate Municipal Health Department was established. Dr. W. Gilmore Ellis, of the Government Medical Service, carried on the duties till 1892, when Dr. E. C. Dumbleton

was appointed. He held office only for about a year, and was succeeded by Dr. W. R. C. Middleton, the present Municipal Health Officer. After a few months in the office in 1893, Dr. Middleton went to England in order to qualify in Public Health. He returned in January 1894 with the Diploma of Public Health, and has held the appointment of Municipal Health Officer for the quarter of a century that has since elapsed. During his periodical absences on leave, the work was carried on by Dr. J. A. R. Glennie, his chief assistant.

The lack of a properly organised Health Department in the early years had its inevitable consequence. The growth of the town was only regulated in externals, and that but very slightly, while out of sight the insanitary conditions of China were perpetuated in their new homes by the ever-increasing stream of Chinese immigrants who were attracted by the growing trade of the country. Houses were not built fast enough to accommodate new arrivals, and overcrowding was the result. The resistance to disease acquired by generations of living in insanitary conditions in their own country enabled the Chinese to support conditions in Singapore that would have exterminated a race less inured to them. But, as the Health Department became more firmly established, and as more reliable statistics of death and disease became available, it became obvious that everything was not as it should be. Professor W. J. Simpson was selected to come out from England and report on the sanitary conditions of the town. He made an exhaustive examination of the town in 1906, and submitted a very complete report, which disclosed an appalling state of affairs in the life below the surface. The result has been that enormous sums of money have had to be spent in the closing years of the first century of the life of the city to undo the damage caused by the *laissez faire* policy of previous years. As the century closes the authorities are keenly alive to the need of sanitary improvements in the housing and habits of the people, much good work has been done, and much more is under consideration. But

Choa Giang Thyc. C. J. Saunders.

Sam Tomlinson Arthur Barker.
(Municipal Engineer).

John Polglase
(Secretary).



Lee Choon Guan.

Th. Sohst.

A. Gentile
(President).

Colonel Pennefather.

J. W. B. Maclaren.

F. E. Jago.

THE MUNICIPAL COMMISSIONERS IN 1890.

the cost of undoing the damage will be enormous, and the inhabitants of the town will need to make up their minds to support a heavy burden of taxation before they will be able to claim that their city is as good as it ought to be.

The town is well served with roads. Raffles took care that this should be the case, and ensured it by the instructions he issued in 1822 to the Committee appointed to arrange the planning of the town. This minute of the 4th November 1822 may be called the first Town Planning Act for Singapore. The Committee were instructed "to line out the different streets and highways, which should as far as practicable be at right angles." The breadth of streets was left undetermined; evidently the point had been discussed, but there had been difference of opinion. Detailed instructions were given with the purpose of having an orderly and well-laid-out town, with "kampongs" reserved for various nationalities. Within the limits laid down (three miles along the coast from Teluk Ayer to opposite Tanjong Rhu, and inland for a distance varying from half a mile to a mile), the roads and streets then laid down are the streets of to-day. The parallel streets from Beach Road inland as far as Bencoolen Street on the north side of the river represent the oldest portion of the town. On the south side the land was a swamp, and such orderly and easy arrangement was not possible, though the inland portion as far as Cross Street was evidently dealt with by the Committee. But this must have been at a much later date, for it is obvious from the absence of bridges that practically all the life of the town was on the north side. A single wooden bridge, built about 1822, was for many years the only direct connection between the two banks, other than that afforded by a ferry service. A second bridge was apparently not required till 1840, when a brick bridge was built by Mr. Coleman, and called after him. This joined New Bridge Road and Hill Street, and remained in existence till 1886, when it was replaced by the present structure, but retained its name. The first

Elgin Bridge was renewed in 1843. Cavenagh Bridge was built in 1868, and remains now as originally designed. It may be conjectured that the period about 1880 to 1890 saw the most rapid development of the business quarter on the south side of the river. Ord Bridge (1886), Read Bridge (1889), and the two bridges at Pulau Saigon (1890) were all built in that period; and Battery Road itself was found to be too narrow for the busy traffic of the business quarter, and had to be widened in 1890.

Anderson Bridge, the most imposing of the bridges over the Singapore River, was built in 1910. Something had to be done to relieve the congestion caused by the narrowness of Cavenagh Bridge: it was decided not to attempt to enlarge it, but to build an entirely new bridge instead.

Roads added later may occasionally be identified by their names, e.g. New Bridge Road, which undoubtedly was made about the time that Coleman Bridge was made (1840); Prinsep Street was made through the land granted in 1859 to C. H. Prinsep for a nutmeg estate, and would therefore date subsequently to that grant. Havelock Road, Neil Road, and Outram Road bear their dates upon them; they were made about 1857, and named after the heroes of the Indian Mutiny. A map of the town dated 1858 shows Orchard Road extending only to where the junction with Nassim Road is now. There is much to be said in favour of a system of naming roads and streets by which some indication is given of the dates of their construction.

Grange Road was made about 1866; it previously existed as a private pathway through Dr. Oxley's property, but only as far as where Irwell Bank Road now is. Paterson Road was opened up at the same time through private property. It was foolishly saddled with conditions imposed by the owners of the property, which have operated to its detriment as a public road ever since.

The roads within the municipal limits in the centenary

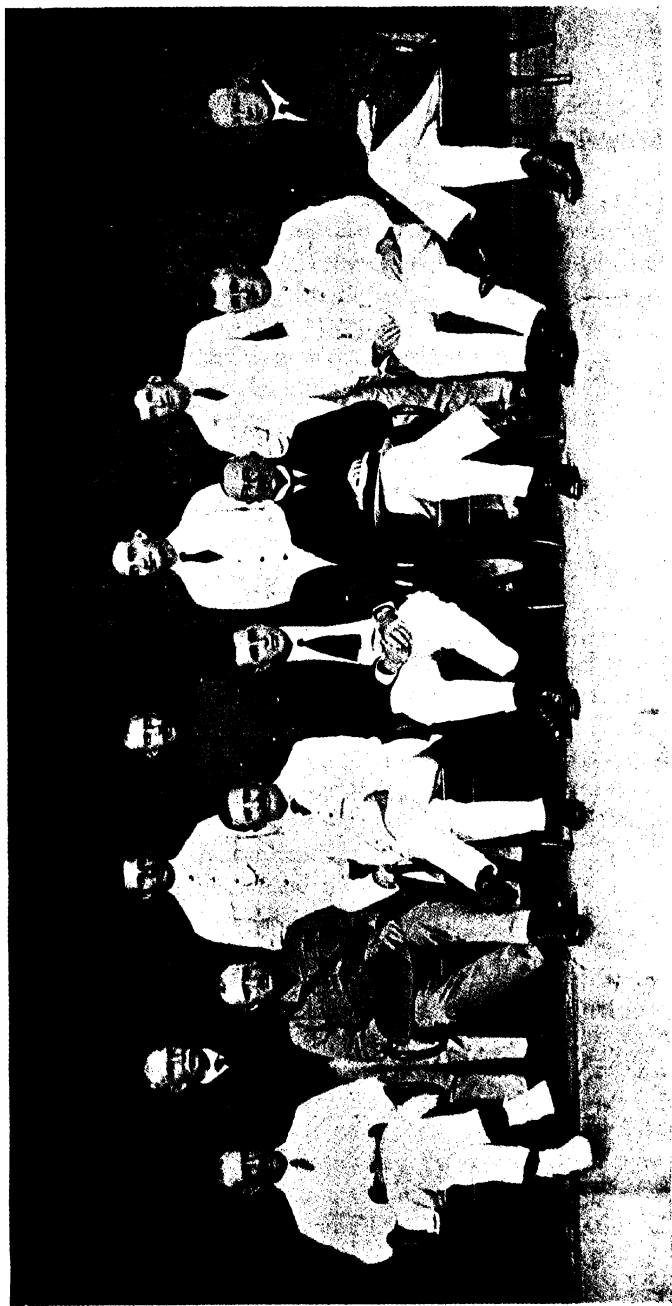
John Polglase.

H. R. Manchester.

Supt. T. Wilson
(Fire Brigade).

A. G. Harrington
(Analyst).

Dr. Hunter
(Bacteriologist).



Dr. J. A. R. Glennie
(Dep. Health Officer).

Major A. M. Thompson.
(Municipal Engineer).

F. J. Hallifax
(President).

Dr. W. R. Middleton
(Health Officer).

W. E. Hooper
(Registrar of Vehicles).

J. Halloway
(Gas Engineer).

THE MUNICIPAL OFFICERS IN 1915.

year extend to about 119 miles. The state in which they are maintained has often been the subject of favourable comment by visitors from other cities, though it must be confessed that the inhabitants of Singapore have not always been so loud in praise. The amount of money spent on the roads is naturally very great, and out of all comparison with the expenditure in the earlier days, when roads were often mere tracks, when there were no rubber-tyred vehicles and no motor-cars. We have become more exacting than our forefathers in the standard we require in our roads, and naturally the bill for maintenance corresponds. In the last years of its first century of life Singapore spends annually very little short of half a million dollars in keeping its roads in order.

The Conservancy of the town, one of the most important spheres of activity of the Municipality, has grown from nothing to its present dimensions. Drains and refuse had to look after themselves till they obtruded too much on public notice. Then spasmodic attempts were made to deal with them, the first recorded being in 1827, when a Committee was appointed to look into the question and get the frontagers to build their drains. The Committee did as much as it could, and reported about a mile of drains completed in the town. Systematic destruction of refuse was not established till 1889, when the first incinerators were built at Jalan Besar. These were supplemented by additional ones erected at Tanjong Pagar and Alexandra Road, and all the refuse of the town, amounting to about 600 cartloads a day, is now scientifically destroyed. About 2,000 coolies are now permanently employed in cleaning the drains and keeping the streets free of refuse.

The disposal of sewage has always been a difficult question. The style in which the town is built and the absence of access to the backs of the houses make collection by hand an unsatisfactory method. Sewers, on the other hand, were said to be unsuitable for a town in the tropics with an ignorant population. The advocates of a sewerage system made no progress till Professor

Simpson, in 1906, issued his report on the sanitary requirements of the town. He strongly advocated sewers, and recommended the Shone system of evacuation by automatic ejectors worked by compressed air. The low levels on which the town is built make it impossible to have a complete system of gravitation sewers, and pumping, automatic or otherwise, seemed to be the only remedy. In 1911 the Municipal Engineer, Mr. R. Peirce, submitted a scheme by which the town was divided into sections. Gravitation sewers were to be used to certain central points, whence the contents of the sewers were to be pumped to a distance and there disposed of in accordance with the latest scientific methods. The scheme found more favour than Professor Simpson's, which was to have been very costly, and was adopted by the Municipal Commissioners to be carried out. Progress was retarded by the Great War, but the close of Singapore's first century sees the city with the framework of a modern sewage system, and with an installation for disposal of sewage in full and satisfactory operation at Alexandra Road.

The water supply of a large city is always an important and often a troublesome question. In the early days of Singapore this did not trouble the heads of the Local Government over much, and the inhabitants naturally were quite content to draw their water from wells without any care for the future. In the first instance the authorities did not appear to be so much concerned for the supply to the people as for the supply to the shipping. Singapore's importance depended on its attractiveness to trading vessels, and it was highly important that vessels should be induced to touch at the port for fresh water. There were no streams in the island suitable for water supply, so a small reservoir was built. It was inadequate and badly made, and as early as 1823, less than five years after the flag was hoisted in Singapore, Mr. Crawford, the Resident, proposed to spend \$1,000 on a new reservoir and waterworks. But nothing was done for the supply of the city, which

depended as before entirely on wells. As the town grew the wells became more and more inadequate and more and more insanitary. What had been a well in an open garden or compound, reasonably capable of providing good water, had become a well in the courtyard of a house, surrounded on all sides by a crowded population whose drainage was the source of the water at the bottom of the well. Complaints were frequent, and much hardship was suffered in times of drought; but by some fortunate chance no epidemic of disease seems to have resulted.

In 1852 a report was made by J.T. Thomson, proposing a scheme for the supply of water to the town from the head-waters of the "Singapore Creek." It was to cost £28,000 to complete, and was to provide 546 million gallons of water a year. The establishment required for maintenance was to be two peons and ten convicts under the supervision of an officer. Nothing came of this scheme. In 1857 Tan Kim Seng offered \$13,000 for the purpose of bringing water to the town; he proposed to get it from Bukit Timah. Nothing practically came of this scheme either for about five years, when it was finally decided to make an impounding reservoir at Thomson Road. For this, of course, far more money was required than Tan Kim Seng's \$13,000, so that donation was used in erecting a fountain near Johnston's Pier to commemorate his generosity. The fountain was erected in 1882.

The impounding reservoir at Thomson Road, for which the plans were approved about 1862, remained the only source of water till 1900. It had had to be enlarged about 1891, and again in 1904. In 1900 the Kallang River Reservoir was constructed, part of an elastic larger scheme which was to be put in hand as the need for more water should arise. This need was made very evident by a water famine which occurred in 1902, which caused much discomfort to the inhabitants and a good deal of trouble to the authorities. Each of these schemes required supplementary service reservoirs

to allow the water to reach the houses by gravitation. The service reservoir on Mount Emily was the first of these, built about 1878. It was followed twenty years later by the service reservoir on Pearl's Hill.

The water from the impounding reservoir was received at a pumping station at the foot of Mount Emily. Thence it was pumped up to the high-level reservoir. No filtration took place till about 1889, when the first filters at Bukit Timah Road were constructed. Since that date the filters at this station have been gradually extended, between the years 1892 and 1895, and afterwards again between 1898 and 1904, and between 1906 and 1911. At the present time there are seventeen filters at Bukit Timah Road. But this was not enough to deal with all the water supplied to the town, and when the Kallang River impounding reservoir was built in 1911 an additional battery of nine filters was constructed at Woodleigh. The total area of the filters at the present time is very nearly thirteen acres. Even this is not always sufficient; a small proportion of unfiltered water has frequently to be used for consumption in three or four months in every year when consumption is heavy. Not that this is a point of any great importance; the necessity of filtering the water at all has always been questioned from a sanitary point of view. The catchment areas for the two impounding reservoirs have been cleared of all human habitation or activity, and possible sources of contamination have been carefully excluded. If it were not for the fact that unfiltered water is apt to cause deposits in the pipes, and so both to increase the expense of pipes owing to shorter life, and to decrease the amount of water that the pipes can carry, there would be no necessity to filter the water at all. The area of the Thomson Road catchment is 1,890 acres, and of Kallang River catchment 3,007 acres, the two reservoirs between them being capable of holding a supply of water sufficient for the requirements of the town for a period of several months, even if no rain fell at all.

The pumps for elevating the water to the high-level reservoirs at Mount Emily and Pearl's Hill are capable of dealing with about 9,500,000 gallons a day. This was considered quite a safe maximum not so many years ago. Thomson's water scheme in 1852 provided for a total annual supply of 546,000,000 gallons, a good deal less than 2,000,000 gallons a day. Thomson doubtless had an eye to future requirements, but his calculations of the probable growth of Singapore were very wide of the mark. The 7,000,000 gallons a day mark has been habitually passed for some years, and the 9,000,000 gallon mark is now too near to be safe. Further extensions both of the pumping plant and of the high-level service reservoirs are indicated for very early in the second century of the existence of Singapore. The site for an additional high-level reservoir has already been obtained from the Government, on Fort Canning.

It is extremely difficult, if not quite impossible, to ascertain the total amount of money that has been sunk in the various works for the supply of water to the town. It has, however, been ascertained that \$686,872 were paid between 1878 and 1918 for the various pieces of land required for the impounding reservoirs, filters, service reservoirs, and pumping stations, offices, etc.

In the same period of forty years \$2,321,017 were spent in construction works on the two impounding reservoirs and \$469,597 on the service reservoirs at Mount Emily and Pearl's Hill. Filters absorbed \$2,427,936 from 1889 to 1913; buildings for the Water Department \$200,786 from 1878 to 1914.

The pumping station was first installed in 1878; but the engines had to be replaced by more powerful ones in 1893, at a cost of about \$67,000; and again in 1902-6, when the existing set of Worthington pumps was installed, at a cost of \$145,000. The total money sunk in the pumping station and plant is calculated to be \$282,539. Mains represent a total outlay of \$2,125,888 between 1878 and to-day, and meters \$214,991.

The grand total of capital outlay in the waterworks

as they exist to-day, and excluding the not inconsiderable sums occasionally spent in the earlier years before the water system assumed its present form, is calculated to be \$8,811,054.

The lighting of a town is of nearly as great importance as its water supply, and should be before it in point of time, and it is in some measure an index both of its prosperity and orderly government. Absence of good lighting means increased opportunity for evil-doers. The history of Singapore is full of references to gang robberies and burglaries, some of which attained almost to the dignity of military operations. In 1842 an attack was made by an armed body of about fifty persons on a house near the river in South Bridge Road, and other similar robberies were of frequent occurrence. An attack on a house on Mount Elizabeth in 1846 was carried out by a gang of about 200 Chinese, and appears to have been a regular siege. With better lighting of the streets the chances of escape became much less favourable, and we hear less about gang robberies, though they continue, of course, to occur.

The streets were first lighted in 1824, but the lighting was very feeble. Oil-lamps (probably coconut oil or animal oil) continued to be the only medium of light till 1864, when gas was used for the first time, supplied by the newly established Gas Company. Petroleum did not begin to be used till 1868. The Gas Company continued in existence till 1900, when it was purchased by the Municipality, and has been a Municipal Department ever since. The purchase-price was settled at £41,420. There have been many additions and improvements to the plant in subsequent years, so that the capital value of the concern in 1917 stood at \$1,282,510. It has been an excellent investment financially, contributing a handsome profit each year to the relief of rates. But it is questionable whether a smaller degree of prosperity would not really have been a greater advantage to the town, for it cannot be denied that the prosperity of the gas-works has not been without influence in

holding back the more extended use of electricity. In this respect Singapore is very far behind the times, a fact to which the municipal authorities have at last awakened. But for the Great War this reproach would have been removed before the centenary year.

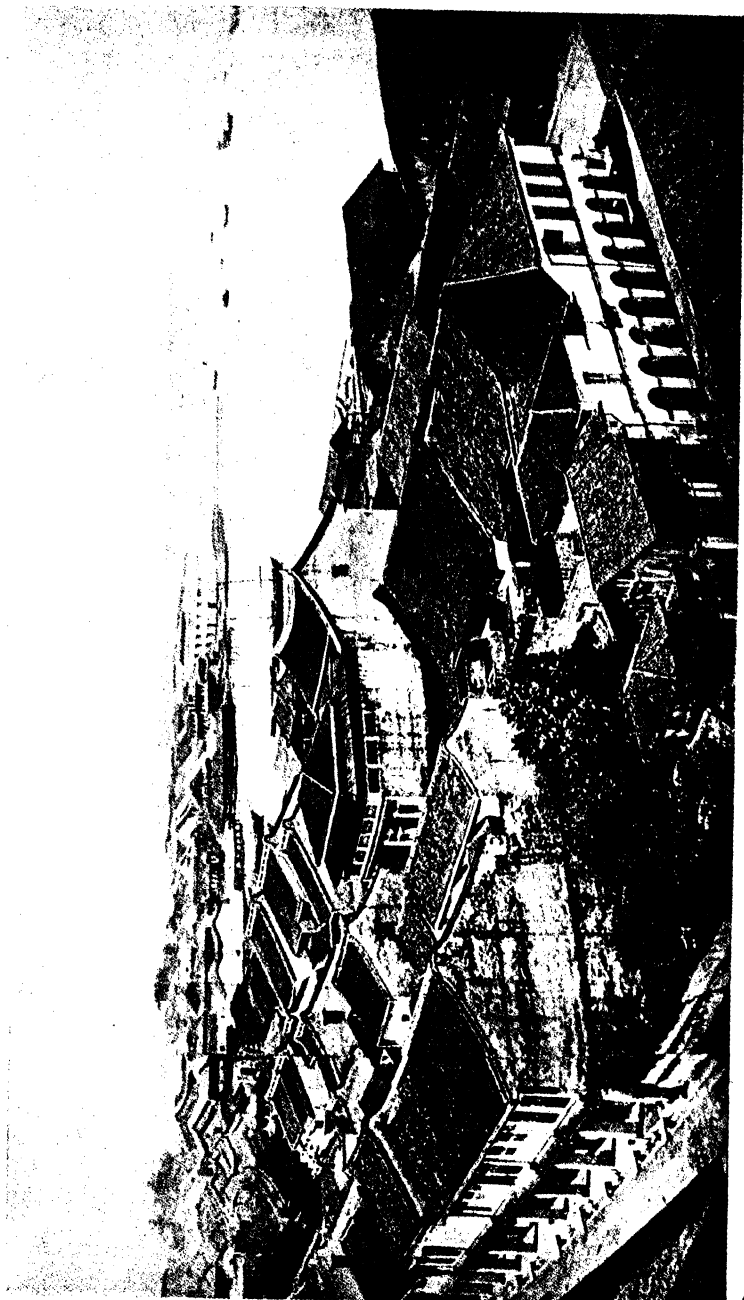
The electric lighting of the town was installed in 1906, the light being used for the first time on the 6th March in that year. The current is purchased in bulk from the Singapore Electric Tramway Company and sold by the Municipality for distribution as a monopoly. The installation at present covers only a small portion of the town—the suburbs are untouched. The financial results of this arrangement are moderately satisfactory ; but the initial mistake of failing to provide its own generating station will always, it is to be feared, be an obstacle to prevent the Municipality from reaping as great benefit as it might otherwise have done.

One of the most noticeable features of Singapore is the character of the traffic in its streets. In the earlier days the Municipality, such as it was, concerned itself very little about the traffic. The most it did was to enumerate vehicles and horses, and collect taxes on them. The returns for 1840 showed 170 four-wheeled and forty-four two-wheeled carriages, with 266 ponies ; from which it may be inferred that a certain amount of locomotion was on horseback. Contemporary accounts of the state of the roads would confirm this. No great change in the character of the traffic took place for forty years, though naturally its volume increased. Horses and ponies were universally used, and the horse trade was a big business. Horse auctions were held periodically in Raffles Square—it was not till 1886 that they were discontinued. In 1880 there arrived the first specimens of the jinrikisha, which was eventually destined to become such a distinctive part of Singapore street life. Jinrikishas were first imported from Shanghai in that year. They became popular at once, though apparently naturally not with the drivers of gharries, who saw their bread being taken from their mouths,

and who accordingly struck work and caused a good deal of inconvenience in 1881, the year after the jinrikishas arrived. But they grew in numbers year by year, till at the present time there are about 9,000 daily plying for hire in the streets, with an army of 20,000 coolies, who gain their living by pulling them. It was not to be expected that such a number of ignorant coolies would be kept in order without some trouble. Threats of strikes and attempts at disturbances have at times been made, but nothing of importance has ever come of them. The most serious was a strike which lasted for seven days in January 1903. At first the control was in the hands of the police. It was not till 1888 that it was handed over to the Municipality. The increasing number of jinrikishas (there were about 1,800 of them then) was causing concern to the authorities, who proposed to limit their numbers; but this proposal was never acted on. A special department to look after them was established in 1892, and a special Jinrikisha Ordinance passed in that year (Ordinance V of 1892). The control is now regulated by the Municipal Ordinance of 1913, but the special department remains.

But for jinrikishas and a certain number of gharries, which are gradually becoming altogether extinct, Singapore is badly served in the matter of means of locomotion. Steam trams were started in 1885, and ran as far as Rochore, but the enterprise had a life of only a few years. In 1905 the Singapore Electric Tramways Company was established, the only public transport company in Singapore. The effect of cheap and rapid transport is very clearly evident in the districts served by the Company, where new suburbs are in process of springing up.

The volume of traffic in the main arteries at the present time is surprising. In a period of twelve hours 12,572 vehicles were counted passing over Cavenagh Bridge, 14,451 over Coleman Bridge. The majority were naturally jinrikishas. Of these, statistics were taken in 1917 over six main bridges simultaneously for one



TELUK AYER BAY, SHOWING THE OLD MARKET AND PRINCE'S STEPS.

period of twelve hours, and the result showed that 72,772 jinrikishas crossed one way or the other in that time.

Statistics of traffic do not appear to have been taken at any regular intervals. Comparisons are therefore impossible, but figures are available for 1910 and 1917. These show that 214 motor-cars crossed Anderson Bridge in 1910 in twelve hours, compared with 2,067 in 1917. This is perhaps not surprising, when it is remembered that the use of motor-cars is of such modern growth ; but bullock-carts have been with us from the beginning, and might almost be expected to decrease in numbers as motor traffic increased. Yet in 1917 1,006 bullock-carts crossed Institution Bridge, near the Raffles Hotel, in twelve hours, compared with 563 in 1910.

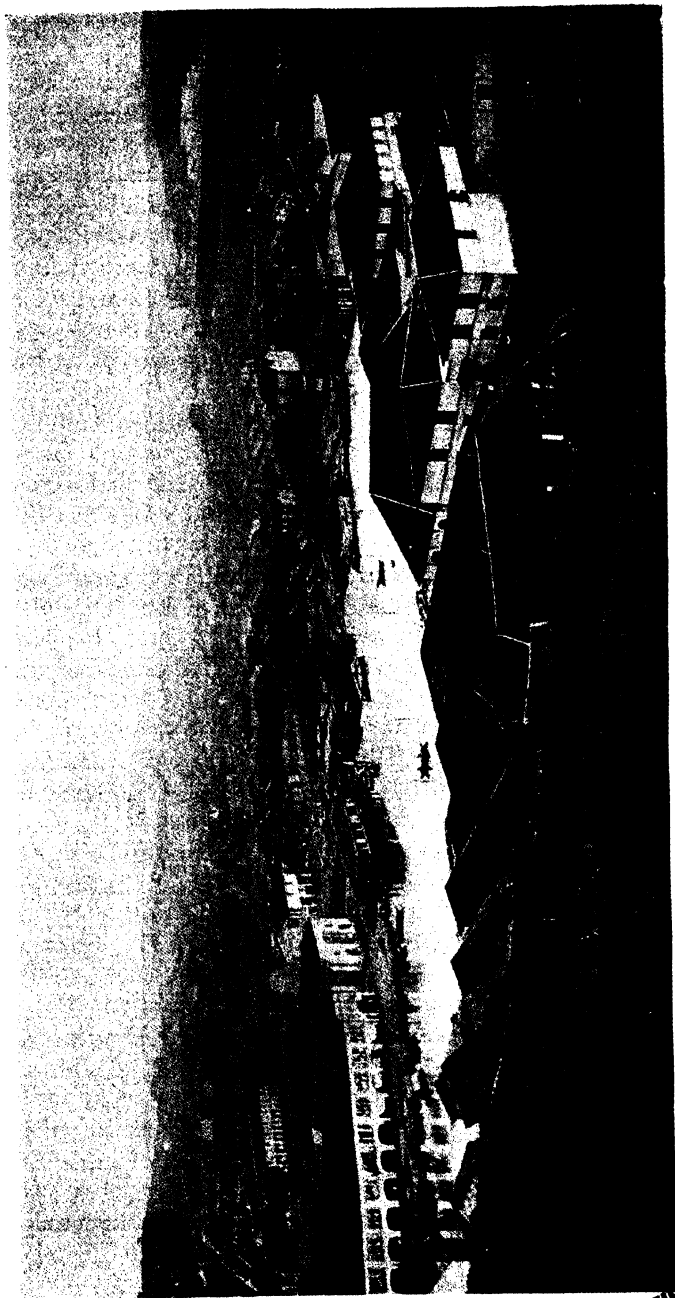
The municipal markets of Singapore are five in number at the present time. The need for additional accommodation has already been recognised, and at least two new ones will before long have to be built. The first market was built in 1822. It was a fish market at Teluk Ayer, and had to be removed before long " as a measure of police " and " for the general convenience and cleanliness of the place." In 1825 a new building was erected, estimated to cost \$4,316.60, on the site of the present Teluk Ayer Market. This was said to be a " very commodious " one, an octagonal building of 120 feet diameter. It was the only general market in the town, and as early as 1841 it was very evident that it was not enough for the needs of the place. Ellenborough Market was built in 1845, followed by Rochore Market and Clyde Terrace Market in 1872. Ellenborough Market was enlarged in 1899 by the addition of a building which formed part of the Edinburgh Exhibition of that time. The whole building was bought as it stood, dismantled, brought out and re-erected as a portion of the market. The old building at Teluk Ayer was replaced by a larger market in the year 1894. Orchard Road Market was built in 1894, and Kandang Kerbau Market in 1915. Between 1888 and 1917, that is from

the date of the establishment of a formal Municipality to the present time, a total sum of \$589,457 is recorded to have been spent on the erection and extension of the markets. The right to collect fees and tolls in the markets was "farmed" till 1909, the farmer finding it a very lucrative business. In the interests of public health the farm system was abolished in Ellenborough Market in 1909, and in all the others in 1910. The markets have since then been managed directly by the officers of the Municipality. The profits have probably not been so great as under the farm system, but the loss is more than counterbalanced by the gain in cleanliness and good order. At the present time the markets bring in a gross revenue of nearly \$300,000 per annum, and compare very favourably with markets in any of the other large Oriental cities.

Singapore has, in the hundredth year of its existence, neither a Town Hall nor proper Municipal Offices.

The first Town Hall was known as the Assembly Rooms, and was situated at the foot of Fort Canning, at the junction of Hill Street and River Valley Road. It was a very modest structure, with an attap roof. It lasted for ten years, and then had to be demolished. It was replaced by the Town Hall, where is now the Victoria Memorial Theatre. There was a great deal of trouble about the building of it, and there were quarrels about it at various times as long as it remained a Town Hall. The foundation-stone was laid by the Governor, Colonel Butterworth, in 1855, with elaborate ceremonial, but the building does not appear to have been completed till 1861. It was used as assembly rooms, municipal offices, and library for many years, proving inconveniently small. In 1891 it was described as "Singapore's Black Hole."

The Victoria Memorial Hall was begun in 1902, on a site adjoining the old Town Hall. The foundation-stone was laid by Sir F. A. Swettenham on the 9th August 1902. It was completed in 1905, and formally opened by Sir John Anderson on the 18th October. The total



THE RIVER AND OLD ELLENBOROUGH MARKET IN THE 'SEVENTIES.

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cost was \$357,388. It was perhaps intended to take the place of the Town Hall, which was converted into the present Victoria Memorial Theatre, but has never been put to any but very occasional use.

The Municipal Offices were in the old Town Hall till 1893, when they were moved to Finlayson Green, to the building now occupied by the Borneo Company. There they remained till 1900, when the present magnificent site was purchased for \$300,000; but the magnificent offices to correspond remain still to be built.

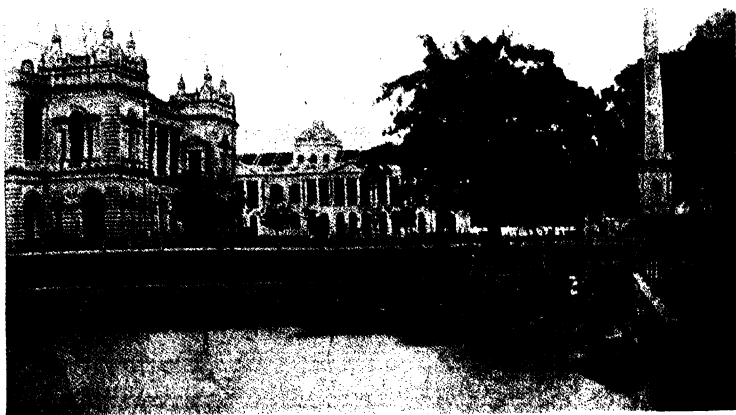
Singapore, as a municipality, is singularly lacking in public amenities. Botanical gardens exist, and a very good museum, but these are not in any way under the control of the Municipality. The beautiful esplanade (fifteen and a half acres) is vested in the Municipality it is true, but the control and management are leased to the Singapore Cricket Club and Singapore Recreation Club. It was in 1822 that this open space was saved by Colonel Farquhar from being handed over to the builders. Sir S. Raffles had intended all this district to be used for commercial offices, and it was only through Colonel Farquhar's protest that this was not done. "We are indebted, therefore, to Colonel Farquhar for the present esplanade" (Buckley). The only other public open space is what is called "People's Park," at the foot of Pearl's Hill, and this is the only municipal open space in Singapore. It was handed over to the Municipality in 1889 for use as a public garden and recreation ground. It must be confessed that it is not a success from either point of view.

Of public monuments Singapore can boast of three: a statue of Sir Stamford Raffles, unveiled in 1887 in the middle of the Esplanade, and removed in the centenary year to its present site; a memorial of the visit of the King of Siam, erected in 1872 in the form of a bronze elephant in front of the Town Hall; and the Obelisk, at the mouth of the Singapore River, erected in 1850 to commemorate the landing in Singapore Island of the Marquis of Dalhousie. There is also the public fountain,

erected in 1882 near Johnston's Pier, to commemorate a public-spirited offer by Mr. Tan Kim Seng to improve the water supply of the town.

Incidentally it may be mentioned that the first specimens of the beautiful avenue of angsa trees at the Esplanade were brought from Malacca in the very first year or two of Singapore's history. The original trees flourished at the mouth of the river for sixty years before they died of decay. The existing avenue on the sea side of the Esplanade was planted about 1890. It afforded a glorious sight when the trees were in bloom, but it is to be feared that its days are numbered. The trees were attacked in 1916 by an insidious fungus disease, which had already destroyed many trees in Penang, and many of them died in spite of all efforts to save them.

In the course of its history the town went through the ordinary stages of development in the matter of protection from fires. First of all there was, as usual, unrestricted building and no protection at all. Raffles, in his foresight, laid out the main lines of streets, but he did not at first concern himself so much with the construction or position of the houses. The inevitable fires took place, and each one, on the well-known principle of locking the stable door after the theft, led to agitation for protection. A big fire is recorded in 1830, which caused damage to the extent of \$350,000, and burned down Philip Street and one side of Market Street. "It cleared away a lot of badly constructed houses, and led to a great improvement in the street." By a curious coincidence, which had a habit of recurring in later years till quite a recent date, this fire took place at Chinese New Year. In those early days the only defence against fire was the use of convicts, troops, and volunteers to fight the flames. The next stage was the formation of a volunteer brigade, but many fires were necessary before this was achieved. From 1830 to 1843 the town appears to have been in danger, on several occasions, of being reduced to ashes. By 1846 the popular agita-



DALHOUSIE PIER AND THE OLD TOWN HALL, WHERE THE MUNICIPAL OFFICES WERE UNTIL, 1893.



PART OF THE OLD HÔTEL DE L'EUROPE, NOW THE MUNICIPAL OFFICES.

tion seems at last to have resulted in one fire-engine (probably a manual) being provided, in charge of the police, but its services were not as effective as they might have been, owing to lack of water. By 1864 the police had two engines, Guthrie's had one, and the convicts had one, so progress was not rapid, and much loss was suffered. But the town was indirectly benefited on each occasion by the destruction of numbers of huts and rickety houses. On one occasion as many as 210 native houses in Kampong Glam were burnt down, and on another about 140 (probably one-tenth of the town).

It was not till 1880 or 1881 that anything like an efficient Brigade was organised, and it is interesting to note that its officers (volunteers) included a future Governor of Ceylon (then Captain H. E. McCallum), a future Governor of the Straits Settlements (then Mr. F. A. Swettenham), and a future Governor of Sierra Leone (then Mr. E. M. Merewether). This Brigade was small, but quite efficient as far as it went. The trouble was that it did not go far enough, and fires continued to occur and do great damage as before; the period just before the Chinese New Year seemed to be specially favourable for outbreaks. There were extensive fires in 1884, 1886, and 1890. In May 1889 a proposal was mooted to build a fire station in Raffles Square, but it was abandoned owing to local opposition. In 1888 the Brigade took its present form of a properly equipped professional brigade. It proved costly in comparison with the old volunteer brigade, but its cost has been saved many times over to the town in the decrease in loss of property by fire. The time for "turn out" was reduced to a matter almost of seconds, and fires at Chinese New Year ceased to occur. When a powerful engine took to rushing up to a fire and getting to work to extinguish it within a few minutes of the outbreak, the causation of "accidental" fires ceased to have attractions. Traces of the causes of the "accident" were almost certain to be left, and then trouble occurred in recovering insurance moneys and in other ways. The

annual loss by fire is now very small compared with the enormous value of the property at stake, and in view of the risks to which it is exposed. In the last ten years the average annual loss has been \$51,500, a total which was greatly swelled by an exceptional loss of \$183,000 in 1916. Since the Brigade became a municipal concern, in 1888, the total loss has been \$2,671,000, an average of \$89,000 a year.

The Brigade is an all-motor one, with quite up-to-date equipment housed in two stations, the Central Station in Hill Street and a smaller station in Cross Street. Horses ceased to be used in 1912. The outbreak of a fire continued to be signalled to the town by the firing of a gun on Fort Canning till 1896. In that year this signal was discontinued, and no public signal is now made. The Brigade depended on its own vigilance or on the telephone till 1915, when a system of street fire-alarms was installed, with alarm-boxes at convenient places.

In the earliest days, naturally, as there was no Municipality, there were no municipal limits, but it was not long before it became evident that some limits would have to be fixed if the town was to develop in an orderly fashion. In 1822 Raffles took this in hand, and laid down his first skeleton plan for the future development of the city. He appointed a Commission, consisting of Captain Davis, Mr. George Bonham, and Mr. A. L. Johnston, to enquire and report how best the town should be laid out, giving them general directions for their guidance. Though his new Settlement was as the apple of his eye, and though no man more thoroughly appreciated the importance of the city he was founding, his first estimates of what it was likely to grow to were modest in the extreme. He thought a stretch of about three miles along the coast from Teluk Ayer to the Rochore River would be enough, with space reserved for extension inland for from half a mile to a mile. These, then, may be considered the first municipal limits, and Raffles's Memorandum the first Town

Planning Act. If he could revisit the scene of his work, he would find a city stretching from Pasir Panjang to Tanjong Katong, say eight to ten miles along the coast, and more than four miles inland.

Raffles's Memorandum was the first Municipal Ordinance, and it may claim to be as good as any that has followed it. It did not make vain attempt to deal with every mortal contingency, but contented itself with indicating the main lines by which the Commissioners should be guided, leaving much to discretion, and allowing for the possibility that circumstances might alter cases.

The area of the Municipality in the centenary year of the city is about thirty square miles. The municipal limits were first definitely laid down in 1887, under the new Municipal Ordinance of that year. They remained unaltered for nearly twenty years before they were revised and republished again in 1906 under the provisions of the Municipal Ordinance of 1896. Since that date they have remained unchanged, with the exception that a portion of the Tanjong Katong district was included in 1918.

In 1827, nine years after the foundation of the town, the population was 13,732. There were no "municipal limits" then, but there was no population except in the town itself. In the next year the population had grown to 15,834. In 1881 the census gave a population of just about ten times as great, 153,493. Since then the census has been taken regularly at ten-yearly periods, the figures for 1891, 1901, and 1911 being 161,595, 206,286, and 259,610 respectively. In the centenary year the population within municipal limits is estimated to be 305,000.

Singapore in the hundredth year of its life is a big city, equipped with good roads, magnificent harbour and dockyards, miles of wharves, a water supply adequate for its needs for many years to come, passably well lighted, and boasting a partial but efficient system of sewers by which the sewage is conveyed to a distance and disposed of by modern scientific methods.

Many substantially built offices, banks, and godowns testify to the volume of its trade and the prosperity of its inhabitants. The many palatial dwelling-houses of the merchant princes, scattered far and wide over the suburbs, add their convincing testimony. Sir Stamford, "re-visiting the glimpses of the moon," might well feel proud of the city which he founded in the face of jealous opposition, which he nursed so wisely in its infancy with far-sighted solicitude, and whose growth and importance have so amply justified his most sanguine and confident hopes.

CHAPTER VII

THE PEOPLES OF SINGAPORE

INHABITANTS AND POPULATION

By Hayes Marriott, Acting Colonial Secretary, Straits Settlements

IN attempting to write an account of the inhabitants and population of Singapore, it is necessary from the nature of the subject to rely almost entirely on the labours of those who have gone before. I have not hesitated to borrow from any source that was available to me, and I acknowledge my indebtedness to all those whose work has enabled me to compile this paper.

Singapore is now, and since its foundation always has been, one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world. In 1897 J. D. Vaughan says that it contained twenty-eight or more nationalities. In the 1911 census no less than fifty-four different languages were recorded as being spoken in the Settlement and forty-eight different races (counting Chinese and Indian as only one each) were represented.

I propose to take the history of the population as nearly as possible in chronological order from the date of its foundation in 1819, tracing its progress up to 1911, when the last census before its hundredth birthday was taken.

At its foundation the population amounted to about 150 individuals dwelling in a few miserable huts under the rule of an officer of the Sultan of Johore, styled the Temenggong. About thirty of them were Chinese and the rest Malays, who had accompanied the Temenggong when he settled in Singapore in 1811.

Abdullah, the Munshi, who did not come to Singapore until several months after its foundation (and who cannot, therefore, be implicitly relied on) states that when Raffles landed there were on the banks of the Singapore River four or five small huts and a few coconut trees, and that the Temenggong lived in a somewhat larger hut. He states that at the end of Kampong Glam there were two or three huts belonging to Orang Laut, of the Glam tribe, where kajangs and sails were made.

It seems very possible that the numbers of the Orang Laut may have been under-estimated. In 1848, in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, there is a notice of a settlement of Beduanda Kalang in the Pulai River in Johore. These are said to have been the descendants of a settlement in Singapore which was removed by the Temenggong upon the cession of Singapore. They originally consisted of a hundred families, living in as many boats, but owing to the ravages of small-pox had by 1848 dwindled down to eight families. Another tribe, the Orang Seletar, closely allied to the Beduanda Kalang, were still in considerable numbers in the rivers and creeks flowing into the Old Strait and into the estuary of the Johore River.

In an account by an old inhabitant of Teluk Saga (published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch*) who was living in 1882, and who remembered the landing of Raffles, it is stated that there were at the time under one hundred small houses at the mouth of the river, and that the only large one was the Raja's (i.e. the Temenggong's), which stood back from the river near where the Obelisk stood in 1882 (not far from the site of the Cricket Club). He also mentions that there were about thirty families of Orang Laut, half of whom lived in their boats near the site of the present Government Offices, and the other half in a place called Kampong Temenggong.

Some of these Orang Laut were still in Singapore in 1821, for Crawford, in passing through Singapore, mentions a visit from some of them. He describes them as

of rough exterior, with an awkward and uncouth speech. Otherwise he could observe but little essential difference between them and other [*sic*] Malays. He says that they had adopted the Mohammedan religion, and were divided into at least twenty tribes, distinguished usually by the straits or narrow seas which they principally frequented. By far the greater number were born, lived, and died in their miserable canoes, and their sole occupation was fishing. They had been notorious as pirates, and he describes them as indolent, improvident, and defective in personal cleanliness.

These Orang Laut, besides being the ancestors of some of the Johore settlers, are with little doubt also the ancestors of many of the present inhabitants of the villages of Selat Sinkheh and Teluk Saga on Pulo Brani. Abdullah the Munshi's description of men who "jumped into the sea from their boats, dived like fish, disappeared from sight, and rose again on the surface 400 or 500 yards from where they went in" reminds one very much of their present day descendants, who clamour for silver pieces whenever a steamer enters or leaves the harbour.

After its foundation the town of Singapore grew very quickly. On the 11th June Raffles wrote that his new Colony was thriving most rapidly, and that though it had not been established four months it had received an accession of population exceeding 5,000; these, he added, were principally Chinese, and their numbers were daily increasing.

In spite of the endeavours of the Dutch to prevent emigration from Malacca to the new Settlement, and in spite of the still greater dangers from pirates, good prices and high wages induced the Malacca Malays to take the risk. "Those who reached Singapore made profits of over 100 per cent., and when this became known the eagerness to go increased the more." Most of these emigrants were labourers and small shopkeepers, but within eight months fishermen also went, and within a year had erected fishing stakes in Singapore waters.

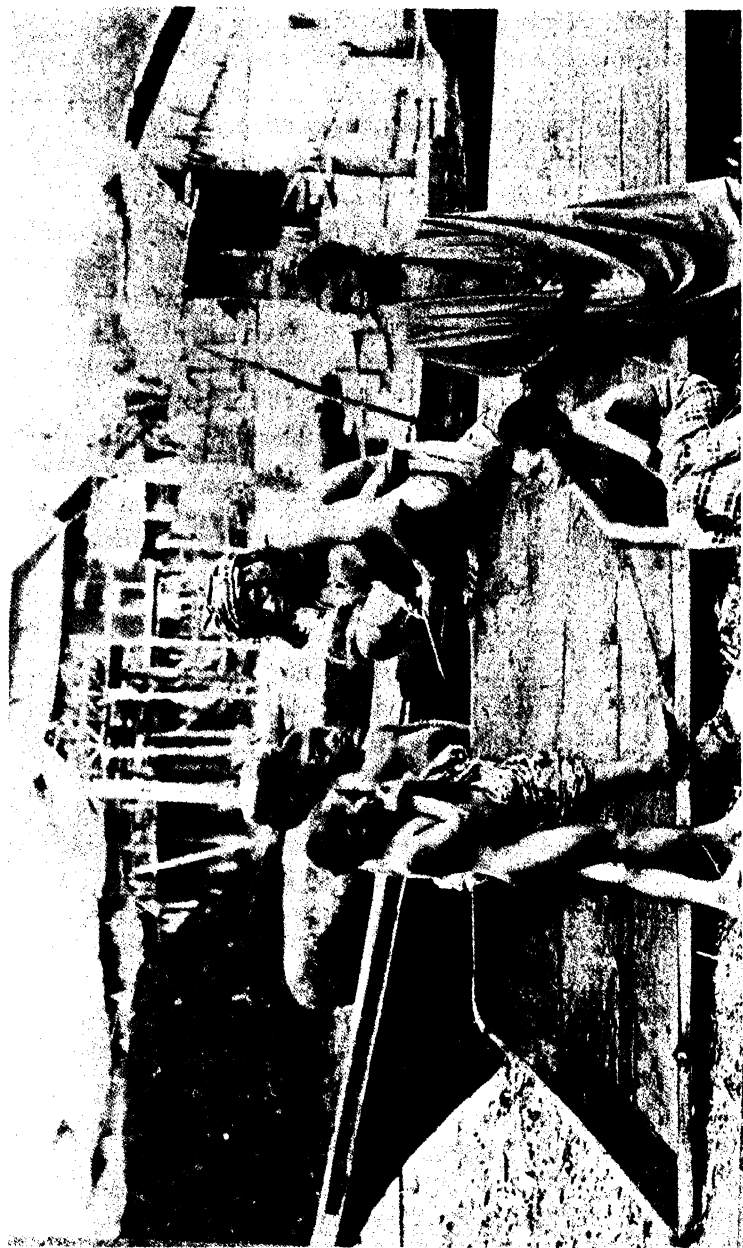
Unfortunately the troubles of the Malacca Malays do not seem to have ended upon their arrival in Singapore, for Abdullah tells us that in the early days the truculent Rhio Malays were too much for the more peaceable immigrants, and that feuds between the two were constant.

As early as June 1819 the number of different nationalities had so increased that it became necessary to make regulations regarding the allotment of locations. It was arranged that the Chinese should move to the southern side of the river, forming a kampong below a large bridge situated probably near where Elgin Bridge now is. All the Malays and people belonging to the Temenggong were to move to the same side of the river, to form a kampong above the bridge.

The control of the island at this time was a double one. The English only held the land from Tanjong Malang to Tanjong Katong as far inland as the range of a cannon shot, but excluding the kampongs of the Sultan and Temenggong. All persons living within these boundaries were under the authority of the Resident; outside, the inhabitants were under their respective captains, heads of castes, or Penghulus, with a right of appeal to a Council consisting of the Sultan, the Temenggong, and the Resident.

In February 1820 the population was already more than three times that of Bencoolen, and was still rapidly increasing. In 1821 the population was estimated at 4,727 persons, of whom twenty-nine were Europeans, 2,851 Malays, and 1,159 Chinese. In July 1822 Raffles describes it as overstocked with merchants; but in November of that year he appears to have changed his opinion, as he says that in little more than three years it had risen from an insignificant fishing village to a large and prosperous town containing at least 10,000 inhabitants of all nations, actively engaged in commercial pursuits which afforded to each and all a handsome livelihood and abundant profit.

In this year (1822) the Chuliahs (natives of Madras)



MALAY BOAT-BUILDER.

had so increased in numbers that they petitioned for the appointment of a captain or headman, and in October of that year a Committee was appointed for appropriating and marking out the quarters or departments of the several classes of the population. It consisted of three European gentlemen, together with a representative from each of the principal classes of Arabs, Malays, Bugis, Javanese, and Chinese. In the directions given to this Committee for their guidance, suggestions were made for the location of the Chinese on the south-west of the river, the Bugis on the spot beyond the residence of the Sultan in Kampong Glam, the Chuliahs up the Singapore River, and the Arabs in Kampong Glam, immediately adjoining the Sultan's residence. The Malays, being principally attached to the Temenggong, would not, it was considered, require a very extensive allotment, and were expected to settle near Panglima Prang's (River Valley Road) and on the upper banks of the river.

In January 1823 there were no less than nine European mercantile houses, and it is stated that there was abundant employment for capital as fast as it accumulated.

In January 1824 the first census was taken. The population consisted of 10,683 persons, and included 74 Europeans, 4,580 Malays, and 3,317 Chinese.

In a report written about this time by Crawford (then Resident of Singapore), it appears that the Chinese were principally Macaos and Hokkiens. The latter are described as the most respectable and the best settlers. All the merchants and most of the good agriculturists were of this class. The Bengalis were few, and only menials; the Klings were numerous and respectable traders; the Bugis are described as numerous, and distinguished from the other islanders by industry and good conduct. They were, however, all traders and not agriculturists.

With regard to the proportion between the sexes at this period, Mr. Crawford states that among the followers of the Sultan and Temenggong the proportion of women

to men was two to one, but that among the free settlers this proportion was more than inversed, and that in the case of the Chinese the disproportion was so great that there were at least eight men to every woman.

Censuses were taken in 1825, 1826, and 1827. In these censuses the floating population, the convicts from India, and the military with their followers were excluded. In 1827 Crawford estimated that the convicts numbered about 600, the military about 1,300, and the floating population about 2,500. He states in regard to these censuses that the most rapid increase of the population took place after the formation of the Settlement, when the field was nearly unoccupied. The most numerous class of the inhabitants was the Chinese. In Singapore they were commonly divided into five classes, all industrious. These were the Creoles, a mixed race; natives of Macao and other islands at the mouth of the Canton River; natives of the town of Canton and other seaports of the Province of the same name; natives of Fokien; and, finally, a race of fishermen from the sea-coast of the Province of Canton, commonly denominated Aya.¹

He describes the Creole Chinese as intelligent, always acquainted with the Malayan language, and occasionally with the English; they were considered inferior in industry to the rest, but were beneficially employed as brokers, shop-keepers, and general merchants. The emigrants from Fokien were considered superior, both in respectability and enterprise, to the rest of their countrymen. Next to them came those of the town of Canton and other principal ports of that Province. The Chinese of Macao were not considered very respectable, and the lowest in the scale; the most disorderly, but the most numerous, was the race of fishermen.

The next numerous class of the population were the natives of the islands. Incapable of maintaining competition in almost any line with the Chinese, these had

¹ I have been unable to identify this race. It is most probably that we now know as Teo-chiu.

rather diminished than increased during the preceding four years. Their principal employment was as fishermen, wood-cutters, boatmen, and petty cultivators and petty shop-keepers. The most respectable were the Bugis, who were almost always employed in trade. Of the pure Malays, the most docile and industrious were the emigrants from Malacca. The lowest in the scale were the Malays of the immediate neighbourhood, and the worst among those were the retainers of the native princes.

The Indians of the Malabar and Coromandel coast stood next to the Chinese, and of the Asiatic population came nearest to that industrious people in usefulness and intelligence.

Speaking of the British settlers, Crawford states that during the first eight years of the history of the Settlement no restraint or condition whatever was imposed upon the settlement and colonisation of Englishmen, no licence was demanded, and they were permitted to own property in the land upon terms as liberal and easy as could be supposed in any new settled colony. Few as were the British settlers of Singapore, they constituted, in reality, the life and spirit of the Settlement ; and he adds that it could be safely asserted that without them, and without their existing in a state of independence and security, there would exist neither capital, enterprise, activity, confidence nor order.

Censuses were again taken in 1829, 1830, 1832, 1833, 1834, and 1836.

In Mr. J. G. Bonham's report on the census of 1829 he notes that the principal addition to the previous census appeared to be among the Chinese, and that though it was a notorious and well-authenticated fact that agriculture was on the decline, indeed nearly extinct, yet no less that 883 more male Chinese appeared to be engaged in the interior of the island than in 1827. He had questioned some of the principal and best-informed Chinese on the point, and they fully corroborated what the census showed, and they stated, what

Mr. Bonham had reason to know, that numbers of Chinese lived together in the country, without any visible means of livelihood, and who, there was too much reason to apprehend from the frequency of robberies recently, must live entirely on plunder. He considered that the surplus of the Chinese population had come over from Rhio.

The figures for these earlier censuses cannot, however, be regarded as very accurate. In 1833 we are told that they were collected by the two constables who were attached to the Settlement, and who had many other duties to perform. No fixed principle was adopted with regard to the headings "Europeans," "Native Christians" and "Indo-Britons." Some enumerating officers appear to have included as "Europeans" all who wore European clothes, while others seem to have endeavoured to distinguish those who really were of European extraction. Moreover, as stated before, the convicts (whose number in 1833 was estimated at about 1,200) and the military and their followers were not included.

In 1833 the number of European mercantile houses had risen to twenty, consisting of seventeen British, one Portuguese, one German, and one American.

Censuses were again taken in 1834 and 1836. Writing on the latter census, Newbold states that the Europeans and Chinese constituted the wealthier classes. The Europeans were for the most part merchants, shop-keepers, and agents for the mercantile houses in Europe. Most of the artisans, agriculturists, and shop-keepers were Chinese. The Malays were chiefly fishermen and timber-cutters, and the Bugis almost entirely engaged in commerce. The Indians were petty shop-keepers, boatmen, servants, etc. He remarks upon the disproportion between the sexes, and accounts for it by the strict prohibition of the emigration of females from China, to the fluctuating nature of the population, and to the obstacles presented to a permanent settlement by the land regulations then in force. With regard to the



CHETTY (MONEYLENDER).

alleged prohibition of the emigration of women from China, Mr. J. D. Vaughan states that there was no law in China prohibiting the emigration of women, but that there was a reluctance on the part of the Chinese to quit their native country, and that it was only necessity compelled them to do so.

In the census for 1836 (and probably in the earlier censuses, for the divisions in 1829 were Singapore, Kampong China, Kampong Glam, country and islands) the Settlement was divided into two portions, the town and country. The town extended from the Rochore River on the east to Mr. Ryan's Hill (now Bukit Pasoh), and inland to a line drawn parallel to Mount Sophia. Within this area there were 12,748 males and 3,400 females. By nationalities there were 8,233 Chinese, 3,617 Malays, and 2,157 Klings, the remainder consisting of Bengalis, Bugis and Native Christians.

The country comprised all the island outside the town, and included the neighbouring islands. It was subdivided into two districts, viz. Singapore Town and Kampong Glam. The population of Singapore Town amounted to only 4,184, consisting of 2,358 Chinese, 1,755 Malays, and the remainder mainly Klings and Bugis. The district of Kampong Glam, including the islands of Pulo Tekong and Pulo Obin, had a population of 9,652. Of these 4,288 were Malays, 3,178 Chinese, 1,575 Bugis, and the remainder Javanese, Balinese, Bengalis, and Klings.

A striking feature was that not only was the proportion of females to males greater in the country, but the actual number of females was greater in the country. It should, however, be pointed out that the Chinese females enumerated in this and the earlier censuses cannot have been pure Chinese, and must be the Creoles or half-breeds referred to by Crawford. In 1837 it is recorded that no Chinese woman had ever come to Singapore from China, and it is said that only two Chinese women had ever been in the place, these being two small-footed ladies who had some years previously

been exhibited in England. Even as late as 1876 Mr. J. D. Vaughan stated that he knew of no instance of a respectable Chinese woman emigrating with her husband.

At the census of 1840 the population had risen to 39,681. The total included the floating population, the military force of the station, and the Indian convicts. It is stated that if these had been excluded, the increase over the census of 1836 would have been about 4,000, of which fully three-quarters were Chinese.

The Chinese at this time are said to have been chiefly Hokkiens, Khehs, Teo-chius and Cantonese. Between 1840 and 1850 the immigration of Chinese into Singapore was very large. In 1843 the number was 7,000, in 1844, 1,600, while up to March 1845, 6,833 had arrived of the latter, 1,168 by square-rigged vessels and the remainder in junks. In 1848 the number arriving in square-rigged vessels was 1,330, and in junks was 9,145. The junks came down from China towards the close of the north-east monsoon, and the greatest number to be seen in the harbour was in March and April.

Writing in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago* in 1848 Mr. Seah Eu Chin estimated the total number of Chinese in the Settlement at 40,000. This was apparently an over-estimate, as the census figures for the following year show. These, he considered, consisted mainly of Hokkiens, Malacca-born Chinese, Teo-chius, Cantonese, Khehs, and Hailams. The greatest number of married Chinese were among the Malacca-born, the next greatest amongst the Hokkien shop-keepers, and the least amongst the Cantonese (he evidently forgot the Hailams). He puts the total number of married Chinese at 2,000.

At the census of 1849 the population was 59,043. The Settlement was divided into four parts, the town, the country, the rivers, and the islands. The population of the town was 25,916, the country 22,389, the rivers 1,929, and the islands 2,657. In addition, the military, convicts, and floating population amounted to 6,152.

This was said to be a very small increase over the census of the preceding year (the figures of which I have been unable to obtain), and was accounted for by the fact that the soil of the island was getting exhausted, and that plantations were being opened up in Johore.

For the year ending the 30th April 1850 the number of immigrants was 10,928, of whom 7,726 arrived in junks and 3,202 in square-rigged vessels.

In 1852-3 the number of Chinese immigrants into Singapore was 11,434. Towards the end of 1853 large numbers arrived from Amoy. There had been disturbances in that city, and many of the immigrants had taken part in them. As considerable financial assistance had been given to the rebels by the Singapore Chinese, they brought with them the wives and families of many of the most respectable Singapore Chinese merchants. Mr. Vaughan, however, who arrived in the Colony in 1856, states that a Chinese woman was seldom seen out of doors at that time, whereas twenty-five years later they could be met at every turning, sauntering about with their children, or driving in omnibuses and hack-carriages.

The census of 1860 was taken by the police, and the total population amounted to 81,734 persons, of whom 2,385 were Europeans and Eurasians, 50,043 Chinese, 15,202 Malays, and 12,973 Indians. From the 1871 census report it would appear that the figures of this census were absolutely unreliable. From 1871 onwards the censuses have been taken at regular intervals of ten years.

At the end of this paper I have set out the figures for each census of the Settlement so far as I have been able to obtain them, and from the last five censuses I have added details in respect of the European (and American) and Chinese races. An examination of the figures for the censuses from 1871 to 1911 shows a large and steady increase in almost all nationalities.

Amongst the Europeans the increase in the British

is much larger than in any other nationality, and though the total increase in the others is considerable, the individual increases are insignificant.

The Eurasian community, which is important as being indigenous, has more than doubled since 1871.

The Malay races are well holding their own. The Malays of the Peninsula have a natural increase, while the Javanese and Boyanese are still increasing by immigration.

In the 1911 census the Chinese and Indians were divided into Straits-born, China or Indian-born, and Chinese or Indians born elsewhere. The languages spoken were also enumerated, but as a considerable number of the Chinese and Indians speak Malay or English, the totals of the persons speaking Chinese and Indian languages do not at that census tally with the totals of Chinese and Indians enumerated.

Amongst the Chinese the most notable rate of increase is in the Straits-born, who since 1881 have risen from 9,527 to 43,562. The Hokkiens run them very close in an increase during the same period from 24,981 to 90,248. The Cantonese, Teo-chius and Khehs also show very large increases, and the Hailams more than maintain their numbers. A remarkable feature is the sudden appearance in the 1901 census of 12,888 Hok-chius. These dropped to 3,653 in the next census (1911), and their places were partially taken by 1,925 Hing-Hoas and 3,640 Hok-Chhias.

The Indian races have increased from 10,754 in 1871 to 27,770 in 1911.

Amongst other nationalities I need only mention the Japanese, who from a single individual in 1871 had increased to 1,409 in 1911, and whose numbers have without doubt considerably further increased since.

The proportion of females to males in the population has been very constant throughout the history of the Settlement. Omitting the census of 1849 (when the proportion was only 20·4 per cent.), the proportion has never been below 23·4 per cent. (1891) nor above 28·9



MALAY WOMAN.



HINDU GIRL.

per cent. (1911). It is encouraging that the proportion in the last census is the highest recorded, and as in that census there were enumerated in the Settlement no less than 42,022 females and 38,308 males whose birthplaces were in the Colony or Malay Peninsula, it is clear that there is now the nucleus of a large settled population. Taking the Malays, the Straits-born Chinese, and the Eurasians collectively, it is interesting to note that the females outnumbered the males in 1911 by 108·5 to 100. This is further borne out by the age constitution of the population.

In England and Wales, at the 1911 census, the proportion of children under fifteen to the whole population was 30·6 per cent. In Singapore at the last five censuses the proportion has been : 1871, 18·1 per cent. ; 1881, 16·4 per cent. ; 1891, 14·3 per cent. ; 1901, 17·4 per cent. ; and 1911, 18·1 per cent. It is evident, therefore, that though the proportion is still low, there is at least a tendency to improvement.

The population and prosperity of Singapore will doubtless be always largely dependent upon outside factors. We have seen how a disturbance in Amoy sent many settlers here, and it is well known that famines in India have a marked effect upon immigration into the Colony. The price of tin is immediately reflected in the numbers of Chinese immigrants, and the opening up of rubber estates is responsible for the large influx of Javanese. But the figures of the censuses clearly prove that there is a steady increase in the numbers of those who look upon this Settlement as their home, and it is to this permanent population that the Settlement must look in the main for its future prosperity.

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CENSUS RETURNS

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POPULATION

	1821†			1824††			1825*			1826			1827		
		Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.
Europeans . . .	29	108	40	{ 74	60	24	84	81	30	111	69	18	87	69	18
Native Christians				{ 74	89	43	132	133	73	206	128	60	188	128	60
Armenians . . .	—	—	—	16	8	1	9	3	5	18	16	3	19	16	3
Arabs . . .	—	—	—	15	10	—	10	17	—	17	18	—	18	18	—
Natives of Coromandel and Malabar . . .															
Natives of Bengal and other parts of Hindostan . . .	132	646	110	390	687	3	690	573	32	605	772	5	777	772	5
Siamese . . .	—	—	—	366	196	30	226	257	127	384	209	35	244	209	35
Bugis . . .	—	—	—	1,851	1,190	514	1,704	863	—	—	5	2	7	5	2
Malays . . .	2,851	2,355	2,225	4,580	2,791	2,339	5,130	3,264	579	1,442	666	576	1,242	666	576
Javanese . . .	—	—	—	—	28	10	38	113	33	146	174	93	267	174	93
Chinese . . .	1,159	2,956	361	3,317	3,561	267	3,828	3,833	396	4,279	5,747	341	6,088	5,747	341
African Negroes . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	3	5	2	3
Other Asiatics . . .	556	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total . . .	4,727	7,106	3,577	10,683	8,620	3,231	11,851	9,197	3,708	12,905	10,307	3,425	13,732	10,307	3,425

* Crawford's Embassy to Siam, ii. 379.

† Braddell's Statistics of the British Possessions in the Straits of Malacca, Penang, 1861.

POPULATION—(continued)

	1828*			1829†			1830*			1831*			1832*			1833*			1834*			1835*			1840**		
	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.
Europeans	108	—	122	97	25	122	73	19	92	83	22	105	91	28	119	100	38	138	105	36	141	105	36	141	105	36	141
Indo-Britons	—	—	—	—	—	—	21	8	29	67	27	94	56	40	96	55	58	113	65	52	117	65	52	117	65	52	117
Native Christians	193	169	362	169	103	272	228	117	345	274	146	420	167	133	300	186	140	326	224	201	425	224	201	425	224	201	425
Armenians	25	18	43	18	6	24	16	7	23	20	6	26	27	8	35	32	12	44	26	8	34	26	8	34	26	8	34
Jews	17	—	32	—	—	—	9	—	9	5	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	6	4	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
Arabs	—	—	—	—	—	—	28	—	28	61	3	64	96	—	96	55	11	66	33	8	41	33	8	41	33	8	41
Malays	5,336	2,900	8,236	4,850	2,530	7,380	2,643	2,530	5,173	3,748	3,467	7,215	3,763	3,368	7,131	5,173	4,279	9,452	5,122	4,510	9,632	5,122	4,510	9,632	5,122	4,510	9,632
Chinese	6,210	7,163	13,373	412	534	946	6,021	534	6,555	7,149	613	7,762	7,650	867	8,517	9,944	823	10,767	12,870	879	13,749	12,870	879	13,749	12,870	879	13,749
Natives of Coromandel and Malabar	1,095	1,423	2,518	—	—	—	1,437	54	1,491	1,374	40	1,414	1,762	57	1,819	1,659	69	1,728	2,246	102	2,348	2,246	102	2,348	2,246	102	2,348
Coasts of Hindoestan	294	381	675	74	74	148	308	114	422	408	121	529	389	116	505	439	155	594	427	155	582	427	155	582	427	155	582
Javanese	335	461	796	173	173	346	381	226	607	391	253	644	361	234	595	400	269	669	586	323	903	586	323	903	586	323	903
Bugis, Balinese, etc.	1,232	791	2,023	—	—	—	1,048	812	1,860	735	692	1,427	794	932	1,726	1,346	1,018	2,364	1,032	930	1,962	1,032	930	1,962	1,032	930	1,962
Cafres	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	1	8	23	14	37	37	25	62	17	24	41	17	24	41	17	24	41
Parsees	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	3	2	1	3	2	1	3
Siamese	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	14,885	13,432	28,317	17,664	4,232	21,896	12,213	4,421	16,634	14,324	5,391	19,715	15,181	5,797	20,978	19,432	6,897	26,329	22,755	7,229	29,984	22,755	7,229	29,984	22,755	7,229	29,984
Military	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Convicts	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Grand Total	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

* Newbold's *British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca*, London, 1839, i. 283.
† Braddell's *Statistics of the British Possessions in the Straits of Malacca*, Penang, 1861.

POPULATION—(continued)

	1849 *			1860 †		
	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.
Europeans	243	117	360	1,503	882	2,385
Eurasians	472	450	922	—	—	—
Armenians	35	15	50	—	—	—
Jews	18	4	22	—	—	—
Arabs	121	73	194	63	52	117
Malays	6,612	5,594	12,206	7,148	4,740	11,888
Chinese	25,749	2,239	27,988	46,795	3,248	50,043
Natives of India . .	5,423	838	6,261	11,608	1,365	12,973
Javanese	1,139	510	1,649	2,514	894	3,408
Balinese	78	71	149	—	—	—
Caffres	1	2	3	—	—	—
Parsees	23	—	23	—	—	—
Siamese	4	1	5	12	2	14
Boyonese	720	43	763	—	—	—
Bugis	1,458	811	2,269	477	429	906
Cochin-Chinese . . .	11	16	27	—	—	—
Total	42,107	10,784	52,891	70,122	11,612	81,734
Military and Followers .	—	—	609	—	—	—
Continental Convicts .	—	—	1,426	—	—	—
Local Convicts	—	—	122	—	—	—
Persons living on board vessels and boats in the Roads	—	—	2,995	—	—	—
Omitted through change or obscurity of residence	—	—	1,000	—	—	—
Grand Total	—	—	59,043	—	—	—

* *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, iv. 10.† Braddell's *Statistics of the British Possessions in the Straits of Malacca, Penang, 1861*.

POPULATION—(continued)

	1871			1881		
	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.
<i>Europeans and Americans.</i>						
Resident	623	299	922	815	468	1,283
Floating	403	4	407	641	29	670
Prisoners	21	—	21	33	—	33
British Military . .	481	115	596	718	65	783
Total Europeans . .	1,528	418	1,946	2,207	562	2,769
Eurasians	1,063	1,101	2,164	1,509	1,585	3,094
Chinese	46,104	7,468	54,572	72,571	14,195	86,766
<i>Malay Races.</i>						
Achehnese	—	—	—	1	1	2
Balinese	—	—	—	—	—	—
Banjarese	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bataks	—	—	—	—	—	—
Boyonese	1,377	257	1,634	1,504	607	2,111
Bugis	1,018	978	1,996	1,038	1,016	2,054
Dyaks	—	1	1	20	23	43
Javanese	2,156	1,084	3,240	4,119	1,766	5,885
Jawi Pekans	—	—	—	389	373	762
Malays	10,059	9,211	19,270	11,471	10,684	22,155
Philippinos	7	—	7	85	5	90
Total Malays . . .	14,617	11,531	26,148	18,627	14,475	33,102
<i>Indian Races.</i>						
Bengalis and other Indians not particu- larised	640	304	944	1,207	344	1,551
Burmese	17	9	26	33	19	52
Parsees	24	11	35	22	6	28
Tamils	7,701	1,633	9,334	8,412	2,095	10,507
Indian Military . .	412	3	415	—	—	—
Total Indians . . .	8,794	1,960	10,754	9,674	2,464	12,138
<i>Others.</i>						
Abyssinians	1	2	3	—	—	—
Africans	4	—	4	17	15	32
Annamese	12	8	20	6	24	30
Arabs	275	191	466	551	285	836
Armenians	36	28	64	45	35	80
Fiji Islanders . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
Japanese	1	—	1	8	14	22
Jews	30	27	57	116	56	172
Mauritians	—	—	—	—	—	—
Persians	4	1	5	—	2	2
Siamese	25	19	44	53	70	123
Singhalese	6	1	7	39	3	42
Syrians	—	—	—	—	—	—
Turks (Asiatic) . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
Convicts	848	8	856	—	—	—
Total others	1,242	285	1,527	835	504	1,339
Grand Total	74,348	22,763	97,111	105,423	33,785	139,208

CENSUS RETURNS

POPULATION—(continued)

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	1891			1901		
	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.
<i>Europeans and Americans.</i>						
Resident	1,434	868	2,302	1,737	1,124	2,861
Floating	1,734	48	1,782	465	3	468
Prisoners	10	—	10	—	—	—
British Military . .	1,134	26	1,160	417	78	495
Total Europeans . .	4,312	942	5,254	2,619	1,205	3,824
Eurasians	1,764	1,825	3,589	2,015	2,105	4,120
Chinese	100,446	21,462	121,908	130,367	33,674	164,041
<i>Malay Races.</i>						
Achehnese	2	—	2	2	—	2
Balinese	—	—	—	—	—	—
Banjarese	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bataks	—	—	—	—	—	—
Boyonese	1,808	869	2,677	1,701	1,011	2,712
Bugis	864	775	1,639	519	480	999
Dyaks	43	53	96	15	14	29
Javanese	6,056	2,485	8,541	5,659	2,860	8,519
Jawi Pekans	156	146	302	310	355	665
Malays	11,940	10,761	22,701	11,987	11,073	23,060
Philippinos	30	4	34	67	27	94
Total Malays . .	20,899	15,093	35,992	29,260	15,820	36,080
<i>Indian Races.</i>						
Bengalis and other Indians not particu- larised	2,728	724	3,452	2,728	514	3,242
Burmese	13	13	26	8	6	14
Parsees	41	13	54	18	8	26
Tamils	10,171	2,332	12,503	10,841	2,950	13,791
Indian Military . .	—	—	—	750	—	750
Total Indians . .	12,953	3,082	16,035	14,345	3,478	17,823
<i>Others.</i>						
Abyssinians	—	—	—	—	—	—
Africans	10	4	14	5	3	8
Annamese	16	16	32	5	10	15
Arabs	503	203	806	523	396	919
Armenians	36	32	68	43	26	79
Fiji Islanders	—	—	—	—	—	—
Japanese	58	229	287	188	578	766
Jews	106	84	190	247	215	462
Mauritians	—	—	—	—	—	—
Persians	4	5	9	3	3	6
Siamese	80	131	211	61	107	168
Singhalese	143	16	159	194	50	244
Syrians	—	—	—	—	—	—
Turks (Asiatics) . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
Convicts	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total others . .	956	820	1,776	1,269	1,398	2,667
Grand Total . .	141,330	43,224	184,554	170,875	57,680	228,555

THE PEOPLES OF SINGAPORE

POPULATION—(continued)

	1911		
	M.	F.	Total.
<i>Europeans and Americans.</i>			
Resident	—	—	—
Floating	—	—	—
Prisoners	—	—	—
British Military	—	—	—
Total Europeans	4,091	1,620	5,711 *
Eurasians	2,257	2,414	4,671
Chinese	161,648	57,929	219,577
<i>Malay Races.</i>			
Achehnese	2	—	2
Balinese	—	2	2
Banjarese	35	62	97
Bataks	1	—	1
Boyonese	3,028	2,058	5,086
Bugis	615	629	1,280
Dyaks	1	1	2
Javanese	6,909	4,315	11,224
Jawi Pekans	47	61	108
Malays	11,884	12,120	24,004
Philippinos	80	46	126
Total Malays	22,638	19,294	41,932
<i>Indian Races.</i>			
Straits-born Indians	2,304	2,240	4,544
Indian-born Indians	20,252	2,373	22,625
Burmese	7	8	15
Indians born elsewhere	506	80	586
Total Indians	23,069	4,701	27,770
<i>Others.</i>			
Abyssinians	—	—	—
Africans	5	4	9
Annamese	7	4	11
Arabs	708	518	1,226
Armenians	40	25	65
Fiji Islanders	4	—	4
Japanese	513	896	1,409
Jews	312	283	595
Mauritians	—	2	2
Persians	2	—	2
Siamese	45	104	149
Singhalese	135	34	169
Syrians	1	3	4
Turks (Asiatic)	14	1	15
Convicts	—	—	—
Total others	1,786	1,874	3,660
Grand Total	215,489	87,832	303,321

* Exclusive of Floating Population

CENSUS RETURNS

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PARTICULARS OF EUROPEAN POPULATION.

	1871			1881			1891			1901			1911		
	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.
Americans	15	3	18	15	6	21	29	10	39	53	32	85	26	20	46
Austrians	1	6	7	13	27	40	16	29	45	13	36	49	26	37	63
Belgians	5	1	6	2	4	6	5	1	6	12	10	22	9	2	11
Bohemians	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	8	11	—	—	—
British	395	199	594	542	323	865	970	580	1,550	1,174	706	1,880	3,388	1,150	4,538
Bulgarians	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Danes	5	3	8	3	4	7	4	—	4	7	2	9	9	3	12
Dutch	36	26	62	37	15	52	95	65	160	96	75	171	116	93	209
Finlanders	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
French	28	23	51	43	21	64	56	27	83	58	41	99	76	52	128
German	84	20	104	86	39	125	145	77	222	169	67	236	118	63	181
Greeks	—	—	—	1	1	2	7	3	10	1	5	6	7	1	8
Hungarians	—	—	—	4	1	5	1	10	11	1	4	4	1	1	2
Italians	—	—	—	9	5	14	8	11	19	18	9	27	38	9	47
Moldavians	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Norwegians	—	—	—	4	—	4	9	2	11	7	4	11	7	5	12
Poles	1	—	1	—	1	1	1	—	1	3	3	6	4	6	10
Portuguese	13	9	22	—	—	—	24	19	43	41	54	95	11	2	13
Roumanians	—	—	—	1	1	2	—	—	—	6	8	14	1	5	6
Russians	—	1	1	7	4	11	10	14	24	22	22	44	14	35	49
Spanish	21	7	28	23	8	31	12	3	15	15	12	27	8	4	12
Swedes	4	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	2	2	4
Swiss	11	1	12	19	5	24	25	8	33	25	8	33	21	9	30
Turks	—	—	—	6	4	10	17	9	26	13	18	31	12	4	16
Unspecified	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	197	116	313
West Indians	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	623	299	922	815	468	1,283	1,434	868	2,302	1,737	1,124	2,861	4,091	1,620	5,711

PARTICULARS OF CHINESE POPULATION.

	1881			1891			1901			1911*		
	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.
Cantonese	9,699	5,154	14,853	15,750	7,647	23,397	19,963	10,766	30,729	28,934	18,566	47,500
Hailam	8,266	53	8,319	8,596	115	8,711	9,237	214	9,451	10,206	298	10,504
Hing-Hoa	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,872	53	1,925
Hok-Chhia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,564	76	3,640
Hok-Chiu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,466	187	3,653
Hokkien	23,327	1,654	24,981	41,776	4,080	45,856	49,061	177	49,238	68,370	22,378	90,748
Kheh	5,561	609	6,170	6,558	844	7,402	7,352	1,262	8,614	9,516	2,431	11,947
Straits-born	4,513	5,014	9,527	6,084	6,721	12,805	7,719	7,779	15,498	20,369	23,193	43,562
Teo-chiu	20,946	1,698	22,644	21,682	2,055	23,737	24,186	3,378	27,564	29,705	7,708	37,413
Others	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	358	60	418
Not stated	259	13	272	—	—	—	238	42	280	—	—	—
Total	72,571	14,195	86,766	100,446	21,462	121,908	130,367	33,674	164,041	161,648	57,929	219,577

* The figures for 1911 (except for Straits-born, others, and total) are the numbers of persons speaking the particular Chinese dialect.

THE EURASIANS OF SINGAPORE

By A. H. Carlos.

A hundred years ago there was no Eurasian in Singapore, nor until Raffles came any Europeans or Chinese. It was the generous policy of the founder of the Settlement to make it free to all races, and from that freedom of residence has sprung the important section of the community sometimes called the Domiciled Community in India, the Burghers in Ceylon, which has this year decided to adopt in Singapore the name of Eurasian for the fresh start made in organising and making itself felt.

Thomasz Farrao, the earliest remembered Eurasian of Singapore, was born in Penang, his father coming from Bangalore, being a man of means who traded between India, Penang, and Burma in copra and rice a hundred years ago. In the early part of the nineteenth century he settled in Penang, and three children, Thomasz, Anthony, and another, were there born to him. Thomasz came to Singapore a few years after Raffles had founded the Settlement, and he seems to have been one of the first men to own land on the island. A daughter-in-law is still alive, and several grandchildren. Anthony remained in Penang, and traded between that port, Burma, and the port which afterwards became Port Weld.

Among the older names well known in Singapore, that of Leicester stands out in relief. Edward Barnaby Leicester was transferred from Bencoolen to Singapore in 1827. He was the son of Robert Leicester, who went out as a writer to India in the Company's service in the middle of the eighteenth century. A brother, John Leicester, also came to the Straits, but of his descendants only one is remembered. He was chief clerk in the Police Courts, and the compiler of the *Straits Law Reports* published in 1877. But the family had soon settled down to that honest, steady, and responsible

work in the Colony which is so characteristic of the good Eurasian families. The 1847 Directory has the name of six : Edward and John, clerks, Imports and Exports Office ; Edward R., clerk in the Accountant's Office ; James, in Boustead, Schwabe and Co.; and William, whose occupation is not given. Edward Barnaby's descendants have spread throughout the Colony, and played an important part in its work and development. Three of the sons, William Edward Barnaby Leicester, John Barnaby Leicester, and Henry Barnaby Leicester (the last-named by a second marriage), have done earnest and conscientious work for the Government. The youngest, Henry Barnaby Leicester, is still alive, having been in the service of the Tanjong Pagar Co. since January 1882, passing into the Harbour Board, where he is still employed. Thus we have still living the son of a man who served under Sir Stamford Raffles. The child of his elder brother, William Andrew Benjamin Leicester, took up the Medical Service, and his two sons are in the service of the Colony. William M. Leicester, a son of John, adopted the same profession, and went to Edinburgh, where he graduated M.B., C.M.

Before the original unveiling of the statue of Sir Stamford Raffles in 1887, enquiry was made in the *Straits Times* if there were any whose fathers had been connected with the Bencoolen service under the illustrious founder of the Colony, and three were named : Francis Nicholson, of Syme and Co., President of the Singapore Recreation Club ; Jonathan Edward Hogan, Chief District Surveyor, Singapore ; and James Henry Leicester. A fourth not mentioned by the newspaper was Henry Barnaby Leicester, a contributor to this History, who has been mentioned above.

Francis Nicholson, referred to above, was the son of George Nicholson, clerk to Captain William Scott, Harbour-master at Bencoolen, afterwards in charge of the Marine Department in Singapore.

The doyen of the Eurasian Community of Singapore at the present day is George Samuel Reutens, in his

eightieth year. He was born at Penang, the son of Phillip Reutens and Clara Painter, the daughter of the famous rounder-up of pirates a hundred years ago, But Painter's real name was Pinto, which he changed when entering the East India Company's Service on his arrival from Lisbon. Phillip Reutens of Penang had a healthy family, twenty children by his second wife, and one of his sons, Patrick Allan, was for thirty years Secretary to the Straits Steamship Co., Ltd. He was a first-class chess-player, as so many Eurasians have been, to mention only Paul McIntyre, L. M. Cordeiro, T. R. Miles, and G. S. Reutens.

Mr. G. S. Reutens was educated in Penang, joining John Company in 1856. The year afterwards he was transferred to the Marine Department in Singapore, and retired in 1902. He has had thirteen children; one of his daughters married Captain Carruthers. He has some interesting details to give of his grandfather's career. Captain Painter was commander of a British schooner carrying twenty-four guns. After his first raid on the pirates he brought a number of them into Penang, and was instructed to carry them under hatches to Calcutta to be tried. The Grand Jury there did not return a true bill, and the pirates were sent back to Penang, and there-upon instructions were given to him not to bring any more pirates into port. It is related how well he carried out this instruction, and the Straits of Malacca were made comparatively safe.

Hogan is another Penang name. John Hogan was sent to Bencoolen by the East India Company over a hundred years ago. After the transfer of Bencoolen he went over to Penang, and became Collector of Land Revenue. His son, Jonathan Edward, was for many years in the Survey Department of Singapore, and his grandsons, Henry Clarence Hogan and Edward Hogan, are well known in Singapore. H. C. Hogan was educated at the Raffles Institution, and went to work with J. M. Cazalas, one of the first engineers and mechanics here. Later he married a Miss Cazalas, and managed the busi-

ness until it was sold to Chinese, and ultimately became the Central Engine Works. Mr. Hogan then started the firm of Hogan and Co., Ltd., and later the Singapore Foundry, Ltd.

Among the families from Malacca appear the names of Westerhout, Pereira, Baumgarten, Velge, Tessensohn, De Souza, Pestana, and Scheerder.

Mr. J. B. Westerhout in 1843 was Assistant Resident at Tranquerah, Malacca. His son, J. E. Westerhout, was Acting Magistrate and Sheriff, Malacca, in the 'Eighties. His grandsons, J. B., Jr., and N. B., are old residents of Singapore. His great-grandsons have been serving at the Front in the Great War.

The Pereira family starts with Fransisco Evariste, Barrister-at-law, F.R.G.S. and F.R.E.S., who was born in Malacca in 1833. He passed his law examination in Singapore in 1857, and was admitted in 1858, being called to the English Bar in 1865. He married Isabel, daughter of the late Sir Jose d'Almeida, and his name appears as one of the signatories to the petition for the Transfer. Jose d'Almeida, his son, is a well-known orchid expert, who has discovered several new species. He is a Fellow of the Royal Horticultural Society.

Christian Baumgarten, who is referred to elsewhere in this work, was the son of Captain Baumgarten, and his brothers Francis and William were in Malacca in the 'Sixties, the former Sheriff and a J.P. of Malacca.

The Velges, like the Westerhouts and Baumgartens, come of old Dutch stock. C. E. Velge, for long the Registrar of the Supreme Court, Singapore, was one of the Malacca Velges.

The name of Scheerder is associated with that of Woodford. L. J. Scheerder was born in Malacca in 1825, and his sons, James and John, came to Singapore about seventy-five years ago. Woodford and Scheerder was one of the first firms of chemists and druggists and aerated water manufacturers.

James Isaiah Woodford left many sons, among whom was P. I. Woodford, conveyancing clerk for many years to

Messrs. Rodyk and Davidson. In his younger days he was an enthusiastic member of the Singapore Recreation Club and Churchwarden of the Cathedral of the Good Shepherd. He married a daughter of L. J. Scheerder, and his son Cyril married a daughter of James L. Scheerder.

The active family of the Tessensohns begins with Mr. Edwin Tessensohn, the present respected leader of the Community, who was born in Malacca in 1857, and came to Singapore when he was fourteen. He was an active member of the Volunteer Corps in 1874-5, was Honorary Secretary to the Mutual Improvement Society about that time, and from then till now there are few public matters concerning Eurasians in which he has not played a part. His public life has been a busy one, filling the positions of President of the Singapore Recreation Club, Municipal Commissioner, Member of the Rent Assessment Board, Patron of the Eurasian Literary Association, Chairman of the Cemetery Committee, and a hardworking and valued member of most other committees connected with public affairs. He was in the firm of Hamilton, Gray and Co. for twelve years, till that firm was wound up, when he went over with Mr. W. G. Stiven to the new agency of the B. I. S. N. Co., which agency he followed to Boustead and Co., in 1884. By his first wife, Miss da Silva, he has one son. His second wife is a daughter of Mr. H. D. Chopard, at one time Deputy Registrar of Imports and Exports, and by her he has a son and a daughter.

The brothers Manuel and Tertullian De Souza were in 1856 partners in the firm of Aitken, De Souza and Co. Later on Manuel worked up a large business as a ship-chandler, and De Souza Street is named after him. One of his daughters married Mr. Th. Sohst, for many years resident here, late of Rautenburg, Schmidt and Co., and a granddaughter married Mr. Eschke, formerly German Consul in Singapore.

Of the Pestanas, Joseph Castels came to Singapore from Malacca in 1860. He served the Government for more than forty years, filling many responsible posts,

such as Deputy Registrar of the Supreme Court, his substantive appointment then being Chief Clerk of the Police Court. After his retirement he became conveyancing clerk to Mr. Farrer Baynes, that brilliant though erratic lawyer. He was instrumental in founding the St. Anthony's Boys' School, and later St. Anne's School. Two of his sons followed the medical profession, and a daughter married Nelson Leicester, a descendant of Robert.

The name of Yzelman goes back to Jacob Yzelman, who left Leyden for the East about 1799, and settled in Rhio, where his children were born. For a time he was teacher in Malacca, and the Baumgarten and Westerhout families were among his pupils. He came to Singapore in 1847, and his sons, Herman Gregory and Ernest Jacob, followed the teaching profession, Ernest being one of the first masters at the Raffles Institution. A younger brother, B. A. Yzelman, was appointed Head-master of the Kampong Glam Malay School in 1876.

The Angus family is an old one in Singapore, and none more respected. Gilbert Angus and his brother William came over from Bencoolen about seventy-five years ago. Gilbert was a partner in Whampoa and Co., and afterwards in business on his own account. His son Gilbert was a well-known trusty skipper sailing out of Singapore. The sons of William turned rather to mechanics, and have made their mark as engineers.

So the tale could be told of Fernandez the taxidermist ; of the Batemans, who half a century ago were land agents ; the Deskers, one of the first butchers ; the Clarkes, whose livery stable was started over forty-five years ago ; the Cashins, at one time of the Opium Farm ; the Cordeiros ; the Corneliuses, showing how great has been the influence in the development of the Colony of the Eurasian families.

We conclude with one who has attained distinction in Government Service, Mr. J. N. van der Beek. His ancestor was a Dutch settler in Malacca, and his father was Francis Charles van der Beek, who was born in

Malacca in 1831, and there married Adrianna Grosse. Mr. J. N. van der Beek was born in Malacca in 1855, and was educated at the Raffles School under Mr. Bagley, joining the Government Service in 1871. He was Clerk at Government House under nine Governors, commencing with Sir Harry Ord and ending with Sir John Anderson. In 1903 he received the I.S.O. for long and faithful service.

The record of the Eurasian Community is less easy to follow than that of some other sections of the community, but enough has been written to show that in the history of the hundred years they have played their part faithfully and well in commerce, the law, the medical service, the Government Service, and as independent tradesmen and merchants.

QUEEN'S AND KING'S SCHOLARS

The Queen's Scholarships were founded by Sir Cecil C. Smith, then Governor of the Straits Settlements, in 1885. What was initiated by him was, during the *régime* of a later Governor, Sir John Anderson, reversed in 1909. Into the reason for the reversal of policy we need not enter ; much has been said for both sides. The impression, rightly or wrongly, in the minds of the domiciled community is that the reversal may be attributed to a possible fear that the aspirations of the sons of the soil were likely to create a situation such as exists in India and other progressive countries, where the permanent population is demanding a large share in the administration of the country of their birth through their educated members.

Two scholarships were given every year from 1886 to 1905, then from 1906 to 1909 only one. For some years the scholarships meant £180 a year ; this sum was later increased to £200, and finally to £250 per annum. It will be seen from the subjoined that the Eurasian was in the running nearly every year.

1886

Winners, C. S. Angus and James Aitken. The former qualified in London as a civil engineer, and returned to

Kuala Lumpur and joined the F.M.S. service. Both were from the Raffles Institution, Singapore. James Aitken is a well-known lawyer in Singapore.

1887

P. V. S. Locke received his early training at the Penang Free School, and won a scholarship from the Raffles Institution. He graduated M.B., Ch.B., at Edinburgh, and returned to Penang, where he built up a large practice.

1888

Dunstan A. Aeria, like his predecessor, studied first at the Northern Settlement, and finished at the Raffles Institution. He passed in civil engineering in London. After doing good business at Kuala Lumpur, he has settled in Singapore, and is engaged on construction work at Johore.

1889

H. A. Scott was a Raffles scholar. He passed in London as civil engineer, and on his return to Singapore joined the Municipality as Building Inspector. He was the son of Thomas Scott, who owned a restaurant in North Bridge Road some sixty years ago, and married a daughter of Francis James Clarke. He died some years ago.

1891

H. O. Robinson and F. O. De Souza. The former, who was from the Raffles Institution, passed as civil engineer in London, and on his return joined the F.M.S. Service. The latter was the first pupil from the St. Joseph's Institution, Singapore, to win the scholarship. He proceeded to Edinburgh, where he graduated M.B., C.M. On his return he started on his own account, and is a general practitioner with a large practice. He married Beatrice, eldest daughter of the late Anthony McIntyre, who was for many years a book-keeper at Boustead and Co.

1892

A. H. Keun passed out from the Raffles Institution, and graduated M.B., C.M., at Edinburgh. He joined the Government Service on his return, and resigned while he held the appointment of Colonial Surgeon, Malacca. He is the son of the late A. H. Keun, who was an active member of the Community over half a century ago.

1893

H. C. Keun, brother of A. H. Keun, was also from the Raffles Institution. After graduating M.B., Ch.B., at Edinburgh, he practised at Wolverhampton, where he died in 1903.

1894

H. A. D. Moore studied first at the Raffles Institution, but won the scholarship from the Anglo-Chinese School. He graduated M.B., Ch.B., at Edinburgh, and remained in England.

1895

J. C. J. da Silva was first at St. Xavier's School, Penang, and later at the Raffles Institution. He was enrolled at Guy's Hospital, London. During his first two years he displayed great promise, and attracted the special attention of his teachers. Unfortunately, however, he was not as careful with his limited allowance of £200 per annum as with his work, with the result that for the next two years he was always in pecuniary difficulties. He could not afford to meet his fees, so that at the termination of his four-year scholarship he found himself hopelessly stranded in London. After hacking at journalism for a few years, he returned to Penang, and was for many years Sub-Editor of the *Straits Echo*. He died in 1918, at the early age of 41.

1899

R. E. Smith was from the St. Xavier's School, Penang. He took up medicine in London, but returned to the

Straits without completing his course. He is a B.A. of Emanuel College, Cambridge. On his return he joined the Educational Department of this Colony, and was for some years on the staff of the Raffles Institution. He is at present Head-master of the King Edward School, Ipoh.

1900

William Samuel Leicester passed out from the Raffles Institution. He is a B.A. of Cambridge and M.R.C.S. and L.R.C.P. of London. On his return he joined the Medical Department of this Colony, and is now the Medical Officer, Pahang. He is the son of the late Andrew Barnaby Leicester, who served the same Medical Department for twenty-five years, and grandson of William Samuel and great-grandson of Edward Barnaby, who came to the Straits a century ago.

1901

R. H. McClelland is L.C.E. of Dublin. He is from the Penang Free School. He passed in engineering at Trinity College, Dublin. He is at present in the Civil Service of this Colony.

1903

W. J. C. LeCain was from the Raffles Institution. He passed as Civil Engineer in London. He is a B.Sc. (London), A.M.I.C.E., A.K.C. England. He returned to Singapore in 1909, and is a partner in the firm of Seah and LeCain, of Raffles Chambers. Of mathematicians he is one of three of whom the Community may well be proud.

1904

Noel L. Clarke won the scholarship from the Raffles Institution. He proceeded to Cambridge, and graduated B.A., B.S. A telegram from Singapore announcing the serious illness of his mother made him leave the University, but before he could proceed south he received the message of his mother's death. He remained in London,

and completed the M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. course, taking the L.S.A. degree at the same time. He returned to Singapore in 1909, and in a short time worked up a very large practice. At the present day he is one of the leading medical men in the city. His love of sport is well known. He is a good left-hand bowler, and has played in many important local cricket matches. In the Community he is recognised as one of the prominent men.

1905

The order of the scholarships was E. R. Carlos, F. R. Martens, and R. L. Eber, all of whom were from the St. Joseph's Institution. Martens, who is not a British subject, was debarred. It is known that his average in higher mathematics has never been beaten, he having secured $99\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Ernest Richard Carlos was the youngest son of Albert Benjamin Carlos and Rose Isabella (Brisson), who came to Singapore from Madras in 1880. He studied at Edinburgh, and in the short space of five and a half years graduated M.A., B.Sc., M.B., Ch.B. Besides his studies, he took a keen interest in the literary activities of the students. In his last year he was elected a member of the Committee of Management of the Edinburgh University Union, it being the first time in the history of the University that an Easterner held such an office. He returned to the Straits in 1911, and for a short period was with Dr. Noel L. Clarke. His health, however, had begun to give way directly after he left college, and to recoup he gave up private practice and made some voyages as a ship's surgeon. He died in 1915.

Rene Lionel Eber, eldest son of Frederick William Eber of the Government Service, went to Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. He is a barrister, now in the firm of Braddell Brothers, and is well known in musical circles. He is the grandson of Alberto Eber, who in 1850 was in the firm of Jose Almeida and Sons, after whom Eber Road is named.

1906

J. R. Aeria won the scholarship from St. Xavier's School, Penang. He proceeded to Edinburgh, and graduated M.B., Ch.B. He is now Medical Officer at Muar. His cousin, W. A. Aeria, was for many years in the Medical Department of this Colony.

1907

C. H. da Silva, a St. Joseph's boy, was barely sixteen when he won the scholarship. He proceeded to Cambridge, and after a brilliant career, graduated B.A., LL.B. He was too young to qualify as a barrister, and had to wait in London a year before he could pass out. He returned to Singapore, and joined Battenberg and Chopard. After the death of Mr. Chopard this firm has been known as Battenberg and Silva. It will be remembered that da Silva was Counsel for the defence in the trial of the 5th Light Infantry mutineers.

1909

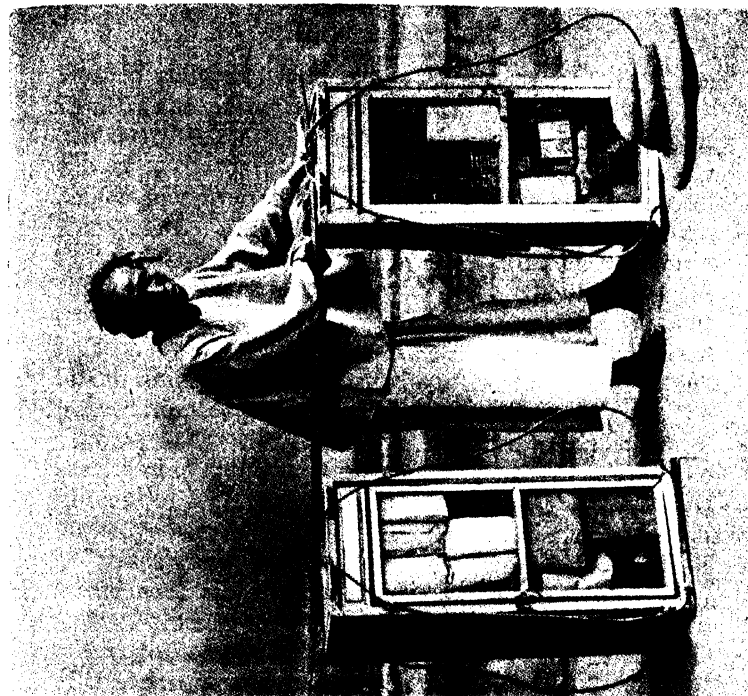
Stephen de Souza won the scholarship from the St. Joseph's Institution, Singapore. He proceeded to London to take up engineering. At the outbreak of war he joined up, and was given a commission. He has elected to remain in the Army.

1910

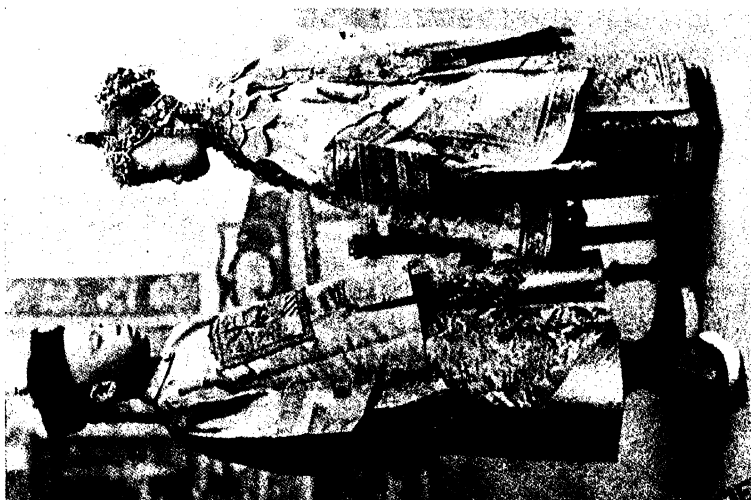
George Russell won the scholarship from the Raffles Institution and proceeded to England, where he also took up engineering. At the outbreak of war he joined up, and was sent to Mesopotamia with the British Forces.

THE CHINESE OF SINGAPORE

There are evidences of the early intercourse between China and the Islands of the Archipelago to be found in the discovery of coins dug up in Singapore in 1827 from the ruins of the ancient Malay settlement (Crawfurd), in the presence of porcelain of a former age found in



CHINESE HAWKER.



CHINESE CHILDREN IN CEREMONIAL DRESS.

Borneo and Java, and in the literary records of China itself. The latter attribute the first intercourse to A.D. 421. After a long interval, it was resumed in A.D. 964, the date of the earliest coins used, the only coined money of the Archipelago before the advent of Europeans. Albuquerque, when he took Malacca, found Chinese junks lying in the roads. Dr. Dennys thinks there is not much evidence of their settling as early as that, for Barros, in enumerating the different nations who had settled in Malacca, makes no mention of the Chinese. In view of the distant period at which intercourse took place, it is extremely likely that the Chinese had settled in Malaya, and this is confirmed by the Chinese traveller Sam-po-kung, who says that the Chinese of Malacca had formed a continuous settlement for six centuries.

To deal fully with such a long period of connection would need more space than is available in this book, and only a sketch of the Chinese in Singapore can be given, to compile which Mr. Song Ong Siang's MSS. of a separate and important work on the Chinese of Singapore has been placed at the disposal of the writer.

Newbold says that when the British flag was hoisted on the plain, there were 150 fishermen and pirates living in a few miserable huts, and about thirty of these were Chinese. Neither Raffles nor Abdullah Munshi mentions Chinese settlers at the founding of the Settlement, but as Raffles, early in June 1819, gives instructions for the separation of the kampongs, and states that four months after establishment the population had received an accession of more than 5,000, principally Chinese, it is quite plain that the Chinese population was even then of considerable importance. A little more than a year from the foundation, Raffles said that there was a population of ten or twelve thousand, principally Chinese again. Although this estimate was a sanguine one, there is no doubt that from the earliest days of the Settlement the Chinese bulked largely among its inhabitants, and early took up a high position among its merchants and crafts-

men. In 1822 Raffles had occasion to divide the Chinese into classes, and to establish a Chinese kampong.

One of the earliest settlers was Seah Eu Chin, who came from Swatow in 1823. He was a young man of learning, his father being Secretary to the Yamen of a Sub-Prefecture. Seven years later, when he was twenty-five, he was established in Kling Street in a considerable business as commission agent, supplying the junks trading from Singapore to various ports. He was the first to start gambier-planting, having tried many other cultivations first. In 1840 he became a member of the Singapore Chamber of Commerce, and in 1850 he headed the deputation of the Chinese to Lord Dalhousie. He lived till 1883, and saw his sons become very influential men in the town, among them Mr. Seah Liang Seah.

This is quoted as a typical instance of the founding of influential and wealthy Chinese families in the Straits.

By 1850 the Chinese had reached over fifty thousand out of 80,000, by 1881 they numbered 86,766 out of 139,208, and in 1911 there were 219,577 Chinese out of a total of 303,321. Consideration of these figures will show how impossible it is, even if the material were readily available, to treat of the Chinese Community of Singapore adequately in a book of this description. Some of the leading men are referred to in various articles. Their careers as individuals are full of interest, and have not failed to attract the attention of previous writers on Singapore, residents and casual visitors. The Chinese Community of late years has greatly progressed in organisation. With long centuries of organised life behind it, this is not to be wondered at, and it would take a very big volume to tell of all their numerous activities in the mart, in friendly and charitable societies, in works of private charity, individual and collective, the liberal support they have always given to education, works of public utility and ornament, and the splendid foundation they form for the business prosperity of Singapore.

CHAPTER VIII

SINGAPORE'S MILITARY HISTORY

SINGAPORE DEFENCES

By Walter Makepeace.

THE history of Singapore as a fortified place does not reveal any creditable or consistent policy. Raffles, in his Memorandum of 6th February 1819, bases his recommendations on the advice of Captain Ross, supplemented by his own personal inspection. On the hill overlooking the Settlement he gave authority for constructing a small fort or a commodious block-house, capable of mounting eight- or ten-pounders, with a magazine of brick or stone, and a barracks for thirty European artillery and temporary accommodation for the rest of the garrison in case of emergency; on the coast one or two strong batteries for the protection of the shipping; at Sandy Point a redoubt, and further east a strong battery. "These defences, with a Martello tower [these were mostly erected on the English coast at the end of the eighteenth century as a defence against a French invasion] on Deep Water Point . . . will in my judgment render the Settlement capable of maintaining a good defence." He recommended confining the cost of these to the lowest possible limit, and appointed Lieutenant Ralfe, of the Bengal Artillery, to be the Assistant Engineer to Colonel Farquhar, at a salary of \$200 Spanish per month. He made arrangements for naval support, and directed a general account, with particulars of every disbursement under Military Establishment, and a quarterly return of the expenditure and remains of military stores.

Colonel Farquhar had to take up the first gun with Malacca men, no Singapore man daring to ascend Bukit Larangan (now Fort Canning). The real Fort Canning was not constructed till 1859. The height of the hill, as determined by Mr. J. T. Thomson, is given as 156 feet. The construction of the fort made necessary the removal of Raffles's House, the old Government House described in Begbie's book (1833), the centre part being the original house, and tradition is that it was here that Lord Elgin walked up and down all night long when he reached the momentous decision to divert the troops intended for China to Calcutta to aid in the suppression of the Indian Mutiny (Buckley, pp. 652, 653). The fortifications were completed in 1861, and the European artillery, hitherto stationed on Pearl's Hill, overlooking what is now People's Park, were handed over to the Commissariat.

At the transfer Fort Palmer had seven 68-pr. guns, eight " 8-inch shell guns " (mortars), and two 13-inch mortars, two of which later were placed in front of the Memorial Hall, with a few 13-pr. carronades.

Fort Palmer was then a small earthwork overlooking the eastern entrance to Keppel Harbour, and had five 56-pr. guns. In the early 'Nineties this fort was made, for that time, a formidable defence, with four 10-inch breech-loaders, which now lie on the ground laid bare by the cutting down of the hill to get soil for the Teluk Ayer second reclamation. These guns were the first fired by electricity in Singapore, under Colonel Burton Brown. A number of officials and civilians were asked to the first practice, the target being a barrel with a red flag, floating away at sea. A lucky shot early in the day sank the barrel, upon which the Colonel remarked that the practice was over, implying that too great skill had spoiled the show. This was believed by a few people who knew nothing about artillery practice in those days at 8,000 yards. When Fort Palmer was finally dismantled the guns were tumbled down the hill. An Indian contractor bought one for a ridiculously small sum, \$40,

we think, one of the conditions being that he had to take it away under forfeit of \$200. He spent weeks trying to handle the unwieldy mass, and finally cried off. Anybody who wants an imposing pair of gate posts could have the guns now as a gift. A similar experience was that of Robert Allan, of Riley Hargreaves, who bought two of the old 7-inch muzzle-loaders. Splendid metal they are, and Robert broke some dozens of drills and used many pounds of dynamite in trying to break them up. He also gave it up as a bad job, and used the guns, so it was said, as the foundation for a punching machine. There are several of these old guns waiting for someone to take them away, little hurt by their long exposure to the weather, but where they are they will remain till the lallang grows over them, and some future cultivator strikes his "changkol" upon them with much surprise.

Fort Fullerton was built by a civilian from Madras, who was sent here as Governor in 1825, and who made himself conspicuous by his general wrongheadedness. When he arrived, Government House was a bungalow in front of the Court House, and all the residents "lived on the other side of the river." The demolition was begun in 1865, as it was thought that the battery would draw the fire of an enemy "upon the most richly stored warehouse in the place," and ended in June 1873, at the time of a rumour that Sir Andrew Clarke was to fortify Singapore at a cost of £200,000 or £300,000, "which would be met by flat mutiny." The complete demolition was not over till 1890, when the first Volunteer Drill Hall was built by Major McCallum, and a gun emplacement for a 7-inch muzzle-loader constructed for S.V.A. drill purposes. This finally disappeared when the Reclamation from Johnston's Pier to the mouth of the river was made. In the reconstruction of 1854, supervised by Captain Collyer, R.E., who had convicts placed at his disposal, the original battery was enlarged to thrice its former size, and armed with 56- and 68-pounders. It extended from the river to Johnston's Pier, with a house

for the officers in the centre, barracks for the soldiers alongside the road, and fine trees planted. The estimated cost of these works was \$840,000.

Fort Faber had two emplacements just above the Istana Lama, half-way up the hill, to command the Sēlat, Sinki, and the western half of the harbour. Their emplacements still exist, as do the granite sets laid down on the top of Mount Faber for two mortars.

The money spent on the fortification has amounted to so great a sum that no wonder (1867) "the military expenditure was regarded by the mercantile community as very unsatisfactory, and it swallowed up in 1863 nearly one-half of the revenue." The petition of the inhabitants in 1860 or thereabouts said :

"From the extensive fortifications . . . which have of late years been constructed in Singapore, as well as from large and costly barrack accommodation which has been provided for European troops, it would appear to have been the intention of the Government of India to convert Singapore into an important military station, these works obviously contemplating the maintenance of a force far beyond all local requirements in its amount and character."

The petition went on to favour a local corps, and to deprecate the further employment of a contingent from the Madras Presidency, sickness being so generally prevalent that "a few weeks after their arrival . . . frequently reduced the regiments to mere skeletons." The local force to be recruited on the spot, to combine Eurasians, Malays, Bugis, Javanese, with a small European force to support them, would be found sufficient for all local exigencies.

For Singapore a force of 400 privates and the necessary officers was estimated to cost £15,000 per annum.

Two small swift steamers, similar to Her Majesty's despatch-boats, and of very light draught of water, to act against the pirates, partly under the Governor's orders and partly manned by natives, were recommended for

the protection of trade and the suppression of piracy, more especially Chinese piracy, " which has increased of late years to a great extent." The *Hooghly* was old, very slow, and ineffective. The *Mohr* and *Tonze* were ordered for the Straits, but Admiral Hope, of the China Station, could not spare them, as he wanted them for an expedition up the Yangtse. The advantages of Singapore as a naval depot were pointed out, " within easy reach of supplies of teak timber from Siam and Java, as well as our own territory of Mulmein."

After the Transfer the fate of the Singapore defences was keenly discussed. In April of 1872 the 80th Regiment arrived, " still wearing the Scotch cap and heavy red tunic " while on duty here. The garrison was then 1,024 men, and cost £62,713, of which the Colony paid £52,000. It was borne in upon the public mind that the Colony was " defenceless," and £18,000 were proposed to be spent on armament, including rifled guns, electric torpedoes, batteries, including the mortars for Mount Faber (which were never placed there), all on the mainland. Six years later an exhaustive paper on the proposals was laid before the Legislative Council.

Lieutenant Henry E. McCallum began his Colonial career as Private Secretary to Sir William Jervois in 1875. The Governor recognised that he had a brilliant young officer, and called upon him for assistance in preparing a plan for the fortification and defence of the place. In 1878 Captain McCallum was brought back from Hongkong, where he had gone on military duty, and given sole charge of the designing and construction of fortifications for the station, and from that year date the present defences of Singapore, which in the nature of things are now almost obsolete.

The main idea seems to have been to transfer the forts to the islands to the south of New Harbour, thus denying access to an enemy to the docks, stores of coal, and works. With this object the forts were constructed at the east and west entrances to the harbour, and looking southward, on Blakan Mati and Pulo Brani, a sub-

sidary fort being at Pasir Panjang, on the north shore of the New Harbour. Pasir Panjang was subsequently removed from the scheme of defence. There was also a fort at Tanjong Katong, armed with two 8-inch Armstrong guns, come by through the accident of their passing through Singapore at the time of the Franco-Chinese War. Tradition has it that the origin of Fort Tanjong Katong lay in the fears of the merchants of the place, who asked, "What is to prevent a man-of-war coming in from the east and shelling the town?" On which the military authorities, with great guile, murmured, "We never thought of that," and built Tanjong Katong on the sea-shore—most substantially, with the Colony's money—placed the two guns, which were no earthly use elsewhere, in position, and gave orders that on the outbreak of war the fort was to be abandoned! It was an early example of military camouflage. The guns being on the sea level, a high tower was built for range-finding instruments, but on the sands it shook so much that the delicate operation of determining the range was impossible; besides, the range of the guns was useless; there was no adequate supply of ammunition for this gun, which is of a calibre outside the British Artillery scheme; and a landing party could have taken the fort without much effort and without serious losses. When, therefore, during practice the R.G.A. blew the chase off one of the guns, declared (and denied, but the tampion was never found) to be due to failure to remove the muzzle tampion, the fort became, as it was always intended to be, a real "wash-out."

The construction of the new forts on the islands was proceeded with vigorously. In 1887 all the rights on Blakan Mati were acquired, and the following year Button Island was taken over.

The Commissariat and Ordnance Department was removed to Pulo Brani, and it was then discovered that the part of the island leased to the Straits Trading Company ought to have been at the disposal of the military. Before long the major portion of the fortifi-



SIR CHARLES WARREN, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

cation was completed, and then arose the trouble of the armament, which the home people failed to supply. To call the attention of the British public an advertisement was placed (at Mr. W. G. St. Clair's expense, we believe) in the *Daily News* every week, "When is Singapore to have its guns?" In March 1889 six Hotchkiss guns arrived for the protection of the mines defending New Harbour. Some were placed in subterranean casemates near Lot's Wife, the narrow western entrance. In April of that year the Straits commenced as an independent military command under Sir Charles Warren, a regular Tartar, but who succeeded in making Singapore the fortress it is. In August 1889 the first of the heavy guns was shipped. An announcement was made in February 1890 that "the two 10-inch guns yet remaining . . . are now completed by the makers." The makers seem to have been the chief people to benefit by them, as they were the Fort Palmer guns. In November 1890 the 9.2 guns were tested, and in the next year the S.V.A. Maxim guns (calibre 450), subscribed for by the public, were received.

Nothing need be said of the present position or armament of the defences of Singapore, but the preceding facts must be understood in order that the attitude of the public on the Military Contribution may be appreciated.

The G.O.C.'s that have held the substantive command in the Straits are :

1883 (Hongkong). Major-General J. N. Sargent, C.B.

1887 (Hongkong). Major-General Cameron, C.B.

1889 (Straits). Major-General Sir Charles Warren, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

1894. Major-General H. T. Jones Vaughan, C.B.

1899. Major-General J. B. B. Dickson, C.B.

1905. Major-General Sir A. R. F. Dorward, K.C.B., D.S.O., R.E.

1906. Major-General R. Inigo Jones, C.V.O., C.B.

1907. Major-General T. Perrott, C.B.

1910. Major-General T. E. Stephenson, C.B.

1914. Major-General R. N. R. Reade, C.B.

1915. Major-General Sir D. H. Ridout, K.B.E., C.B.,
C.M.G.

SINGAPORE VOLUNTEERS

*By Lieutenant-Colonel G. A. Derrick, C.B.E., V.D.,
Commandant S.V.C.*

It is an interesting historical feature that the institution of a volunteer force in Singapore took place several years before the great volunteer movement in the United Kingdom, which took its rise in 1859.

The raising of a Volunteer Corps for Singapore was first mooted in 1846, after the Settlement had been disturbed by an alarming series of Chinese riots. In 1854, as the result of the recurrence of Chinese riots and the outbreak of the Crimean War, a public meeting was held on the 8th July of that year, with the concurrence and support of the then Governor, Major-General W. J. Butterworth, C.B., at which it was decided to form a Volunteer Corps, under the name of the Singapore Volunteer Rifle Corps.

The total membership of the Corps when raised was sixty-one. The Governor became its first Colonel, and Captain R. Macpherson, Madras Artillery, its first Commandant.

At the first review of the Corps, held on the 8th March 1855, the Governor read a despatch from the Supreme Government of India, noting, in terms of approbation, the promptitude with which the Singapore Volunteers had come forward with the offer of their services, and expressing the hope that their example might be followed in other parts of India. At a later review, held on the 26th November 1860, Colonel Orfeur Cavenagh, the then Governor, in an address, alluded to the formation of the Corps which had the honour to be the first enrolled in India, and was therefore entitled to bear on its colours the motto *Primus in Indis*.

This continued to be the Corps motto until the separation of the Straits Settlements from the jurisdiction of the Indian Government in 1867, when it was changed to *In Oriente Primus*, which motto the Singapore Volunteer Corps still bears.

In the early part of 1868 the Corps was augmented by the formation of a half-battery of Field Artillery. The officers and N.C.O's had to provide themselves with horses, and the members to find a pair of ponies for each gun and ammunition wagon.

There were many vicissitudes in volunteering in Singapore in the years following, the Corps at times dwindling to a mere remnant, then again showing something of its old activity. In the year of the Jubilee of the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria (1887) it had once more shrunk to a small half-company, the late Major Grey, Superintendent of the Gaol, being the Commandant then.

Noting the altogether inadequate constitution of the Corps, which then contained not more than half-a-dozen Europeans, Mr. W. G. St. Clair, Editor of the *Singapore Free Press* and an old Burma Volunteer, urged, in an article in that journal, the value of a Volunteer Artillery Corps as a local reserve to the Royal Artillery in garrison, and he got together some friends, who had all served as Volunteers before coming to Singapore, to form a Provisional Committee for the purpose of taking the necessary steps to place the matter before Government; and on the 1st December 1887 a Sub-Committee of that body, consisting of Messrs. W. G. St. Clair, G. Bruce Webster, and M. Bean, was granted an interview by the Governor, Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, G.C.M.G., there being also present at the interview, Major-General Sir W. G. Cameron, the General Officer Commanding the Troops, who was here on inspection, Major Davies, Military Secretary, and Lieutenant-Colonel Cardew, 2nd Battalion South Lancashire Regiment. The result of the interview was entirely satisfactory, the Governor accepting with pleasure the services of a roll of Volunteers

submitted, and asking the Provisional Committee to proceed with the work of organisation.

The Singapore Volunteer Rifle Corps was disbanded by proclamation on the 16th December 1887, and the Singapore Volunteer Artillery embodied by proclamation on the 22nd February 1888, the list of enrolled members at the date of embodiment being ninety-six; of these, fifty per cent. have since passed over to the great majority, seven only now remain in Singapore, of whom only one, the present Commandant, has remained on the active strength of the Corps since its formation. The Governor, Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, G.C.M.G., became the Honorary Colonel of the Singapore Volunteer Artillery on the 10th February 1890, and remained so until his death on the 7th February 1916.

Mr. W. G. St. Clair, who may justly be termed the "Father of the Corps," joined the S.V.A. on its formation, as a Sergeant, and remained an active member until the 5th February 1903, at the time of his retirement being, as Senior Major, the Second-in-Command, and having on more than one occasion acted as Commandant, during the absences on leave of the substantive holders of the appointment.

At the outset the S.V.A. was detailed for work on the 7-inch R.M.L. and 8-inch R.B.L. coast defence guns and so continued until towards the end of 1896, when the unit took charge of the mobile armament, consisting of a battery of 7-pr. M.L. mountain guns, these being in 1903 exchanged for 10-pr. B.L. mountain guns; when, however, in 1906 the latter were withdrawn from the command, the S.V.A. reverted to its original rôle of garrison artillery, and has ever since remained unchanged.

In the year 1889 four Maxim guns were subscribed for, to be presented to the S.V.A., one by H.H. the late Sultan of Johore, one by the late Mr. Cheang Hong Lim, and the remaining two by the Chinese, Arab, Malay, and Chetty Communities.

The guns arrived in Singapore on the 4th April 1891,



Lieut. Sisson.
Lieut. W. G. St. Clair.

Lieut. Cochran.
Major McCallum.

Lieut. G. A. Derrick.
Capt. Dunman.

Lieut. F. M. Merewether.
Lieut. F. W. Barker.

AN EARLY GROUP OF S.V.A. OFFICERS.

and were formally presented at the Queen's Birthday Parade, held on the Esplanade on the 28th May 1891. This acquisition made the Singapore Volunteer Artillery the first Maxim-Gun Company in the British forces, regular or auxiliary. Since 1902 the Maxim-Gun Company has been worked as a separate unit.

In the year 1891 the present Drill Hall (the headquarters of the Corps) was built to the design of Major (afterwards Sir) H. E. McCallum, G.C.M.G., the first Commandant of the reconstituted Corps. It is an excellent example of a really useful building for Volunteer purposes, being lofty and airy, and having a floor-space in the main hall of 100 feet by 55 feet. It is constructed of wood, with a corrugated iron roof, and was originally erected on the site of the present Master Attendant's office, where it stood for sixteen years, when it was taken down, removed, and re-erected on its present site, so that it has already withstood the ravages of climate and white ants for over twenty-seven years, and will still be good, with ordinary care, for many years, a fine testimony of the excellence of design, material, and workmanship.

The S.V.A. continued to be the sole Volunteer unit until after the outbreak of the South African War in 1899, when the British battalion of the regular garrison of the Settlement, having been withdrawn and substituted by a native battalion of the Indian Army, the British community in 1900 formed a Volunteer Rifle Corps, which at first consisted of 100 members, but soon increased to nearly double that number. These Rifles, raised during a national crisis, were discontinued in 1904, when the regular garrison was again brought up to its normal strength.

In 1901 a further considerable increase took place in the Volunteers, which now became known as the Singapore Volunteer Corps.

An engineer unit of Europeans was raised, which still forms an important unit of the Corps. Originally known as the Singapore Volunteer Engineers, it was later

on permitted to assume the title of Singapore Royal Engineers (Volunteer).

The Singapore Volunteer Infantry was also raised, No. 1 Company being formed of Eurasians, No. 2 Company of Chinese.

Each company had separate headquarters, No. 1 Company in Bras Basah Road, and No. 2 Company in Beach Road, adjoining the S.V.C. headquarters, where later the Chinese Volunteer Club was built by public subscription amongst the Chinese Community, the building being opened by His Excellency the Governor on the 4th May 1907.

A Cadet Company was also formed from a nucleus of boys who had been given elementary drill at Raffles School; their number was added to in 1906 by the inclusion of companies from St. Joseph's Institution and the Anglo-Chinese School. As the boys were mostly Eurasian and Chinese, it was hoped the Cadets would act as a feeder to the infantry. This, however, failed to be the case, and in the early part of 1918 the Cadets were withdrawn from the S.V.C., and school cadet companies unconnected with the Corps were formed in substitution.

In February 1909 the Eurasian Company of the S.V.I. was disbanded, the present Malay Company of Infantry being formed to take its place. The Eurasian Community, after the outbreak of war, however, more than once petitioned Government to be allowed again to take a place in the Volunteer Corps. The Government acceded to their petition, so that a new Eurasian Company of Infantry has now been enrolled. The members of the Company have been carefully selected, and good results are expected from it.

In 1914 the Medical Company, S.V.C., a development of a Bearer Section forming part of the S.V.A., was reconstructed, reorganised, and formed into the Singapore Field Ambulance Company, a very useful and important unit of the Corps.

So the Corps continued in varying degrees of activity and popularity until the outbreak of the Great War on

Major McCallum.

Sergt.-Maj. Skaw.

Adjutant Cochrane.



Sergt. Hilton.

Sergt. Makepeace.

Sergt. Morrison.
Sergt. Batty.

Sergt. F. J. Benjafield.

AN EARLY GROUP OF S.V.A. SERGEANTS.

the 4th August 1914, which naturally gave a great impetus to volunteering.

Immediately following the declaration of war, the Corps was by proclamation embodied for active service, and detachments of the S.V.A. and S.R.E. (V.) at once proceeded to take up mobilised duty in the forts, duties which were carried on throughout the War practically without a break.

As was the case at the outbreak of the South African War, the reduction of the regular garrison at once brought about the re-formation, from the British Community, of the Singapore Volunteer Rifles, closely followed by the formation of the Veterans' Company of that unit, these two companies now forming the strongest British section of the Corps.

The Rifles, very soon after their formation, together with the Maxim Company, took up certain mobilised duties in connection with local defence; the two Infantry Companies were almost continuously engaged from the commencement of war on mobilised guard duties; the Field Ambulance Company's officers replaced the R.A.M.C. officers of the garrison, and the men were occasionally mobilised for hospital duty.

As one of the results of the War, on the 15th February 1915 there occurred the mutiny of the battalion of Indian Infantry garrisoned here. Of this mutiny much has been written and said; suffice it to state here that the Singapore Volunteer Corps on that memorable occasion thoroughly proved its value as a most important factor in the suppression of the mutiny and in local defence.

The Corps then received its "baptism of fire," and, as is recorded on a bronze mural memorial tablet erected in St. Andrew's Cathedral, lost two officers and nine N.C.O.'s and men during the outbreak and the operations connected therewith. Weeks of strenuous work were carried out by all units in the operations which resulted in the defeat and rounding up of the mutineers.

One of the lessons learnt by the mutiny was the neces-

sity for all European residents being trained in the use of arms, and in order to ensure that all British residents here should be trained for local defence, the Reserve Force and Civil Guard Ordinance was passed, and became law on the 16th August 1915.

Under its provisions all male British subjects between the ages of eighteen and fifty-five who are not members of His Majesty's Army or Navy or of the Volunteer or Police Forces of the Colony are compelled to undergo military training, those between the ages of eighteen and forty being at any time liable by proclamation to be transferred into the Singapore Volunteer Corps, those above forty being enrolled as a Civil Guard. On the 26th April 1916, by proclamation, all Reservists between the ages of eighteen and forty were transferred to the Singapore Volunteer Corps, whose ranks were thereby very much augmented. It may now be said that all able-bodied British subjects in the Colony, as well as a large number of non-European British subjects, are trained men. After the entry of the United States into the War, the American subjects resident here, at their own request, were attached to the S.V.C. for military training.

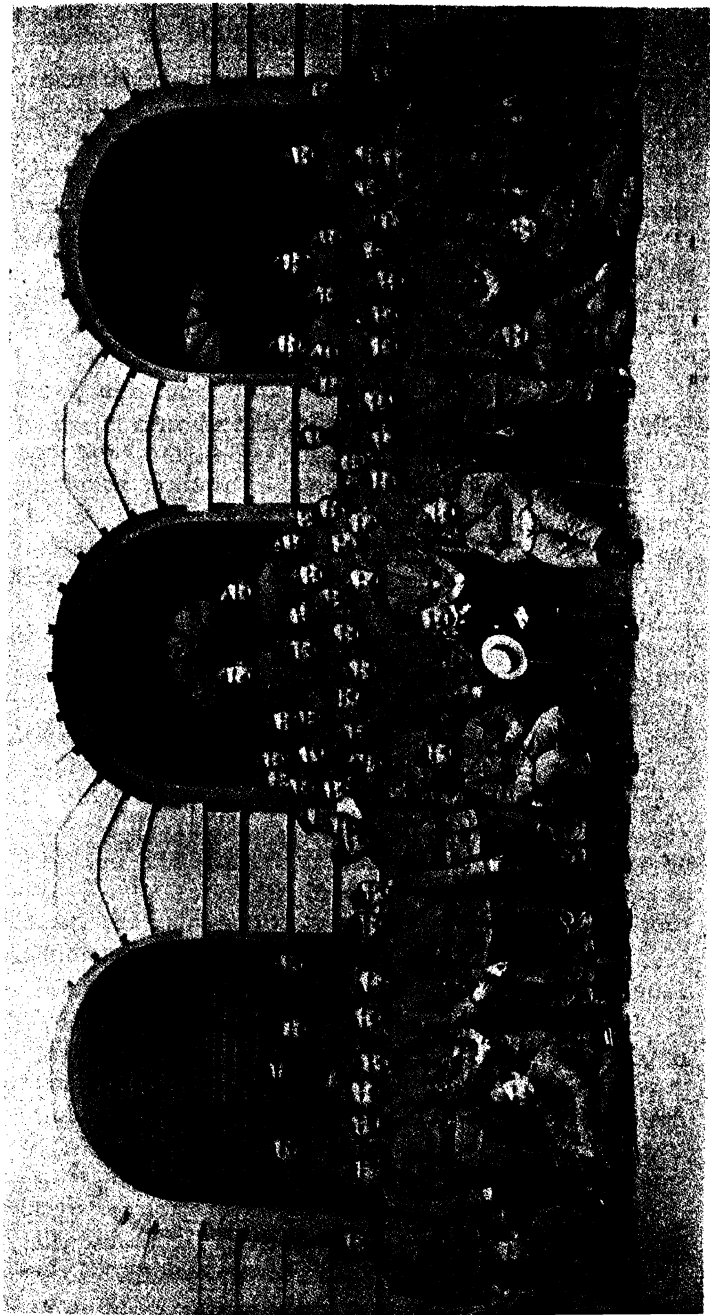
In passing it is worthy of note that the local Reserve Force and Civil Guard Ordinance was the first enactment passed in any British colony imposing compulsory local military service.

In 1919, another unit, viz. the Electric Light Section, S.V.C., was added to the Corps. It is composed of Malays, is enrolled for continuous mobilised duty, and lives in barracks.

Other units of the Corps are the Band, the Scouts, and attached to the Rifles are Motor Cyclist, Scouts, and Signalling Sections.

In common with other Colonial Volunteers, the members of the Singapore Volunteer Corps have not failed to rally to the Mother Country's call for help in the Great War.

Over one hundred officers and men enrolled themselves in the Imperial Armies, the bulk of them receiving



THE S.V.A., circ. 1895.

commissions, and every month thereafter men continued to join up.

Some have made the "supreme sacrifice," while promotions and distinctions have been won by others; but all have proved themselves loyal, worthy, and honoured sons of the Empire.

The altered conditions under which a large number of the members of the Corps have been enrolled, and the nature of the duties now being carried out, differ so materially from those of the original "Volunteer" enrolments and duties that the term "Volunteer" is no longer considered applicable to the Corps' designation, and Government has already decided to designate the combined Volunteers throughout the Settlements "The Straits Settlements Defence Force," the Singapore Volunteer Corps becoming the "Singapore Defence Corps."

Legislation is already in hand defining the obligations of the members; but although there is this change of name, the old patriotic spirit which animated the Singapore Volunteer Corps in the past will doubtless remain unabated in the Singapore Defence Corps, and the Corps will continue to live up to its proud motto :

IN ORIENTE PRIMUS

As the Singapore "Volunteer" Corps may now be said to exist no longer, it will perhaps be of interest to record the names and terms of office of the various Commandants of the Corps :—

Sir H. E. McCallum, G.C.M.G., 2nd March 1888—8th March 1897.

Major R. Dunman, 8th March 1897—10th March 1899.

Colonel A. Murray, V.D., 18th April 1899—1st March 1905.

Lt.-Col. E. G. Broadrick, 1st March 1905—31st December 1910.

Lt.-Col. G. A. Derrick, V.D., 11th March 1911; still holds the appointment.

EURASIAN VOLUNTEERS

By A. H. Carlos.

In the first Volunteer Corps which was formed in 1854 there were, considering the strength of that Corps, a large number of Eurasians. Many of the names of these men have, however, passed out of history; George Samuel Reutens, who was a member in 1870, is perhaps the only survivor of his Company. His brother Patrick Allan Reutens, Patrick Isaiah Woodford, Leicester, William Clarke, P. J. Seth, Jambu, Angus and Edwin Tessensohn, are names remembered of the Corps which was in existence in the late 'Seventies. The men in those days were drilled at the Police Bharu, then the headquarters of the European Police Force, next to the present Sailors' Home. Target practice took place at the Racecourse, and many a prize fell to the doyen of the Community, George Samuel Reutens. When in season snipe abounded round and about the Racecourse, and the practice of rifle-shooting was profitably intermixed with pleasure.

Through indifferent recruiting and the scant recognition of imperial needs the Eurasian began gradually to disappear from the ranks of the Volunteers, and in the latter part of the 'Eighties there remained hardly one member of the Community in the Corps. The continued influx of Europeans began to make itself felt in Singapore about that time, and the separation into social planes in the island made itself evident. The Eurasian is by temperament retiring and by training unable to make himself heard, and this tended for many years to keep him from participating in the defence of the Colony.

Individual members of the Community were, however, alive to the possibilities of having exclusive Eurasian Companies, and when G. W. P. Guest and Daniel C. Perreau moved in the matter, the S.V.I. was formed somewhere in the year 1894, and the best-remembered names of its members are N. B. Westerhout, J. B. Westerhout, A. Westerhout, Edgar Galistan, R. D. de

Silva, A. Long, H. S. Finck, and a few others. However, this Company was disbanded in the first decade of the present century. Why and how this happened need not be gone into, although, in passing, it may be remarked that the Corps was not wholly to blame. The want of *esprit de corps*, the absence of sympathy between officers and men, the absence of continuity and regularly trained officers, and a feeling of injustice (right or wrong) that the authorities did not appreciate their services were no doubt contributing causes.

When the Great War began, on the 3rd August 1914 Daniel C. Perreau wrote to the Colonial Secretary placing the services of the Eurasians at the disposal of the Government for local defence. Four days later Mr. M. S. H. McArthur wrote on behalf of the Government thanking the Community, the last sentence of this letter reading :

“ It is not, however, possible at present to say whether any fresh steps will have to be taken for local defence.”

On the 8th August Mr. Galistan addressed a similar appeal to Lieutenant-Colonel Derrick, with a similar result. On the 18th February 1915, when the mutiny was in full swing in the town, Mr. Perreau again approached the Government, and received a reply noting the contents of this letter and promising due consideration. Later on, in May 1915, Edwin Tessensohn also suggested to the Government the formation of a Eurasian Company of Volunteers. The result of this appeal was the same as the others. In June 1915, while the “ Reserve Force and Civil Guard Bill ” was under consideration, the *Singapore Free Press* strongly advocated the policy of allowing the domiciled community to participate in the defence of the country. Various letters appeared in the Press about this time on the subject, and it was in the latter part of June 1915 that Mr. Tessensohn received a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Owen, making an appointment to discuss the question of utilising the services of Eurasians. These gentlemen met, and certain proposals from

the General Officer Commanding were conveyed to Mr. Tessensohn. At a meeting held on the 4th July 1915, the seventy Eurasians that had met learnt that the Government asked them to serve as clerks, store-keepers, telephonists, signallers, engineers, etc. It is hardly surprising to learn that these proposals were rejected. When it is realised that for six to eight hours every day Eurasians do the self-same work for their living, there is little wonder that they refused to do similar work after office hours. There were among the Community some enthusiastic and earnest workers, and these, after due deliberation, and inspired by the fact that the manpower question was becoming acute, convened a meeting of the leading members of the Community and thrashed out the matter. The result was a mass meeting at St. Andrew's School Hall on the 7th March 1918, when the following resolution, proposed by Dr. Noel L. Clarke and seconded by H. R. S. Zehnder, was carried by an overwhelming majority : " That the Government (or H.E. the Governor) be again asked to consider the question of forming a Volunteer Corps of Eurasians."

The meeting marked a day unique in the history of the Eurasians of Singapore. Never before had the Community banded itself together for the cause of raising its status. There were over two hundred present, and the different classes, which had for nearly half a century kept each other at arm's length, dropped all the differences which had tended to keep them divided.

On the 9th April 1918 the Community was given what it had been asking for for over three and a half years ; one hundred men were enrolled, and on the 4th July 1918 the men were inspected by General Ridout and sworn in.

VOLUNTEER RECOLLECTIONS

By Walter Makepeace.

The soldier's first thought is of his weapon ; angry adjutants and sergeant-majors often suggest that it is the volunteer's last thought. Let this first sentence

disprove the soldier-man's "grouse." That master of all trades, W. H. Read, the first everything in Singapore, penned a note in 1857 that the Singapore Volunteers found their weapons heavy, "being more accustomed to handle the pen than the sword." It was the Enfield—Brown Bess. The Snider rifle was served out to the Volunteers in 1869, and the writer carried out his first class-firing with this delicate weapon in 1878, so he can claim to some knowledge of the varieties of "the Volunteer's first care." The Martini-Henry was the king of rifles till the 'Nineties, when the Lee-Metford came in, and in its various marks still neatly pierces the canvas target. By the way, Charles Fittock, who was an enthusiast when the iron target was used, patented one with a detached centre, so that every bull rang down the range to the limits of the 600 yards firing point. A few Sniders were turned out, with their big curved bayonets, to delight the special constables during the mutiny of 1915, when the size and weight of the cartridge led to a discussion as to whether the objective of the "specials" was not *the* Elephant!

It was proposed to establish a militia in 1872, as the reorganised police force was not considered strong enough, to be armed with the Snider rifle; but this was objected to "on the ground of Prussianism." That was the ostensible reason. While the Infantry have been seldom called upon to change their guns, but only their fire discipline and tactics (which have been described as different every week, and always a month behind the W.O. changes), the Singapore Volunteer Artillery has always been turned on to something new—old rather, since they got the weapons discarded by the Regulars. The first gun was the 7-inch muzzle-loader, with a swinging derrick that had to be dodged if one wanted to escape a broken head, and a jointed rammer that insisted on catching the trigger-finger. The old soda-water gun went off right enough when the lanyard was pulled, and the different operations of depressing, sponging (not forgetting to serve the vent),

putting in first cartridge, then shot, then wedge-wads, elevate and run up could be carried out by a good squad in two minutes for a round. Next, after a spell at the 8-inch Armstrong breech-loader, we were turned on to a field-gun, the nine-pounder, which, when fired from the sands at Tanjong Katong, turned completely over sometimes, and when limbered up to a narrower-tracked ammunition wagon, invariably did so on the slopes of Mount Faber, where field drills were carried out. The "team" consisted of two Deli-gharry ponies, real kickers and squealers, that didn't mind somersaulting. The best gun-team had two of the Darkes in it, because the ponies responded cheerfully to their language, and at a pinch either Fred or Billy could pick up the frightened beast and put it on its legs again.

The fort artillery work was often the 8-inch Armstrong, of which there were two at Tanjong Katong, the "wash-out" fort. One incident comes back to mind. There was a big teak semaphore in front of the battery, and on one rare occasion of practice, the target being a drifting barrel with a red flag in it, No. 1 gun followed the target till Sergeant St. Clair yelled out "Target obscured." Sir Charles Warren, the G.O.C., looked over the sights and agreed. Sir Charles Mitchell, the Governor, looked over the sights and disagreed. The two Charleses put ten dollars on their opinions, and the word was given "Fire No. 1." A prodigious splash out to sea on the right, and a semi-lunar gap in the stout teak post settled the question. Who paid for the post and the shot is not recorded. History passes a friendly hand over the mistakes of the militarily high in rank. Now, a couple of years afterwards, the R.G.A. were out at practice with those guns (and the S.V.A. have always congratulated themselves on being absent), and the chase of one was unaccountably blown off. They never found the muzzle tampion of the damaged gun, and quite a fuss was made of the incident.

Just before the 8-inch gun was used (1891) the Corps had been presented with four Maxim guns subscribed

for by the community. They have been in the Corps ever since, although converted from 450 to 303, and otherwise modified as to carriage. The Corps then had a spell at the 2·5 screw gun, then greatly in vogue as an immense advantage in mountain campaigning. Major McCallum (either for this or the 9-pr.) had a land range made at Bukit Panjang, on the Bukit Timah Road, and regular practice was carried out. Unfortunately the target was on such swampy ground that the shell would never burst on impact. Opportunity was taken to test the small arms men at one or two practices, and whitened chatties were put up on posts at unknown distances. Four hundred rounds from the best range marksmen resulted in two broken chatties, whereat the attendant tambies murmured *Hikmat* (magic), which set us wondering whether the native is so void of a sense of humour as generally suspected. After a spell at the old 9·2, the S.V.A. were eventually turned on to the 6-inch Q. F. guns, the most gentlemanly of the whole crowd, and, incidentally, the heaviest man-handled gun, which is perhaps why the Volunteers have it allotted to them. The new 9·2 guns were later tackled, at the same time as the 6-inch.

The camps have always been a feature of the S.V.C., cosy and soldier-like in language in the old days, when there were only gunners, strenuous and more soldier-like in language when all the units were in camp together. What used to be Boustead's rattan godown at Tanjong Katong, now next to the Swimming Club, was the usual site; but many cheery camps have been held under the coconut trees near the Grove, some very wet (as to weather) at Keppel Harbour, and others in recent years in the forts, where the gunners and engineers had a chance to work together with guns and searchlights—all very good times.

In 1895 there was a regular *Camp Gazette*, and copies which survive show that slang and humour are not the products of the present generation alone. The jokes recall many memories to those who heard them, and

know the writers. Nobody was above criticism. James Graham wrote quite decent poetry, and extemporised on known songs, which Major McCallum sang at the Smokers in the evening :

Beyond the new Fish Market, underneath Fort Palmer's frown,
Lies a piece of reclamation which is slowly settling down ;
Where the stones are sharp as bayonets and the smells are sweet
as hay,

And no one ever goes there but the gallant S.V.A.

Down in Teluk Ayer Bay,
Where they drills the S.V.A.,
Can't you hear the bullets pinging as the Maxims blaze away
Down in Teluk Ayer Bay,
Where the smells is new-mown 'ay,

And the sergeants swear most 'orrid on the firing practice lay.

For those who can never remember the words, and only a few tunes, an S.V.A. chorus was devised—when none other is known—a version of the Old Hundredth. It was a tradition that the Sergeant-Major should always sing a song, like the little Major (C. J. Davies), whether he could or not, and few who heard it will forget Sergeant-Major Grimmer's " When shall I send you the cradle ? "

Ever proud of the place of the artillery in the British Army, the gunners put on side, and treat with contumely the other branches of the Corps. And really, when the first Rifles unit was formed, while the Boer War was on, it was ridiculous to see a few elderly gentlemen standing on one leg, or marching round the Post Office to the " left, right " of the Drill Sergeant. Those who cheerfully dismounted the gun and limber, flung the fragments over a five-foot barricade of Sandy Morrison's soda-water cases, over themselves, and snapped the fragments together and opened fire, saw no outlet for their energy in ceremonial parades. When by chance these veterans meet, years afterwards, recall the happy young days and mourn that " volunteering is not what it was," they might remember what Willie Reid, of the Hongkong Bank, said : " Man, but you're forgettin' your chum Anno Domini."

Here is a camp song (1894) that in some way anticipates by twenty-one years what afterwards took place :

CAMP SONG II

A FRAGMENT

Oh ! when the row shall start in Singapore,
You will wish you was a member of the Corps,
And could go and have your fun,
Round a comfortable gun,
Instead of marching till your feet get sore,
" Rahnd the Town,"
Up and down,
Keeping civil order for the Crown,
While those they don't require
Can come and jadi tukang ayer,
And bring us ayer batu
From the Town.

THE MILITARY CONTRIBUTION

By Walter Makepeace.

Undoubtedly the greatest effort made by the Colony in its history was that resulting from the increased military contribution demanded by the Imperial Government. From the creation of the Colony it had been self-supporting as to its civil establishment, and in addition had paid £59,300 for the years 1868 to 1871, £51,595 in 1872-3, and £50,845 from 1874 to 1889. Early in 1890 the Secretary of State demanded, in addition to sums for barracks and military works, a contribution of £100,000 per annum. The grounds for the increase were : (1) that it was one of the terms of the constitution of the Colony that the Home Government should not be called upon to defray any part of the civil or military government of the new Colony, and (2) that the revenues of the Colony were in such a flourishing condition that they could bear without inconvenience the increased amount. In obedience to instructions, Sir Frederick Dickson moved in the Legislative Council that the revenue for 1890 be charged with the sum of £100,000. No official said a word in favour of the vote, except that it was done in pursuance of the Secretary of State's despatch. The motion was carried by the seven official votes to six, tradition having it that one official member registered his vote " under compulsion, aye."

Mr. Adamson and Mr. Shelford then moved a resolution protesting against the doubled demand, and declaring that in no case should the Colony be called upon to pay more than half the cost of the garrison. This resolution was accepted unanimously, the Governor holding that its acceptance did not invalidate the vote given by himself and his official colleagues, by direction of the Secretary of State. The Straits Settlements Association in Singapore and in London held meetings of protest. The Official Members of Council, with two exceptions, addressed minutes pointing out the injustice of the increased demands. In 1891, the Imperial Government having refused to diminish their demands, two similar votes were carried by the official majority. Mr. Thomas Scott, on behalf of the Straits Settlements Association, sent in a powerful memorandum. In June 1891 Mr. de Lisle moved the House of Commons in committee to reduce the vote of the Colonial Office by £300, and called attention to the grievances of the Colony ; but the motion was lost, though Mr. Goschen said, in order to meet the view of Sir Thomas Sutherland, that if the revenues of the Colony should decrease, the Government would feel inclined to review the situation. In 1892 the condition of the Colony seemed to warrant an application on this ground, but the original home demand was insisted on. The following year a memorandum was drawn up by Mr. Walter Napier, expounding the whole matter on behalf of the Straits Settlements Association, it being claimed (1) that the contribution exacted was of excessive amount and obtained in a mode opposed to the principles which should regulate the relations between the Mother Country and one of her Colonies, and (2) that the present financial state of the Colony was such that the payment would not be continued without grave consequences to its future prosperity. 1894 saw the final crisis of the protracted dispute. In London and Singapore the agitation continued. A question was asked in the House and evaded by Mr. Buxton. On the 26th July a deputation waited on Sir Charles

Mitchell and put the whole case before him, asking him to telegraph home. In August questions were again asked in the House of Commons, and at the end of five years the contribution was reduced to £80,000 for 1894, £90,000 for 1895; for the next three years £100,000—£120,000 with a reiterated claim that it was the duty of the Colony to bear the whole cost of the garrison, hinting that in 1899 it might have to be £144,000 or £153,000 according to two different estimates.

Public opinion at the end of the year was turning in favour of the resignation of the Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council, and of all who held honorary civil office under Government or on Government nomination, as a protest. This was actually carried out next year, and a large public meeting in the Town Hall unanimously supported and approved of these resignations of the Unofficial Members of the Council (not all the Penang members), the whole of the Justices of the Peace, and the members of the Chinese Advisory Board. Offers to other members of the public of appointment to replace those resigned were refused, by Mr. Bogaardt among others. Under protest, the enhanced payment was made till 1895. In February of that year, Mr. William Adamson, on behalf of the Colony, wrote a memorandum in which he quotes Mr. Shelford: "All we ask for is simple justice. We are quite willing to pay for the cost of our own trade; we are willing, in conjunction with other Colonies, to pay a just apportionment of our Imperial obligations; but we protest as a gross injustice against being called upon to pay for the protection of what is practically wholly and entirely the British commerce and trade which passes through these waters to other parts"; and he pointed out that the Straits paid £100,000 for a garrison of 1,558; Hongkong £40,000 for 2,966; Ceylon £81,750 for 1,659; Mauritius £18,750 for 875; South Africa and Natal £4,000 for 3,331; West Africa nil for 1,163; Jamaica and the West Indies nil for 4,288 men.

The matter was subsequently settled on a basis of

percentage of revenue, Lord Ripon accepting the Colony's terms, viz. 17½ per cent. The Defence Contribution Bill was read on the 7th May 1896. The question subsequently was raised as to the cost of barracks, etc., and the method of computing the assessable revenue, and finally 20 per cent. was adopted.

EARLY VOLUNTEERING AND SHOOTING

By Walter Makepeace

The invaluable Buckley gives the following account of the start of volunteering in Singapore, and the date justifies the old motto *Primus in Indis*. He writes :

“ On the evening of Saturday, 14th February 1857, the Singapore Rifle Volunteer Corps was presented with a set of colours, which had been prepared for it by Mrs. Butterworth, the widow of the late Governor, under whom the Corps was embodied, and who continued its Colonel up to his death. Governor Blundell presented the colours to Mr. W. H. Read, the Senior Lieutenant, and addressed the Corps. Mr. Read replied, and the following is the final passage of his reported speech : ‘ We seek not the glory of the battlefield, nor to embroider the names of victories on these colours. Ours are less martial, more peaceful aims. Our object is to assist in protecting the lives and property of the public, and to show the evil-disposed how readily Europeans will come forward in the maintenance of order and tranquillity. Should we ever be called upon to act, we shall be found prepared to do our duty, contented with the approbation of the Government and the applause of our fellow-citizens.’ ”

The story is carried on by an article in the *Straits Chinese Magazine* by Mr. Charles Phillips, who had been asked by Mr. Song Ong Siang to write a short account of the early days, and it was found after Mr. Phillips's death among his papers. His connection with the Volunteers began in April 1866, the Corps consisting, at the May birthday parade, of Captain Commandant H. E. Wilsone (Hamilton, Gray and Co.) ; Lieutenant von der Heyde (a

partner of Behn, Meyer and Co.); Ensign R. Duff (William Macdonald and Co.); Hon. Surgeon Dr. Little, and forty-seven N.C.O.'s and men. They did well at drill this year, and were complimented by Major-General Sir Orfeur Cavenagh. In 1868 a drum-and-fife band, under the Drum-Major of the Madras Native Infantry, encouraged the men, but when the regiment left Singapore the band failed for want of an instructor. This year also a half-battery of artillery was added to the Corps, and carried on for some years, but for want of interest created by firing practice it gradually declined, and the guns and horse equipment were handed over to the Perak Government. Field exercises with hired ponies, and more often, when the ponies were not available, man-draught by the gunners, may have been too strenuous. "Europeans were few in those days, and there was absolutely nothing to encourage them in volunteering but hard work." When the Duke of Edinburgh visited Singapore (1869), the Corps provided a mounted escort and a guard of honour of sixty-two men. The mounted escort was much admired and praised, and the members of it were: Messrs. R. Dunman, McPherson, J. C. Ker, R. W. Maxwell, G. A. Maclaverty, Bligh, Rae, C. E. Velge, O'Laughlin, and C. Phillips—most of whose names occur elsewhere in this history.

This year saw the change from the old smooth-bore to the short Snider carbine, chosen by Colonel McPherson, and it proved a fairly good weapon from 100 to 300 yards. The stimulus to rifle-shooting created a new interest, and raised the strength of the Corps to over one hundred men; but as the Racecourse range was only 400 yards long, it was later abandoned (in 1878), and the old artillery range at Balestier taken over. The start of rifle-shooting dates from the Snider, and competitive shooting began in earnest, prizes for shooting being given by Mr. W. H. Read (who was the first Volunteer enrolled), then Captain Commandant, Lieutenant Duff, Sergeant (R.) Dunman, and Sergeant Buckley. The last-named held his commission till 1878, when he retired to allow Major Grey

to reform the Corps, which by this time had fallen off sadly in numbers. The Rifle Association was formed in 1873; but in the two previous years matches had been fired against the Gordon Highlanders and the 80th (Staffordshire Volunteers), but the short Snider was too great a handicap against the military long weapon. Few civilians joined, as they were not able to get rifles useful for competition; but the disadvantage notwithstanding, Colonel Cardew complimented them in 1887, remarking on the value of good shooting. Through the 'Seventies there were many skilled shots, R. Dunman and Charles Phillips (though with characteristic modesty he himself does not mention it) being among the best. The opening of a military range at Tanglin took away a great element of interest in the Association, which nevertheless recovered in the late 'Eighties, when the Martini-Henry came in, and from 1887 W. G. St. Clair played a large part in the encouragement of this sport, so essential to soldiers and volunteers.

The first challenge for a shooting match outside the Colony was sent to Shanghai in January 1872, and "considering the prevalent weather of Singapore the risk (on the date fixed) is rather one-sided." The matches were established on a regular basis in 1889, though there was no match in 1890, and Penang came into the triangle of Shanghai, Hongkong, and Singapore on five occasions; but the Northern Settlement was lowest of all, except on one occasion, as might have been expected, considering the small choice compared with the larger Settlements. Up to 1913 Hongkong had won 10, Singapore 9, and Shanghai 5; the 1904 win for Singapore was made in a tie of 919 with Hongkong by scoring highest at the longest range.

There have also been odd matches, Singapore Volunteers against Ceylon and Rangoon. The annual meetings of the Rifle Association have for many years been a great source of encouragement to shooting, and the keen competition has brought to the front many excellent shots, such as C. M. Phillips (son of Charles Phillips),

R. W. Chater, and M. K. Watt, who have been tempted to try their luck and skill at Bisley, against the representatives of continents and gold medallists, under different climatic conditions to those under which they usually shoot.

In individual efforts, F. M. Elliot gained tenth place in the King's Hundred in 1905, and Chater thirty-fourth in 1908, while Phillips won the City of London Cup in 1910. In 1910 the local Volunteer Corps very sportingly sent a team of eight men (not its best, but only such as were able to get leave) to compete for the Empire Shield and the Kolapore Cup. The totals in the former were : Great Britain, 2,177 ; Canada, 2,105 ; Australia, 2,045 ; India, 1,973 ; Singapore, 1,972. "The Orientals failed at the longest range." Individual scores for Singapore were : Major Elliot, 259 ; Sergeant Galistan, 257 ; Lieutenant Cuthbert, 256 ; Captain Phillips, 253 ; Sergeant Tan Cheow Kim, 248 ; Sergeant Long, 239 ; Sergeant Walker, 232 ; Lieutenant Kemp, 228. In the Kolapore Cup the figures were : Great Britain, 798 ; Canada, 796 ; Australia, 777 ; Guernsey, 770 ; Malay States Guides, 763 ; South Africa, 756 ; India, 745 ; Singapore, 742. For Singapore Tan Cheow Kim, the first Chinaman to shoot at Bisley, headed the list with an excellent 99.

SINGAPORE AND THE GREAT WAR

By W. Bartley, of the Straits Settlements Civil Service

The war history of Singapore has been singularly uneventful. With the exception of the mutiny of the 5th Light Infantry, which will be dealt with later, there have been no spectacular occurrences ; but in spite of this lack of the picturesque there has been much of interest. The position of Singapore as a distributing and collecting station for the Netherlands East Indies, Siam, the Philippines, and to a certain extent for the Treaty Ports of China, in all of which there were at one time large enemy interests, gave full scope for testing the efficacy of the Trading with the Enemy Regulations, while her total

dependence on sea-borne trade and supplies, not merely for her prosperity, but for the very means of existence, rendered her peculiarly liable to all the effects which arose from the shortage of shipping. The restrictions on export, which became so general that all countries suffered from them, bore at first with peculiar hardship on Singapore, owing to the fact that the main exports were of great military value, and were controlled from the very outbreak of hostilities, though the hardship of this was in the later stages perhaps more than counter-balanced by the fact that they were of such value that shipping had to be provided to deal with them.

The war history of Singapore is, in fact, not the history of a place, but the history of a system of legislation restricting commerce, and its interest lies in the immediate effects of this action and the lessons which can be deduced from them with regard to trade and possible trade restrictions after the War.

Before dealing with this, however, it is desirable to give a short sketch of the actual history of Singapore, which, like all other parts of the Empire, was completely surprised by the outbreak of war. Even on the 3rd August, after news of the declaration of war on Russia arrived, it was confidently believed that the British Empire would not be involved. On the 4th August, however, with the news of the invasion of Belgium, it was realised that the worst was to be feared. The German subjects of military age left for Tsingtau, examination of ships in the harbour commenced, and there was a frantic rush for supplies of rice and milk. Fortunately the supplies of rice were ample to stand any strain, and the milk difficulty was efficiently met by a scheme of retail distribution inaugurated by the Nestlé and Anglo-Swiss Milk Co. in conjunction with Government, which at once broke the famine prices to which milk had been rushed by an unreasoning panic.

Formal notice of the declaration of war between Great Britain and Germany quickly followed, the local forces were placed under the Army Act and mobilised, the

German ships in harbour seized, and the imports and exports of rice, dried fish, and flour strictly regulated to ensure food supplies. All export business stopped, and for the first (but not the last) time in the history of Singapore the tin market was suspended, while all credit ceased. On the 10th August all the German inhabitants signed internment papers, and the crews of the German ships *Chowtai*, *Ranee*, and *Quarta* were put on shore, while all immigration of Chinese and Indian labourers was prohibited.

The same day saw a beginning of a return to the normal as local shipping restarted running. The stoppage of the tin market threatened to have a very serious effect; but this was met by a Government undertaking to buy all tin at a fixed price, and this, together with immediate action for the repatriation of surplus labour, calmed the situation. Overseas shipping restarted, and although British ships were advised to avoid the trade routes, conditions became almost normal, except that the Chinese merchants for a time acted under the belief that a moratorium was established.

On the 21st September, however, the German cruiser *Emden* appeared in the Bay of Bengal, and started her career in local history by the capture of the *Indus*, *Lovat*, *Killin*, *Diplomat*, and *Trabboch*, and all trade routes from Singapore westward were closed.

On the 26th September came the news of the shelling of Madras, while on the 1st October arrived the second list of the *Emden's* victims, the *Tymeric*, *King Lud*, *Ribera*, *Foyle*, *Buresk*, and *Gryfervale*. Her ground of action was, however, now fairly defined, and on the 15th October the British cruiser *Yarmouth* sank the *Markomania*, one of her tenders, and recaptured the Greek collier *Pontoporos* with a prize crew on board, and brought her to Singapore. Hopes of the *Emden's* capture were rife, when on the 23rd October came her third and last list of mercantile victims, the *Chilkana*, *Troilus*, *Benmohr*, *Clan Grant*, *Benzevell*, *Exfort*, and *Egbert*, off the Minicoys. On the 28th October came the daring

raid on Penang, which resulted in the sinking of the Russian cruiser *Zemchug* and the French torpedo-boat *Mousquet*. This was the last exploit of the *Emden*, for on the 9th November, while raiding the Cable Station on the Cocos Islands, she was intercepted by H.M. Australian ship *Sydney*, and after a running fight went on shore in flames.

During her time of activity, however, it became evident that the local Volunteer Forces were not sufficient for the work of manning the forts and miscellaneous garrison duty, and a movement was set on foot which culminated in a meeting on the 23rd October, at which the formation of the Singapore Volunteer Rifles was decided upon. On the 28th October voluntary enlistment for Kitchener's Armies started locally; on the 1st November it was decided to form a Veterans' Company of the Singapore Volunteer Corps, and enrolment commenced on the 24th November. The first Malayan contingent for the New Armies sailed on the 11th November, and on the 23rd November the granting of commissions locally for the Home Armies was announced. With the destruction of the German Fleet under Admiral von Spee at the Falklands on the 9th December, the last possible menace to Singapore and to local shipping was removed for the time, and an uneventful period succeeded until the dramatic outbreak of the 5th Light Infantry on the 15th February 1915.

Before dealing with this, however, it is necessary to explain the military position in Singapore. Prior to the War the garrison, excluding the forts, consisted of two regular regiments, one British and one Indian. The British Regiment, the first battalion of the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry, had left for the Front at the end of 1914, and the garrison duties were performed by the native regiment, the 5th Light Infantry, and the Singapore Volunteer Corps. The 5th Light Infantry was an Indian regiment of old standing, raised in 1803 at Cawnpore by Lieutenant F. M. Johnson, and is credited with having been one of the few native regiments which

remained loyal during the Indian Mutiny. The battalion in Singapore was recruited chiefly in the Ranga district. This regiment was under orders to proceed to Hongkong by the troopship *Nore* on the 16th February, and to assist in the garrison duties 200 men of the Johore Forces had been sent to Singapore on the 14th February and stationed in the Tanglin Barracks. The forces in Singapore then consisted of some Royal Garrison Artillery and Royal Engineers, a small detachment of the 36th Sikhs, the Singapore Volunteer Corps, a detachment of the Malay States Guides, and a detachment of the Malay States Volunteer Rifles, who were in a training camp at Normanton. The 5th Light Infantry had been inspected prior to their departure, all preparations had been made, and the ammunition had been collected at the Quarter Guard prior to embarkation. So far as the public knew, there was no reason to expect any trouble, and it is difficult to believe that the Military Authorities were any better informed, as the French cruiser *Montcalm* was in harbour, and part, at least, of her crew in Tanglin Barracks until about forty-eight hours before the outbreak, and could presumably have been detained until the 5th Light Infantry had sailed.

Such was the position when at about 3 p.m. on the 15th February the Mutiny broke out with startling suddenness. A shot was fired at the Quarter Guard at Normanton, the Guard Room was burst open, and all the ammunition was distributed. The first victim was Captain Maclean, R.G.A., attached to the Malay States Guides, who was shot in his quarters. Captain Boyce, of the 5th Light Infantry, who attempted to quell the disturbance, was shot at the same time; but the other officers of the 5th Light Infantry who were on the spot made their way to the camp of the Malay States Volunteer Rifles, who, under Captain Sydney Smith, threw themselves into the bungalow of Colonel Martin, Officer Commanding the 5th Light Infantry, and with him put the house into a state of defence. This party, consisting of Colonel Martin, Major Cotton, Captain Hall,

and Captain Ball, of the 5th Light Infantry, together with Captain Sydney Smith and eighty-two men of the Malay States Volunteer Rifles, was promptly besieged in the bungalow and the telephone wires cut, so that no reliable information could reach headquarters.

The remainder of the mutineers appear to have divided themselves into two main bodies, one of which advanced towards town by the Pasir Panjang Road, while the other went across country to Tanglin Barracks. The former party met and shot Mr. C. V. Dyson, District Judge, Singapore, Mr. Marshall, of the China Mutual Insurance Co., and Mr. and Mrs. B. M. Woolcombe, of the Eastern Extension Telegraph Co. Stragglers from this body, or a part of it which proceeded towards Pasir Panjang instead of towards town, also shot Messrs. McGilvray, Butterworth, and Dunn in the bungalow of Mr. McGilvray at Pasir Panjang, and also Lieutenant Elliott, of the 5th Light Infantry, whose body was found near the junction of Alexandra and Pasir Panjang Roads. Messrs. Edwards, of Guthrie and Co., Collins, of the *Straits Bulletin*, and Evans, of the Borneo Co., together with Private Leigh, of the M.S.V.R., were also shot in Alexandra Road. This completed the tale of murders committed by the first detachment, which was prevented from penetrating into town by the timely landing of the crew of H.M.S. *Cadmus*, which was fortunately lying in port, and to which early news of the mutiny was communicated.

The second main division reached Tanglin at about 4 p.m., and caught the forces there completely unprepared. These forces consisted of a section of the S.V.R. under Second-Lieutenant Love Montgomerie, which formed the guard at the main entrance to the German prisoners' camp, and a company of Johore Forces, which held the other posts. Why no warning had been conveyed to them has never been explained, but the results were disastrous. Captain Gerrard, of the M.S.V.R., Captains Cullimore and Abdul Jaffar, of the Johore Forces, Second-Lieutenant Love Montgomerie, of the S.V.R., Sergeant

Sexton, A.S.C., Sergeant Beagley, R.G.A., Corporal Harper, S.V.R., together with Privates Drysdale, Holt, and Cameron, S.V.R., and Private Jacob bin Salleh, of the Johore Military Forces, who were on duty there, and Corporal Lawson, of the S.V.R., who was present, though not on duty, were killed, while Privates James Robertson and Wodehouse were wounded and left as dead. The prisoners of war camp was thrown open, and the mutineers fraternised with the inmates. Nothing resulted from this, however, except the escape of seventeen prisoners, of whom six were recaptured almost immediately. This body of mutineers withdrew after they had thrown open the prisoners-of-war camp, and their later movements are uncertain.

On the same afternoon a couple of stragglers penetrated into town by Sepoy Lines and shot Captain Izard, R.G.A., and Major Galway, R.G.A., in Outram Road, also firing on Inspector Meredith, S.S.P., who escaped, although his horse was killed. They then proceeded along New Bridge Road, where they shot and killed Messrs. Wald and Smith, of the Eastern Extension Telegraph Co., Dr. Whittle, of the Government Medical Service, and Warder Clarke, of the Singapore gaol, wounding in addition Mr. Flett, of the Eastern Extension Telegraph Co., and Mrs. Whittle. They penetrated as far as the Central Police Station, where they fired on the Sikh guard and then disappeared. This covers all the known actions of the mutineers until dusk on the 15th February.

On the other side, preparations for defence were organised rapidly. On the first news of the mutiny coming to hand the Volunteer Guard on King's Dock moved out, and covered the road at Keppel Harbour, where they were quickly relieved by a landing party from H.M.S. *Cadmus*, which pushed out towards Pasir Panjang. The Sikh police were concentrated at the Central Police Station and the S.V.C. were mobilised at the Drill Hall. Parties were organised to bring in the women and children from the suburbs, and accom-

modation was provided for them on the steamer *Ipoh*. Martial law was proclaimed, and strong pickets sent out to Tanglin Crossroads and the end of Cluny Road. The bulk of the R.G.A. were brought from the forts to the P. and O. Wharf, which was made headquarters, and Lieutenant-Colonel Brownlow, R.G.A., with a force composed of the *Cadmus* landing party and some R.G.A., proceeded to the junction of Pasir Panjang and Alexandra Roads, with a view of relieving Colonel Martin and the M.S.V.R. This force was strengthened during the night of the 15th by details from the S.V.C. and some armed civilians, and before dawn on the 16th started to advance up Alexandra Road against the barracks. The composite force then consisted of the *Cadmus* landing party, eighty strong, twenty-one Royal Garrison Artillery, fifty Volunteers, principally members of the recently formed S.V.R., and twenty-five armed civilians.

The *Cadmus* landing party, which formed the firing line, came into touch with the mutineers at about 5.30 a.m., and the S.V.C. advanced to support them and occupied the barracks. Heavy firing on the left flank held up the attack for a short time, but the armed civilians, under Captain Brown, S.V.I., were thrown into some of the barrack buildings to mask the mutineers' fire, while the *Cadmus* party and the S.V.C. moved to the right and attacked from higher ground. The mutineers broke, and the bungalow of Colonel Martin was reached. The combined forces, which were not considered strong enough to hold the position, retired back along Alexandra and Pasir Panjang Roads to Keppel Harbour, sweeping the Golf Links on the way. The total losses in this operation were one killed, Stoker Anscombe, of H.M.S. *Cadmus*, and six wounded. The losses of the mutineers were never stated, but thirty to forty prisoners were taken. On the same morning, about dawn, an attack was made on the Orchard Road Police Station, which was garrisoned by police and armed civilians, but the mutineers were beaten off, leaving two dead behind them.

The 16th was a day of organisation. About 200

European special constables were sworn in, and a force of 190 Japanese, raised by the Japanese Consul, were supplied with arms by the Military Authorities. All motors were requisitioned for transport purposes, and two armoured cars hastily constructed out of motor lorries. On the afternoon of the 16th eighty or ninety of the mutineers surrendered to the forces at Keppel Harbour. Although it was hardly realised at the time, Singapore was already safe, for there was no further fighting, though lively sniping occurred for some days. The removal of the women and children to ships in harbour continued, the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company's cable-ship *Recorder*, the s.s. *Nile*, and the s.s. *Penang* being placed at the disposal of the Military Authorities. By the evening of the 16th a complete line of posts had been established from the P. and O. Wharf to Cluny Road, cutting off the mutineers from town, and forces with motor transport were ready to move to any threatened point. There were no further European deaths, the last being Lieutenant Legge, Medical Co., S.V.C., and Gunner Barry, R.G.A., who were killed on the 16th February.

As a result of prompt action taken by the authorities, assistance commenced to arrive. On the 17th the French cruiser *Montcalm* returned, and landed 190 men and two machine-guns, on the 18th the Russian cruiser *Orel* landed forty men, on the 20th the Japanese cruiser *Tsushima* supplied a landing party of seventy-five men, and on the 21st the 4th (T.) Battalion of the King's Own Shropshire Light Infantry arrived from Rangoon by the s.s. *Edvana*. By that time, however, out of a total of 815 men in the mutinous regiment, 615 were in custody, and fifty-two killed, wounded, or drowned, and nothing remained to be done except to round up stragglers. This was a matter of some difficulty, owing to the nature of the country, and took over a month. A court-martial composed of Lieutenant-Colonel Brownlow, R.G.A., Major Edge, 4th K.S.L.I., and Captain Ball, 5th L.I., was established, which passed sentence of death on forty-

one of the mutineers and various lesser sentences on 125 others. The executions took place outside the Singapore gaol, and were witnessed by a huge concourse, who appeared to have little sympathy with the condemned. A military funeral at Bidadari marked the close of an episode, the danger of which is now almost forgotten, and tablets in the Cathedral and the Victoria Memorial Hall, together with a sad array of graves at Bidadari, are the only remaining marks of Singapore's trial. To the inexperienced the most remarkable feature of the mutiny was the way in which a trained Indian regiment broke before the attack of a half-trained force, and the greatest credit is due to the Military Authorities for what appeared to be the rash way in which they took the offensive with insufficient and raw troops. A Commission under Brigadier-General Hoghton was appointed to enquire into the causes of the mutiny, but its findings were never disclosed, and the causes of the trouble are not known. The trial of a prominent Indian merchant, Kassim Mansoor, and his condemnation for high treason, apparently was not connected with the 5th Light Infantry.

Immediately after the mutiny Singapore fell back into its old quietude, and there was nothing further to mark the progress of the War until the spring of 1917, when, with the start of the German campaign of unrestricted submarining, the lack of shipping became noticeable, while the increasing stringency of the export restrictions in Europe forced her to seek new sources of supplies, which were found in Japan, the United States of America, and Australia. The shipping difficulty to the United Kingdom was met by an Imperial arrangement, which placed a fixed amount of tonnage at reduced rates at the disposal of Singapore for commodities which were of vital importance to the United Kingdom, and was a gold mine to those exporters who were fortunate enough to secure space in the controlled ships, as they annexed the extra profits represented by the difference between the controlled and the uncontrolled rates,

and with the exception of the copra industry, local interests did not suffer heavily. The restrictions on import into the United Kingdom, however, ruined for the time a most thriving local industry, the tinning of pineapples. This industry, which had an out-turn of about four million dollars per annum, and was completely in Chinese hands, ceased to exist, and practically all the factories were closed down; but as European capital was not involved, the matter attracted little attention. In March 1918 the Dutch ships in harbour were seized, but all except the *Rochussen*, *Van Heemskirk*, *S. Jacob*, *Van Overstraaten*, *Van Waerwijck*, and *Goentoer* were quickly released. Fearing a recurrence of similar action, however, the Dutch ships boycotted Singapore, and the K.P.M. office was closed; but this was a very temporary state of affairs, and trade was soon resumed.

As the interest of Singapore in the War was almost completely financial, it is fitting that the last three items of interest should be purely monetary. The first of these was the requisitioning of all local British tonnage, which took effect from the 1st May 1918. The other two were connected with the two main industries, tin and rubber. On the 8th May 1918 the Government of the U.S.A. announced that the importation of rubber for the three months of May, June, and July would be restricted to 25,000 tons, and the same limit was set for the following three months. It was also arranged that preference should be given to Central and South America, in order to conserve shipping space.

In 1918 the imports of rubber to the U.S.A. had been 177,000 tons, so that the proposed reduction was very drastic. It does not appear to have been definitely discovered whether these limits were really enforced, but the effect of the announcement on the Singapore rubber market was disastrous, and prices at the auctions fell below the cost of production of the majority of estates, at one time touching thirty-nine cents a pound. A Committee was appointed on the 16th August, and on the 2nd September changed to a Commission, to enquire

whether Government should give protection or assistance to the rubber industry, and if so, what form such Government action should take. This Commission presented a report, dated the 2nd October, recommending a drastic compulsory reduction in output, and either the formation of an Imperial Monopoly in rubber under a Rubber Control Board, which would buy at one shilling per pound for first-grade rubber, or failing this, that Government should notify its willingness to buy rubber of a specified grade at a specified price. They recommended eighty cents per pound as the price of first-grade rubber for this purpose. The news of the Armistice on the 11th November, happily, saved the situation.

Tin, however, was a more interesting question. The demand for tin caused by war requirements had steadily forced up the price, until in the early part of July 1918 it stood at \$160 per picul in Singapore, and at an even higher figure in Batavia. In theory this should have resulted in larger supplies of ore ; but the reverse proved to be the case, and there appeared to be every prospect of still higher prices.

On the 12th July the buying of tin was prohibited except under licence ; but this apparently had no effect, either on supply or price, which rose to \$185 per picul, but fell back again to \$175. At this point a single buyer alone was authorised, and the price fell steadily from \$175 per picul on the 14th August to \$143.10 per picul on the day upon which the Armistice took place. The steady fall had the peculiar effect of bringing extra supplies on the market, miners presumably using every effort to accelerate output before the price went still lower.

This really finishes the war history of Singapore. But before turning to the history of legislation, there are two matters which deserve mention. These are the War Charities and the Committee of Food Control. The charities are, of course, inextricably mixed up with those of the whole Malay Peninsula, the collections for which on the 31st September 1918 amounted to \$5,171,174.39.

Of this amount \$2,581,958.09 was collected by funds organised in Singapore, although the money was not all collected in Singapore itself.

The Committee of Food Control was appointed under the Imperial Order in Council of the 26th October 1896, and came into existence on the 31st May 1917. Its activities, so far as the public are aware, were confined to making orders as to the price of milk, fish, and a few other minor articles. Whether they were in any way responsible for the fact that during eighteen months of war, in spite of a shortage of shipping and embargoes on the export of almost all foodstuffs from the countries of origin, Singapore never suffered from any lack of essential foods is unknown, so that it is perhaps unsafe to criticise them too severely.

We now turn to the less spectacular, but not less interesting aspect of the subject—War Legislation and its effects. The War Legislation, with the exception of a few Ordinances for special purposes, may be divided into four main heads: military service and training, controlling and winding up enemy interests locally, restrictions on trading with the enemy, and restrictions on import and export.

The miscellaneous legislation is not of great interest. It consisted of the Naval and Military News (Emergency) Ordinance, 1915, prohibiting publication of news of movements of ships, troops, and kindred matters; the Seditious Publications (Prohibition) Ordinance, 1915, prohibiting publications dangerous to the public peace and stopping the importation of dangerous literature; the War Loan Ordinance, 1916, allowing the raising of money to be lent to the Imperial Government for war purposes; the Registration of Aliens Ordinance, 1917, to keep control over the movements of aliens in the Colony; the War Tax Ordinance, establishing a tax on incomes to provide a contribution to the Imperial Government for war purposes; and the Increase of Rent (War Restriction) Ordinance, 1917, to prevent increase of rent of smaller dwelling-houses.

The legislation dealing with military training is more interesting. The local forces in the Colony at the outbreak of war were governed by the Volunteer Ordinance, 1888. It was found that this law was not sufficient for dealing with large bodies of mobilised Volunteers, and on the 9th October 1914 the Volunteer (Amendment) Ordinance, 1914, was passed, putting the Volunteers for disciplinary purposes on the same footing as the Regular and Territorial Forces. On the 16th August 1915, when it was realised as a result of the mutiny that a local force of sufficient strength to deal with internal troubles was not merely desirable but necessary, in view of the fact that the Regular Forces might be still further depleted, the Reserve Force and Civil Guard Ordinance was passed. This Ordinance provided for the registration of all British subjects of pure European descent between the ages of 18 and 45 who were not already Volunteers. All such persons between the ages of 18 and 40 were made subject to compulsory military training, with the option of entering the Volunteer Reserve, while all between 40 and 55 were subject to semi-military and semi-police training in the Civil Guard. In December 1915 the Volunteer Amendment Ordinance, 1915, was passed, but it was merely to make it clear that the Volunteer Forces were subject to certain disciplinary arrangements, whether there were Regular Forces in the Colony or not. On the 14th April 1916 the Reserve Force and Civil Guard Amendment Ordinance was passed to merge all members of the Reserve Force, and all those undergoing military training, into the Volunteer Forces, and to give the General Officer Commanding the powers to draft such men into any unit which he deemed fit. This measure was necessary, because the Volunteers alone were subject to mobilisation, which in consequence pressed very heavily on their small numbers, and also to bring the Volunteer Forces to full strength. The Volunteer Amendment Ordinance, 1916, of the 18th May, gave a statutory footing to the Cadet Corps by attaching them to the

Volunteer Corps. On the 14th December 1917 the Volunteer Amendment Ordinance, 1917, was passed to provide for compulsory parades under penalty, and to empower the Commanding Officer to impose certain penalties for disobedience and neglect of duty, and a later amendment provided for notices of such compulsory parades and a penalty for not attending the prescribed number of non-compulsory parades.

The next Ordinance—the Registration and Medical Examination Ordinance of the 8th December 1917—marked the initial step towards compulsory foreign service, registration, and medical examination of all British subjects of pure European descent between the ages of 18 and 41, and their classification for active service, but was not coupled with any compulsory service.

Boards were established to certify whether a man was indispensable or not; but even if the Tribunal declared that a man could be spared, he was not subject to compulsory service, nor could he terminate a contract for the purpose of offering himself to the Military Authorities without the consent of his employer. It was, in fact, the dying effort of the voluntary system, and was succeeded by the Military Service Ordinance, 1918, an Ordinance which came too late to be of much practical benefit, but which was a courageous attempt to release men for service in the field.

This Ordinance was passed on the 20th July 1918. It provided for re-examination of all Europeans between the ages of 18 and 41, and that all Class A men should be liable for compulsory military service abroad unless they applied to and were exempted by a tribunal on the ground of imperial interests or special hardship. This closed the tale of volunteer and kindred legislation, and left Singapore with a compulsory volunteer force under the same discipline as the regular army and the nucleus of an overseas force in a fairly advanced state of training.

We now turn to the second main branch, the controlling and winding up of enemy businesses locally. This

is extremely interesting as showing the development of the status of an enemy for business purposes and the steps which proved successively necessary to prevent the Central Powers from benefiting by their foreign establishments.

The Legislation started with the Alien Enemies Winding Up Ordinance, 1914, passed on the 9th December 1914. This Ordinance empowered the Governor to appoint a liquidator to wind up any business which was carried on by an alien enemy or enemy company, or by anyone on behalf of such enemy or company. An alien enemy was defined as the subject of a Sovereign or State at war with His Majesty, while an enemy company was a company one-third of whose share capital was held by enemies or one-third of whose directors were alien enemies. The decision of H.E. the Governor on question of status was final, and he had powers of inspection of books in order to decide. The first amendment to this was passed on the 16th April 1915. It regularised the position of the liquidator of Behn, Meyer and Co., and provided for the order in which debts should rank, making debts due to persons residing in or doing business in the Colony rank first for payment. The second amendment, passed on the 19th October 1915, and entitled the Alien Enemies Winding Up (Further Amendment) Ordinance, 1915, went still further, and prevented the liquidator from paying any liabilities except those incurred in respect of trade carried on in the Colony.

This is the first recognition in our war legislation of the international character of trade. On the 26th June 1916 the Alien Enemies Winding Up (Amendment) Ordinance, 1916, marked a further advance of drastic nature. The former criterion of enemy character lay in domicile according to established law. It was now extended to cover nationality irrespective of domicile. The law further decreed that all debts and all shares due to or acquired by a firm which was being liquidated should vest in the liquidator, including debts and shares outside the Colony. It also provided that anyone who

bought the goodwill of a liquidated firm should be prohibited from using the name of such firm without the consent of the Governor, thus freeing Singapore of enemy names. Moreover, the surplus assets, if any, were to be paid to the Custodian of Enemy Property, an official whose appointment will be referred to later. A further amendment allows creditors to be paid for debts due by the head office of a firm being liquidated out of the proceeds of the liquidated branch after the preferred creditors' claims have been satisfied. It also provided for dealing with secured creditors who were enemies, and depositing the proceeds with the Custodian, for finishing winding-up operations after the War if necessary, and for deleting from the Registry of Companies firms dissolved by the Governor.

The next amendment allowed appeal to the Courts against the Governor's decision as to enemy character, but it also prohibited the purchaser of any enemy property from purchasing on behalf of an enemy or enemy firm or from disposing of such property to an enemy or enemy firm within five years of the end of the War. This is the first indication of the possibility of a future boycott of enemy interests.

The next and last step was the Alien Enemies Winding Up (Amendment) Ordinance, 1917. This made the definition of an enemy company much more stringent, as one director or one-tenth share of the issued capital was sufficient to give enemy status, and the rules to prevent indirect transfer to an enemy were made much more strict. It also provided that the liquidator should not sell any property to any person other than a British subject without the sanction of the Governor, and that no such property should be passed to an enemy or foreigner in any way. Clean titles to such property were also provided for.

The third branch, Trading with the Enemy, is closely connected with, though distinct from, the winding-up legislation. It started on the 31st October 1914 with the Trading with the Enemy Ordinance, 1914, which

prohibited trading with Germany and Austria-Hungary, gave power to the Governor to appoint controllers to local businesses, and prohibited enemy subjects from carrying on business as bankers except under licence.

On the 5th June 1915 this was followed by the Trading with the Enemy (Amendment) Ordinance, 1915, which provided for the appointment of the Custodian, to whom all moneys due to enemies must be paid. It also prohibited attempting to trade or offering or agreeing to trade with an enemy, and made assignments of debts or the like by an enemy invalid. A further extension, of the 14th July 1915, prohibited payment of dividends by companies in the Colony to people of enemy nationality wherever resident, and provided for the payment of such sums to the Custodian. The Trading with the Enemy Amendment No. 3, 1915, went still further, and extended the amendments of the 14th July to cover all securities, provided for payment to the Custodian of capital falling due to an enemy, for a return of all bank balances and debts of over \$200 to the Custodian, who could apply to the Courts for a vesting order, and extended the status of enemy for these purposes to all persons declared enemies by proclamation. This was a most important departure from previous legislation, as it gave enemy status to people of enemy nationality in China, Siam, Persia, and Morocco, in which places enemy countries had extra-territorial jurisdiction.

The next stage is marked by the Trading with the Enemy (Extension of Powers) Ordinance, 1916, which prohibited trading with any person or firm wherever domiciled if of enemy nationality or association, after publication of such names in the *Gazette*. This practically ended the question of enemy status for trade purposes.

The next amendment, the Trading with the Enemy Amendment Ordinance, 1916, of the 2nd May, was on completely different lines, and enabled the Custodian to purge local companies of shareholders of enemy nationality wherever resident. This provision was also final in its own line.

The Trading with the Enemy (Further Amendment) Ordinance of the 23rd June 1916 prohibited payments by the Custodian to a person of enemy nationality wherever resident.

The total result of this legislation was that all enemy firms in Singapore ceased to exist, that local businesses and companies were purged of all interests held by persons of enemy nationality, that all such interests were vested in the Custodian, with the right of disposal to British subjects, and that trading directly or indirectly with all firms of enemy nationality or association wherever domiciled was prohibited. The names of all enemy firms disappeared from Singapore, and all local property and moneys owned by enemy nationals were disposed of, and the proceeds held by the Government for the post-war settlement.

The laws relating to imports and exports, the last general branch, are probably those best known to the public, as they affected almost all kinds of business. They are divided into two branches, the restrictions and the machinery for enforcing them. The original restrictions were imposed under the Arms and Explosives Ordinance, 1913, which gave the Governor power to prohibit the import and export of articles of the nature of explosives, and also foodstuffs, except under licence. At the end of 1915, when the restrictions on export became more strict, and the necessity for restricting imports also arose, the Arms and Explosives (Amendment) Ordinance, 1915, was passed, giving the Governor power to prohibit the import or export of any articles. This was followed, on the 1st November 1915, by the Arms and Explosives (Further Amendment) Ordinance, 1915, which gave power to prohibit by proclamation the export of anything to any place unless consigned to persons named in such proclamation. Proclamations, with lists of approved consignees, were issued in regard to China, Siam, Persia, and Morocco, and trading with firms or persons of enemy nationality in those countries was effectively stopped. This system of approved consignees (generally known as White Lists)

is the only really effective method of preventing supplies from reaching undesirable consignees, as it is impossible to put up dummy covers, as may be done with Black Lists. The next Ordinance, the Arms and Explosives Amendment Ordinance of the 4th April 1916, struck a deadly blow to the German trade with the Netherlands Indies and Siam. It prohibited the transit through the waters of the Colony of any goods without the permission of the Registrar of Imports and Exports. Prior to this date the direct ships from Holland to the Netherlands Indies, from Denmark to Siam, and from Spain to the Philippines carried large quantities of goods either of enemy origin or to enemy firms through Singapore, and such goods could not be interfered with. It was not possible to seize such cargo and to detain ships until enemy-tainted cargo was unloaded. The German firms in Siam were thus completely cut off from supplies, as all their shipments from Europe had to pass through Singapore, and the German trade with the Netherlands Indies was very considerably curtailed, though they still had some direct communication with Holland. This practically completed the legislation relating to restrictions, the only further amendment being one to make employers liable for the acts of their servants, a very necessary provision in the case of native firms, in which it is often practically impossible to discover who is primarily responsible for any illegal act.

The administration of these Ordinances depended on the Registrar of Imports and Exports (War Powers) Ordinances. The first of these, the Registrar of Imports and Exports (War Powers) Ordinance, 1915, required certificates of origin for goods from certain places and statutory declarations of ultimate destination for goods sent to certain countries. It gave power to call for landing certificates for goods shipped to foreign destinations, and empowered the Registrar to seize summarily any goods which he suspected to be of enemy origin or to have been imported in contravention of the laws relating to trading with the enemy, and an

avermment of the Registrar that he was not satisfied on these points threw the onus of proof on the suspected party. Even in a free port such as Singapore this Ordinance was remarkably effective as regards imports, but its value for checking exports was not so great. An Amending Ordinance of the 5th April 1916, however, dealt with exports in a much more stringent and effective manner. It empowered the Registrar to refuse export of any goods to foreign destinations, placed heavy penalties on export even of free goods before the permission of the Registrar was obtained, and created a presumption for exports similar to that already in force for imports, i.e. made an averment by the Registrar that he was not satisfied that goods had not reached an enemy country or a statutory enemy *primâ facie* proof that such goods had gone to an enemy destination. At the same time, ships' owners, agents, and masters were made jointly responsible for any shipments on their boats contrary to regulations, and ships' manifests were made *primâ facie* proof of import or export. This made the check on export almost as effective as that on import, and no further amendments were necessary except that of the 28th June 1918, which regularised the granting of licences, gave power to inspect books and documents, and to demand information if any offence against the laws relating to import or export was suspected, and imposed an extremely heavy penalty for false statements made with a view of obtaining a licence to export prohibited articles.

It is difficult to imagine a system of law which could be more efficient without a large and well-organised preventive staff.

It was necessary to set artificial bounds to the scope of this article, and when the Armistice was declared that date was chosen as a suitable ending. It saved the rubber situation, and although tin was and apparently will be in an unsatisfactory condition for some time, it may safely be said that the War left Singapore in a state of unexampled commercial prosperity. Her able-bodied

population of British subjects of European descent is trained to take its part in any future trouble which may arise. Enemy trade names or enemy interests in trade or in local property no longer exist, and effective machinery has been established to prevent the entry of enemy goods in future if such action is decided upon. The problem of the future is to decide how far it is possible to ban enemy traders and enemy goods from a port whose prosperity largely depends on its distribution trade. We have had an example in Germany itself of strong protection linked with free ports, and the prosperity of Hamburg is an object-lesson which must not be lost sight of. To prevent the re-establishment of businesses of enemy nationality will be comparatively easy. To prevent the import of enemy goods except in small quantities will not be difficult. To do the former would hardly injure Singapore, but to do the latter may have a serious effect. We can only trust that if the century-old policy of Sir Stamford Raffles is reversed, the development of the Malay Peninsula will compensate for the possible loss of foreign trade.

CHAPTER IX

EDUCATION IN SINGAPORE

By C. Bazell, formerly of the Education Department

IF there were no other evidence, the views of Sir Stamford Raffles on the subject of education alone would be sufficient to prove that he was far in advance of his time. In England no annual grant towards education was made until 1847, and it was not until 1870 that good schools were planted over the country. But in a minute read to the leading inhabitants of Singapore on the 1st April 1823, Raffles said that "by raising those in the scale of civilisation over whom our influence or our Empire is extended we shall lay the foundations of our Dominion on the firm basis of justice and mutual advantage"; that "education must keep pace with commerce in order that its benefits may be ensured and its evils avoided." But he warned his audience against expecting too early a harvest from their sowing:

"The progress of every plan of improvement on the basis of education must be slow and gradual; its effects are silent and unobtrusive, and the present generation will probably pass away before they are fully felt and appreciated . . . but a single individual of rank raised into importance and energy by means of the proposed institution may abundantly repay our labour by the establishment of a better order of society in his neighbourhood, by the example he may set, and by the resources of the country he may develop."

Surveying the position of Singapore with regard to the surrounding countries, he pointed out "the advantage and necessity of forming an institution of the nature of a

college which shall embrace not only the object of educating the higher classes of the native population, but at the same time that of affording instruction to the officers of the Company in the native languages, and of facilitating our more general researches into the history, condition, and resources of those countries."

Such were Raffles's views and such his intentions ; but whether it is that the climate here forbids any sustained effort, or that the curse on Sang Rajuna Tapa, told in a tale of jealousy and disloyalty, still hangs heavy over the place, his high ideals passed away with their author. The Bengal Government regarded Singapore as an unimportant outpost, the business men considered their own profits, not their wider obligations, and the College, betrayed by its trustees and neglected by the authorities, stood for forty years a whited sepulchre of Raffles's hopes. The tale must begin here. Founded by Raffles himself, the College, now Raffles Institution, is the only scholastic link with the distant past. In its history is contained the story of how the children were neglected until the Community, and later the Government, had learnt to appreciate the wider outlook of Raffles. Next must come the history of the various missionary bodies, who, in healthy rivalry first of all for the good of their pupils, kept aloft the torch of learning, but later, under the evil spell of the place, sought in unchristian competition their own advancement. The East India Company gave way to the Colonial Authorities, but the time for educational awakening was not yet. Finally, after a hundred years' lethargy, the Government, roused by the more enlightened activity of a foreign mission, has decided to contemplate a college of its own.

If, then, at last Raffles's dreams are to be realised in a new Raffles College, the story of the past, with its efforts and its failures, set down without partiality and without concealment, would be a fitting introduction to a more successful future.

Raffles's original plans for his college were modified somewhat, in consequence of the proposal of Dr. Mor-

rison to amalgamate with it the Anglo-Chinese College from Malacca—which proposal was never carried out, as the College was eventually transferred to Hongkong—and it was decided to have three departments in the new College :

- (1) A scientific department for the common advantage of the several colleges that may be established.
- (2) A literary and moral department for the Chinese.
- (3) A literary and moral department for the Siamese, Malays, etc.

Subscriptions were raised, trustees were appointed, and on the 5th June 1823 the foundation-stone was laid by Raffles himself. To free his foundation from any financial anxiety Raffles promised, on behalf of the East India Company :

- (1) A grant of \$300 a month.
- (2) A free gift of land, 600 feet along the sea front and 1,140 feet inland in depth to Rochore Street (now Victoria Street), lying between the Fresh-water stream (at present the open drain) and College Street (now Bras Basah Road).
- (3) A large block of land, " a hill with the land adjacent to it to the northward, and at the back of Government Hill," i.e. Institution Hill to the north of Fort Canning.
- (4) One thousand five hundred acres of uncleared ground (500 acres for each department).

The start was auspicious, and a successful future might have been prophesied, but Fate decreed otherwise. From its earliest days its growth was thwarted by the hostility of Mr. Crawford, Raffles's successor, and the apathy of the Trustees. The Government in Bengal was willing to follow where Raffles led, and in reply to a letter from him dated the 20th May 1823, concerning the grants made, while deprecating his haste, as the continued occupation of Singapore by the British was still uncertain, did not cancel his arrangements. Also, two years later, Mr. Crawford was told : " We are, however, disposed to give all reasonable encouragement to the education of

the natives, and we shall not therefore withhold our sanction from the grant of a monthly allowance of \$300 in aid of the Establishment, for such time as it shall be required. And we do not disapprove of the endowment of each of the departments with an assignment of 500 acres of uncleared ground on the usual terms." But Mr. Crawford obviously disapproved of Raffles's scheme, and used his influence to prevent its success. First of all the grant was not paid, though Raffles himself wrote from Bencoolen on the 23rd January 1824, asking him to advance the money on his (Raffles's) responsibility; and later, in spite of the reply, quoted above, to Crawford's minute of the 11th May 1825, in which he asked for a decision on the matter, the grant was still unpaid in February 1826. Following up his first success, Mr. Crawford, in a despatch to the Court of Directors, suggested that Raffles's ideas were too advanced to be of any use, that the school was too far away from the town to attract pupils, and that a wiser plan would be the adoption of a scheme of elementary education. His views prevailed, and early in 1827 the Trustees were informed that the Government subscription should be applied solely to the establishment of elementary schools.

Up to this time the Trustees had done nothing, and now their inactivity was to lead to more serious loss. On the 9th January 1827 a warning was issued by the Government that all lands not built upon or applied to the purposes originally intended would be resumed on the 1st May, a perfectly equitable action. But on the 11th January, only two days later, the Trustees were informed that the 1,500 acres mentioned above were to be handed over for the use of the officers of the 25th Regiment, who had recently arrived. This high-handed action failed to make the Trustees realise their past neglect or to rouse them to any activity, and they surrendered their claim in a letter dated 27th February, sent by John A. Maxwell, Acting Secretary, Singapore Institution, to the Honourable John Prince, Resident Councillor :

" SIR,—On behalf of the Trustees of the Singapore Institution I have the honour to enclose a document under their signature by which they renounce all claim to the lot of ground referred to in your favour of the 19th ultimo, and I trust the same may be considered satisfactory with a view to the object for which it has been framed. The Grants referred to, viz. 499, 500, 501, are in my possession, and are ready to be delivered up if necessary."

After this betrayal of their trust, further remissness was only to be expected. On the 18th August of the same year the Trustees appear to have attempted—unsuccessfully—to sell the Institution to the Government. Not to be baffled, they then thought of turning it into a town hall or reading room—a proposal that drew forth a strong protest from Macao from Dr. Morrison, one of the original Trustees. A meeting was held on the 20th November 1828, the last held until 1836, to discuss the matter. Everything, apparently, was abandoned, and for nearly eight years Raffles's aspirations lay buried in what the *Singapore Free Press* described in 1832 as " the unfinished building or ruin " that stood " an eyesore to the Settlement, affording a convenient shelter for thieves."

There were in Singapore Malay schools, mentioned by Raffles, where the only teaching was a parrot-like repetition of the Koran. The Rev. G. H. Thompson, of the London Missionary Society, also taught in a house at the corner of Bras Basah and North Bridge Roads, his wife teaching six Malay girls. In 1829 there were two Cantonese schools, one at Kampong Glam and another in Pekin Street, a Hokkien school with twenty-two boys and an English school with an attendance of forty-eight.

This lack of a school of any standing moved the new Chaplain in 1833 to apply to the Government for a grant to establish a free school. A place was given him near the foot of Fort Canning, by High Street. A Singapore School Society was formed, subscriptions were raised,

and on the 1st August 1834 the Singapore Free School was opened under Mr. J. H. Moor. When the building fell into disrepair, the Committee thought of applying for the use of the buildings of the neglected Raffles Institution. The formal application was made on the 15th September 1837.

Meanwhile, on the 1st January 1836, a meeting of subscribers to a monument to be erected to the memory of Raffles decided that they would best perpetuate the remembrance of the eminent services rendered to the Settlement by completing the Institution founded by him for the purposes of education. The Trustees, now only two in number, were shamed into action. They met on the 5th January, nominated ten others to act with them, and thankfully accepted the subscribers' proposal. Subscriptions again came in ; repairs were started, and in December 1837 the Singapore Free School was removed from High Street to the Institution, then for the first time used for its original purpose. The new venture was managed jointly, the Trustees reserving to themselves the right of resuming the buildings after one year's notice, and after refunding \$1,800 that had been advanced for repairs. But later, to avoid the inconvenience of having two authorities for the Singapore Institution, the Trustees and the School Society Committee, on the 9th August 1839 the latter resolved " that from henceforth the whole shall be vested in the Trustees of the said Institution, and that the School Committee deliver over to the said Trustees all funds and property of every description over which they have hitherto exercised any control ; and that the said Trustees be requested to appoint a School Committee of a certain number of members from their body annually."

The new Trustees did better work than their predecessors, but failed equally to realise the future possibilities of Singapore or of the school. On the 1st March 1844 they opened a girls' department in the Institution, details of which will be given later. In 1853 they established two annual scholarships for boys who had been

resident in Singapore for the three years immediately before the examination. But in 1856 the unhappy suggestion was made that the land at the back of the Institution should be sold, and that they should dispose of "the existing building and ground to the Government, and apply the proceeds to the establishment of schools in central positions of the town." Fortunately this merely remained a suggestion. Far worse were their actual deeds. In 1839 they obtained from the Government a formal grant of the land on which the Institution stood as far back as Victoria Street—one of the original grants given by Raffles; and the next year they asked for the hundred acres on Institution Hill, but only twenty-eight acres were allotted to them. They then, in 1840, sold the land behind the Institution, between North Bridge Road and Victoria Street, in nine lots on a 999 years' lease for an annual quit rent of \$15 per lot, and five years later the property on Institution Hill was disposed of for an annual quit rent of \$225. So much for the business man's control of educational finance.

This Governing Body directed the destinies of the Institution until 1857, when an action was brought by the Hon. E. A. Blundell, the then Governor, against the two resident trustees, William Napier and Thomas Owen Crane, requiring them to show by what right they managed the affairs of the Singapore Institution. The decision of the Court was postponed, for some reason or other, until the 31st May 1859, and said that "the educational establishment called the 'Singapore Institution' was well founded, established, and endowed as a charity by the late Hon. Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles," and the Court ordered the Registrar to enquire into the original endowments of the said Institution and report "by whose default any part or parts of the said endowment have since been forfeited or lost"; and instructed him to propose a plan for the application of any funds according to the intentions of the said Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, "or as near thereto as circumstances will admit, having regard to the present income of the said Institu-

tion." The Court further instructed him to appoint twelve trustees, and to prepare a proper plan for supplying such vacancies as might from time to time occur. In his report of the 9th July 1860 the Registrar declared that "the unjustifiable resumption of the land with which the Institution was endowed has been the means of crippling the resources of the Institution, and has disabled the Trustees from carrying out the views of the said Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles"; that the nomination of the Trustees at the meeting on the 5th January 1836 was irregular, and that their subsequent acts were irregular and liable to be set aside. The Registrar then appointed patrons and trustees, and advised the new Trustees to make application to the Government for the "restoration of the 500 acres to each of the departments of the said Institution which had been unjustly resumed by Mr. Prince on account of the Government, and for the raising of its present subscription in aid to the sum originally sanctioned by the Court of Directors." This report was adopted by the Supreme Court on the 27th April 1861.

After the new Trustees took over the management, the Institution entered on a new lease of life with new ideals. Before we proceed further with that history, however, it will be worth while studying for a moment the early inner history of the school during this period. The school funds were raised by public subscription, by a Government grant, and by fees collected from certain of the scholars. In 1854 the paying section of the school, boys in the upper school who paid \$4 per month for their education, was done away with, an arrangement that was altered in 1857, when those who could afford it had to pay according to their means. After this date the reports are always headed "Singapore Institution Schools" instead of "Singapore Institution Free Schools" as before. But the business community was, on the whole, indifferent to education, and subscriptions were few. In 1855 the monthly return from subscribers was \$69, while the Government grant was 400 rupees.

In the report for this year a detailed account of the expenditure is given to show that the Trustees allowed no waste. Six boys on the foundation were fed and clothed out of the general fund, "at an average cost of six dollars per month each boy, for which they obtain eight coats, eight pair trowsers, eight bajus, eight pair night trowsers, shoes about three pairs, one cap, six pillow-cases, six towels; their food consists of fish, pork, and curry, at a cost of three dollars a month each, the clothing averaging two dollars per month, the remaining one dollar provides [*sic*] sundries such as washing, mending, plates, dishes, mats, blankets, etc."

Originally the Institution contained English, Chinese, and Malay classes. There had been a Tamil class as well in the school in High Street, that was discontinued in 1836, when the transfer to the Institution was contemplated. The Malay department was abolished in 1842, owing to "the great apathy and even prejudice which exists among this race against receiving instruction." Of the Chinese masters we read in 1839, "two and an assistant teach the Hokkien dialect, one the Cantonese, and one the Teochew. Generally speaking, they are diligent and attentive. They are paid according to the average number of boys they collect daily." Two years later the Cantonese and Teochew dialects were stopped, as the teachers were unable to collect enough pupils to justify the expense. In 1859 Mr. W. W. Shaw, seeing the need of good interpreters, and knowing from experience how the native interpreters were likely to be influenced by the Chinese secret societies, handed over, in conjunction with a friend, \$500 invested at 9 per cent., to last for five years, to give prizes to Protestant European, Anglo-Indian, or Portuguese lads to induce them to study Hokkien and Teochew with a view of getting good non-Chinese interpreters. This class first started in 1864, with twenty-six boys. In the next year the fund was increased by donations of \$500 from Chinese residents and \$1,000 from Alexander and James Guthrie, whose interest in education in Singapore deserves a lasting

record. These classes were continued until 1894, when financial troubles brought them to an end.

The English school was divided into an upper division, with four classes, and a lower division. The curriculum was what might be expected at that time : English, arithmetic (including book-keeping), history (which comprised outlines of ancient history, together with histories of Greece, Rome, England, and India), chronology, natural history and philosophy, geometry, mensuration, trigonometry, the use of globes, writing and drawing, developing the memory, if not the intelligence. Religious exercises were practised out of school hours, but were not compulsory, except for scholars and foundationers. The examinations were public, and were usually well-attended by the subscribers. In 1870, however, the Trustees decided " that the style of public examination pursued at the school is somewhat tedious and unattractive : on future occasions a more entertaining and satisfactory programme will be provided." Occasionally there was difficulty in obtaining teachers—a mutter of the coming storm. In 1855 there was an average attendance of 130 boys, " but their number has much increased of late, throwing upon the teachers a far greater amount of work than can be effectively performed by one European and two assistants, one of whom is a native Portuguese and the other is a Chinese convert." Ten years later, under the new *régime*, we read that " the staff of masters is utterly inadequate to the number of boys under tuition," and in the reports there are constant references to resignation of masters.

In those early years much seems to have been packed into a small space. In 1839 a wing to the Institution building was furnished. " It is spacious and well adapted to the objects for which it was intended. The upper rooms are occupied as a residence by the new Master, the Rev. J. T. Dickinson; one of the large lower rooms is occupied as the Chinese schoolroom; and the other is used as a printing room, where printing

work on a small scale is conducted for the benefit of the Institution." Three years later the right wing of the building was completed, and was "occupied by one of the masters and his family ; and the large rooms in the main building are now exclusively appropriated to the general purposes of the Institution, the one being used as a committee-room, the other as a library." This library was open to subscribers to the Institution, and was moved from the building in 1862. There were also in the building the boarding departments for the boys and for the girls.

The new Trustees appointed by the Supreme Court formally took over the school property on the 15th June 1861. At once they enquired into the matter of the lands that had been granted originally and illegally alienated, but the Supreme Court declared "that the sales of various lots of Institution lands are valid by lapse of time, even if they were originally invalid," and the question was dropped until 1873, when another unsuccessful attempt was made to recover them. "It appears that by the Statute of Limitations the Institution is deprived of all legal claim on Government for the restoration of the lands, or for compensation, more than twelve years having elapsed since the decree of the Supreme Court was issued." The Registrar's advice to ask for the full grant of \$300 a month was ignored.

For a time the mercantile community showed a little interest in education. In 1865 Messrs. Guthrie made another donation of \$1,000 for the endowment of a Malay scholarship, the interest being used for the general fund until instruction was again given in Malay. A prize fund was started in 1872 by Messrs. Young and Mooyer with an endowment of \$2,000.

Not only were the Trustees more energetic than their predecessors, but they also had a definite policy in view. In 1870, on Mr. Bayley's resignation—he had been head-master for fourteen years—it was agreed, at a meeting at the Town Hall on the 12th February, that a graduate of one of the home universities should be sought

for, the time having arrived "when some step might be taken for the further development of the views which were entertained by Sir Stamford Raffles," and the next year Mr. R. W. Hullett, of Trinity College, Cambridge, came out as head-master. His arrival marks a distinct advance in the progress of education in the Colony. Capable and fearless, for thirty-five years he fought for the advancement of learning. From the time of his arrival up to the time that the Institution was taken over by the Government there is a record of constantly increasing effort, hampered always by an ever-increasing lack of funds.

In 1871 boys were sent from Siam to commence their education preparatory to proceeding to Europe. To accommodate them a separate department was established, the Girls' School being moved from the Institution for that purpose. But the boys were withdrawn the next year, as an English school had been opened in Bangkok. Considerable interest in education was shown by Sir Andrew Clarke, Governor from 1873 to 1875. In 1874 the Government undertook to keep the Institution buildings in repair. A fixed grant was also paid yearly, and was formally recognised later, in 1885, as being "in compensation for land originally set aside by Government for the endowment of the Institution." In 1876 a new wing was opened to serve as a school-house for the sons of Malayrajahs and chiefs, the foundation-stone having been laid by the Governor on the 7th May 1875. As, however, the Malays were unwilling to come, the upper part of the building (the end opposite Raffles Hotel) was used by the Raffles Museum and Library until 1887.

In 1883 the boys' boarding department was moved to the house in Beach Road vacated by the girls, and in August of the next year it was again moved to the corner house in Bras Basah Road, opposite the school, where Raffles Hotel now stands. In September 1887 the boarding department was discontinued. As foundationers had been maintained since 1840, it was decided that there was "a moral obligation upon the Trustees

to maintain and educate a certain number of necessitous boys as foundationers," and that "the number should not exceed twelve." This number gradually dwindled, and in 1896 the last of the foundationers left.

When Mr. Hullett arrived, he found old-fashioned methods in vogue. New methods were soon introduced, and new life was diffused into the teaching. As the Inspector of Schools reported, "Mr. Hullett has evidently done good in checking the ambition that learns too much and too fast." The aim of the Trustees and of the staff was gradually to eliminate the lower standards until only higher work remained. The first difficulty to cope with was casual attendance and excess of pupils. To stop inattendance a monthly fee of 15 cents was levied in 1872, and in 1876 a graded scale of fees was introduced, only to be raised again two years later, when those in the upper school paid \$1 and those in the lower school (all classes below Standard IV) 50 cents. But in 1881 we find "the old difficulties of excess of pupils, unmanageable classes, want of teachers, and scant accommodation have still to be deplored." More definite steps were taken in 1883, when only those were admitted who could pass Standard I, and no boy over eighteen years of age was allowed to remain in the school. When the possibility of the Government establishing higher scholarships was mooted in 1884, "the Trustees think that the time has now come when the Institution must gradually leave to others the work done in the lower classes, and become in a certain measure a sort of high school for the more elementary schools which have lately increased so rapidly." In 1888, in pursuance of this plan, and "in accordance with the wishes of the Government," Standard II was made the qualification for admission, and the advisability of affiliation to the London University was considered.

During this period, there was close co-operation between the Trustees and the Government. In 1875, when the Government opened English branch schools at Telok Ayer and Kampong Glam, the management of them

was handed over to the Trustees, who after a year's trial handed back the responsibility to the Government. In 1875 Mr. Hullett was released from his duties to act as Inspector of Schools, and three years later the Trustees allowed Mr. Alex. Armstrong, one of the Institution masters, to take charge of the Government school at Malacca. The Institution was looked upon as a semi-official school. In 1890 "it was arranged that four out of the five Government schools should give instruction only in Standards I and II, that one (Cross Street) should give instruction as far as Standard IV, and that afterwards pupils should pass on to the Raffles Institution." And in 1889, when the Government decided to maintain a special class to teach physical science and chemistry, "pending the completion of a chemical laboratory and lecture-room, for the purposes of which the south wing of the Institution is being adapted, Government classes are now held at the Raffles Institution for teaching the various subjects required in the examination for the Queen's Scholarships." On his arrival the new lecturer was appointed Government Analyst, and as his extra duties prevented his fulfilling his duties as a teacher, the classes were abandoned at the end of 1890. His office and laboratory, however, were still in the Institution building until 1895, when they again became available for school purposes.

This progressive policy was justified by its results : in 1879, of the total number of boys examined, 331 were in the lower and 107 in the upper standards ; in 1892, 71 were in the lower and 212 in the upper standards. In 1894 the Inspector of Schools minuted "an Institution, in which an opportunity would be offered of obtaining a more advanced education, is now one of the more pressing educational needs of the Colony, and I trust, therefore, that before long it may be found possible to give effect to the proposal made a few years ago by the Trustees, that an education of the kind should be provided at the Raffles Institution, the instruction given there being confined to higher education only." In

the competition, too, with the rest of the schools in all parts of the Settlements for the Queen's Scholarships, the Raffles Institution easily held its own.

But this progress cost money. As higher work became more general, more European masters had to be brought out. Subscriptions failed to increase enough to meet the growing expenditure. In 1890 the Trustees had suggested that the Institution should be taken over by the Government, with a representative committee to manage it, and were told, in a reply dated the 10th November, that "His Excellency, after fully considering the matter in Executive Council, is unable to concur in any such suggestion, or to hold out any prospect of the Institution being taken over by the Government under any circumstances." Every possible retrenchment was made. The Malay class started in 1885 was discontinued in 1893, because "in the condition of school finances the expenditure of \$150 was not justified." The next year the Chinese class also was closed, as "the Government discontinued the grant for the payment of a teacher, and the Trustees were unable to meet the expenses of this class without a vote." In October 1899 boys were again admitted in Standards I and II, the Trustees acting on the minority report of a sub-committee and reversing the policy pursued since 1888.

Financial considerations led them to this. In the lower classes numbers were large and instruction comparatively cheap, so that such classes were a source of income. On the 16th October 1901 the attention of the Legislative Council was called to the existing state of public instruction in the Colony, and early in 1902 a Commission of Enquiry into the system of English education in the Colony was appointed. Their report, issued in April of the same year, contains the following :

"The Trustees of the Raffles Institution have urged the Government to take over the school on the grounds that management by Trustees who are constantly changing is unsatisfactory, and that they find it impossible to maintain an adequate staff of fully qualified teachers

from home, as they are not able to offer pensions, and the funds of the Institution do not permit them to give as good terms as those received by Government teachers."

The Commission recommended that the Institution should be taken over by Government, and on the 1st January 1903 the Government assumed the direct management and control of the Raffles Institution. At first all went well. In July commercial classes, both day and evening, were started, and, unlike those in other schools, flourished without a break. Practical mechanics and science were also taught, and in 1904 another laboratory was equipped for elementary mechanics and experimental science. A change came in 1906, when Mr. R. W. Hullett retired. Since 1903 he had been acting as Director of Public Instruction; but his presence had inspired the school, and had sustained the Government in its efforts. After his departure no one had the courage to importune the Government, or else the authorities turned a deaf ear. His scheme for gradually eliminating the lower standards was duly accomplished. When the school was taken over, out of a total of 530 boys there were 24 in Standards I and II. First of all these two standards were abolished, then Standard III, and after October 1906 no more boys were admitted to Standard IV. Three years later "Raffles Institution was unable to find room for all the Standard V boys who wished to enter in November," and these boys had to be accommodated in the Government branch schools. In 1903 there were only forty boys in the special Cambridge and commercial classes; in 1909 the number had increased to 150. But while the lower work was being excluded, the masters necessary for higher work had been leaving Government service, without a voice being raised in protest, and without any effort being made to retain them, until in 1915 there were "no less than six vacancies on the European staff of Raffles Institution," and those vacancies were not caused by the War. In the next year a new laboratory was equipped without there being a master to use it. One

other useful addition to the building was a large examination hall, that had been opened in 1912.

In physical education Raffles Institution has been fortunate in having its own ground for recreation. In 1902 a Volunteer Cadet Corps was formed, and was attached to the S.V.C. Until 1906 the Corps consisted in the main of Raffles boys. After that other schools took more interest in it, until it was disbanded after the mutiny in 1915.

RAFFLES GIRLS' SCHOOL

This school, as already mentioned, was opened in the Institution buildings on the 4th March 1844, with eleven pupils, six of whom were boarders receiving food, clothing, and education free, and five day scholars. In 1871, in order to provide accommodation for boys who were expected from Siam, the girls were moved to a house in Bras Basah Road, adjoining the Institution. The yearly rent was \$660, and when this was raised in 1877, the school was moved a little way down Beach Road. "To this many of the parents raised the objection that the day scholars had so far to walk alone." For a long time a Committee of eight ladies supervised and directed the activities of the school, the Trustees merely providing an annual grant; but in 1878 the Trustees, wishing to co-ordinate the financial affairs of the Institution, took over the direct management themselves, asking the ladies simply to visit and make reports and suggestions. To judge from the reports issued during the first thirty years by the Ladies' Committee, their chief object was to shelter the girls from the many temptations to which they appear to have been exposed, the provision of some form of education being but a secondary consideration. The girls were in charge of a matron, who "is especially valuable in the moral and religious training of the children; but [*sic*] she has also kept them neat and tidy." Financial problems constantly exercised the minds of the Committee, for they had to manage with the amount allowed by the Trustees. The cost for

boarding each girl was \$5 per month, and in 1855 this was reduced to \$4, and "with the saving thus effected, a daily teacher was engaged for a temporary engagement." Later an assistant was engaged to teach for \$10 a month, together with board and lodging for herself and her two children. In 1860, when a resignation left the school without a teacher, the ladies undertook the work themselves. The results achieved justified, in their opinion, the care expended : thus we find "three of the girls thus rescued are at this time gaining their living in Singapore as domestic servants, and conducting themselves to the satisfaction of their employers ; a fourth is most respectably married at Sarawak " ; and later, in November 1868, one of the free boarders was married from the school " with the full sanction of the Committee." This may have led to the fact that in 1871 " to the ordinary branches of education that of cooking was added for the boarders."

By this time, however, current ideas on education were filtering out from England, and in the report for 1871 for the first time the need of a certificated mistress is insisted on. That a real demand for education was setting in is shown by the steady increase in the number of day scholars : in 1854 there were sixteen boarders and three day scholars " in pretty regular attendance " ; ten years later there were twenty-eight boarders and forty-three day scholars ; and in 1883 the number of boarders was sixteen and of day pupils 118. In 1873 the Government made an extra grant to pay the salary of a certificated mistress, who duly arrived out in August 1874. From 1876 onwards the reports of the examiners and of the Inspectors of Schools are most satisfactory, a curious feature being the apparent inability of the girls to do arithmetic.

General dissatisfaction with the site of the school led the Trustees in 1881 to commence building a Girls' School on their own ground on its present site, the Government giving \$6,000 towards the cost of \$15,000. The plans were prepared by the Acting Colonial Engineer,

and the work was undertaken by the P.W.D. "in consequence of the difficulty of getting reasonable contracts." "The ground in the playground was filled up with the earth which was removed from the Esplanade by the S.C.C." The new school was opened on the 23rd July 1883, and its usefulness was attested by an immediate increase in numbers, so that in 1884 the Inspector of Schools minuted that "the attendance has increased about eighty per cent., and there is scarcely sufficient accommodation for the number of pupils at present attending the school in the four class-rooms it contains. As there is every probability of the increase continuing, I trust the Committee may be able to provide additional accommodation by enlarging the present building." Four years later a class-room and a dormitory were added to one of the wings, the Government giving half of the contract price. In August 1888, the better to deal with the problems that kept arising, the Trustees formed a "Ladies' Committee" to manage the school, reserving in their hands the control of the teaching staff and all expenditure of sums over \$20. This Committee set to work, and three of its decisions were adopted in the next year :

- (1) That no boy over the age of eight years should remain at the Girls' School.
- (2) That the fees for boys should be \$2 a month, for girls \$1.
- (3) That after Standard VI girls should pay \$3 a month instead of \$1.

But all their schemes for improving the school were checked by the steadily increasing financial difficulties. In 1891 a special committee of the Trustees, appointed to consider the matter, reported that during the last five years there had been a loss of nearly \$3,000 on the working of the school. This loss was adjusted in a providential way. In 1890 the Trustees had decided that the money given by Mr. W. W. Shaw and Mr. James Guthrie for the Chinese and the Malay scholarship funds was no longer required for its original purpose. In all this

amounted to \$6,967, of which \$3,000 was the original donation and \$3,967 the accumulated interest. On being consulted by the Trustees, these two gentlemen directed that the money should be invested at seven per cent. and put to a "Guthrie and Shaw" foundation for the Girls' School, on condition that no part of the money should be spent on building. In this way the difficulty was solved for a time; fresh efforts were made; in August 1891 the fees were raised to \$2 a month, but at the end of 1893 the boarding establishment had to be closed. It was also proposed to discontinue altogether the Girls' School, but fortunately the lack of money prevented this, as the Trustees would have had to compensate the mistresses had their agreements been cancelled, there being nearly three more years to run. The closing down of the boarding department, however, ended the financial trouble, and the school became self-supporting.

All this time its educational prestige had not suffered, and in 1902, just before it was taken over by the Government, the Director of Public Instruction referred to it as "an admirably managed establishment." On the 1st January 1903 it became a Government school, and from that date one has to depend for information on official reports that veil any good work done by Government servants under formulæ and statistics. In 1904 a training school for normal work was erected by the side of the main building, and on the 1st February 1906 a training class for women was opened, with an attendance of three. Its numbers soon increased, and it has been ever since the one satisfactory and constant feature in the training of local teachers. In 1912 an addition was made of two class-rooms at the North Bridge Road end. There had been no special preparatory school for English-speaking boys, and up to 1917 these had been able to attend the Raffles Girls' School; but owing to lack of accommodation these boys had to be refused admission in 1918, and now they are taken only in the Infant School. In prestige as well as in results this school is easily the leading Girls' School in the Colony.

MISSIONARY SCHOOLS (AND OTHERS)

The story of the gradual development of Raffles Institution has been given in detail because its connection with the past entitles it to pride of place, and the standard of its achievement has been hitherto the standard for the other schools in the Colony.

It is now time to trace the history of other educational bodies that have done good work in the development of the Colony, but whose services have not received their proper recognition. There are many schools that appear for a time, and then quietly disappear, leaving no memorial. In 1855 "the closing of the Rev. Mr. Sames's school, by the departure of that gentleman for Europe, had occasioned an increase in the number of children at the Institution." In 1861 there was a school at Tanjong Pagar, containing forty-eight Malays and nine Chinese, that was "established and maintained at the sole cost of Mr. Guthrie, the proprietor of the land in the neighbourhood of the village." In April of the next year Christopher Morgan Pillay founded a school in Prinsep Street, under the auspices of the Ladies' Bible and Tract Society; and the same year the Rev. Mr. Venn started a school for Chinese boys in Chin Chew Street, and another in Victoria Street for Eurasian and Kling female children. Such schools generally endured only for the lifetime of their founders. In 1872 there existed a small school run by the Rev. Father Pierre Paris, of the Society of Foreign Missions, where the teacher received \$10 a month and "instruction is confined to English reading (with a strong Kling accent) and writing from copy." This school received occasional help from the Brothers, but was described in 1874 as being supported rather than aided by the Government, and in the next year it was closed down. In 1873 "Ramasamy's School," kept by a Tamil, was inspected by request. "He charges fees of \$1 and more, and yet many go to him from the cheaper and larger schools." No Government grant was given, and two years later no

trace of it is found. In later times a free school was opened in Havelock Road by Cheang Jim Hean, the son of Cheang Hong Lim, was inspected for the first time in 1893, and received a Government grant. It had an average attendance of forty-five boys and taught up to Standard IV, but "on the death of its founder in 1901 was closed suddenly, without notice to masters or pupils."

It is impossible to trace and put on record all the schools that have existed in Singapore. Of those that have been discontinued, special mention must be made of that conducted by Mr. B. P. Keasberry. In 1840, as a member of the London Missionary Society, he opened a day school for Malays in Kampong Glam, but had to give that up owing to his pupils' unpunctuality and non-attendance. Having severed his connection with the Society in 1847, Mr. Keasberry lived in Singapore, until his death in 1875, as a self-supporting missionary. Realising that a day school was of little use at that time, he moved two miles out of town to Mount Zion, in River Valley Road, and opened a free boarding school of a strictly religious character. If their parents consented, Malay boys were taken for one to four years, and were educated in the vernacular and in some practical work, especially in printing and book-binding. None of the boys were required to profess Christianity, but attendance at the daily Bible reading and at Sunday Chapel was compulsory. Lessons in the Koran were not allowed, nor was the Friday holiday given. In 1872 there were thirty-five boys, and we find that most of his pupils earned their living later as clerks, interpreters, and printers. The value attached to his school is shown by the liberal Government grant, and by the desire of the Inspector of Schools to make the school the training college for Malay teachers. When the Training College was opened later elsewhere, a small industrial class was formed "to carry on Mr. Keasberry's work." In 1858, in conjunction with his wife, he tried to start a Malay Girls' School, but the attempt was a failure, as was also

a day school for Chinese. In 1869 we find " Mr. Keasberry's efforts were not confined to his school, and in particular we may note his numerous translations of English works into Malay "; and later, in 1872, " the Mission Press which was started when the school flourished has printed almost the only educational works that are in the language." On his death in 1875 the school was closed.

The varied history of another school must be given as an excellent example of the short-lived enthusiasms of Singapore. The Eastern School was founded about 1891, for the purpose of teaching Chinese boys English, and was conducted by Eurasians under an advisory committee of Chinese. It was situated at first in two shop-houses near Tan Tye Creek, below Fort Canning, in River Valley Road, and was moved in December 1893 to the top of a storehouse in Hong Lim Quay, in Kampong Malacca. The school was to have been closed by the Government, but the Rev. A. Lamont took it over in 1895, on behalf of the English Presbyterian Mission. He was full of enthusiasm, and under his care the school prospered. The school was moved to " The Mansion," and again, early in 1896, to the old Government Training College in Club Street, at Gemmill's Hill. Its supporters believed (so one reads in the Presbyterian Church report) that from the attendance and the results at the annual examination it promised to be one of the permanent institutions of the Colony! Towards the end of 1896 Mr. Lamont returned to England, and after his departure the Presbyterian interest in education gradually faded away. For four years the school struggled on, until the management was handed over to the American Methodist Mission in 1900. " It had not been a success under the old management, and at the time of transfer the staff was deplorably weak; I fear that the Managers have taken on themselves what is likely to prove for some time a heavy burden." This forecast proved too true, and after 1902 the school was closed. Other educational work had been started by the Rev. A. Lamont. In

1891 evening classes for Chinese wishing to learn English were commenced under his supervision in the "Chinese Educational Institute," a building at the corner of Hock Lam Street and North Bridge Road. Under the auspices of this society a series of popular lectures were given in 1892, on literary and scientific subjects, on Saturday evenings in the Raffles Institution. This effort likewise came to an early end. Mention must be made, too, of Our Lady of Lourdes Anglo-Tamil School, a small school for Tamil boys, that was founded in 1885 and became an aided school in 1886. In 1901 it was reported as inefficient, and after 1904 it ceased to exist.

But our chief concern must be with the larger missionary schools that have survived to the present time. They have done most valuable work for Singapore. When the Government shirked the burden in 1870, these schools, as they came into being, undertook the task. Their worth was recognised in the beginning, and attested by the ready response from subscribers of all denominations, and by grants of land and money from the Government. It must, however, be remembered that some of these establishments are conducted by alien bodies settling to do their work in a British Colony. Their allegiance and their funds are centred elsewhere. The Commission of 1902 reported that "with regard to the schools managed by the Christian Brothers and the Convent schools satisfactory data cannot be arrived at. The returns of income and expenditure furnished by them are admittedly incorrect, it having been the custom to correctly state the income and such part of the expenditure as is paid to other than members of these communities, to deduct such expenditure from the income, and call the balance 'salaries of teachers.'" In the same report we find, "The Anglo-Chinese schools, managed by American missionaries and decidedly less strongly staffed (i.e. than Raffles Institution), manage to practically meet all their working expenses from the fees and the Government grant alone." This policy of making a missionary school pay its own way brought

it about that, "the Anglo-Chinese Schools, both in Singapore and Penang, while they adhere to the code rule as to the number of teachers, are in reality understaffed, both as regards number and quality of teachers."

Many references are made in the reports to the saving of money effected by allowing the aided schools to carry on the education of the Colony. In 1894 it was observed, "As opportunities present themselves, it is advisable, therefore, to allow missionary and other bodies to undertake the work now being done by the Government English schools, the Government contributing towards the expenditure in the form of results grants." When it appeared that all education would be abandoned to them, the Government paying out annual subsidies, a policy of mutual distrust, self-advertisement, and self-aggrandisement was adopted, and the managers, regardless of their pupils, allowed their sectarian differences to decide their course of action. In 1890 a Government science class was established for the benefit of those preparing for the Queen's Scholarships. "It has been hitherto held in the Raffles Institution building, and the other principal schools of the Settlement have on this account objected to their pupils joining the class." Nine years later an endeavour was made to arrange for a certain amount of co-operation by interchanging boys for the study of special subjects. The suggestion came to nothing, as each school was jealous of its monopoly of certain subjects, and refused to allow the others to share. When Mr. R. J. Wilkinson proposed, at a conference of Managers, that there should be a central high school for advanced work, instead of the many small classes in the various schools, the project was rejected by all except by a Government and by an English mission school.

These facts do not belittle the value of the education given, but merely show that, as a public work, all educational work must be able to bear the light of criticism without sheltering behind the cloak of missionary enterprise, and that in missionary work as well as in

education there must be a constant striving towards a higher ideal. Let us now consider the various schools.

ST. JOSEPH'S INSTITUTION

This, the senior missionary school, is a Roman Catholic educational establishment. Its foundation was due entirely to the enterprise of the Rev. Father Beurel. In the *Singapore Free Press* of the 22nd June 1848 there is an account of his proposed school, to be "open to everyone, whatever his creed may be." Money and teachers were needed. The former he raised from subscribers of all denominations; in a letter to the Governor, dated the 16th September 1868, he states that he raised a sum of money not less than \$21,000 for educational and charitable purposes in Singapore. For the teachers he went to France, and returned in 1852 with six Christian Brothers.

The school was opened on the 1st May of that year, in the disused church at No. 8 Bras Basah Road, under three of the Brothers who had come out. On the 1st November 1863 Colonel Cavenagh, the Governor, made the school its first grant in aid. In addition to this official help, Father Beurel stated that public subscriptions for the maintenance of orphans amounted to \$20 per mensem, besides an annual grant of \$300 from the French Government. Though the school was originally intended "for the gratuitous education of boys of all denominations"—in 1862 there were fifteen orphans "gratuitously educated and supported"—changes were soon made. School fees were levied in 1863, and in 1872 the Inspector of Schools reported: "The school is, of course, of a strictly Roman Catholic character. The Director assured me that none are refused admission on religious grounds; but having entered, I do not think that pupils of another creed are invited, or in practice allowed, to withdraw from the religious instruction." As the school grew, new and larger buildings were required. The Government was approached, and in 1863 the present site was granted for so long as the Christian Brothers maintained

a school. In 1867 the new school was opened, and progressed steadily until 1881, when "the management was transferred from the Brothers, who left Singapore, to the French Mission, and for some months the school was left without any proper teaching staff." This was a setback; but partly owing to the energy of the French Mission, and chiefly on account of the fact that the school consisted mainly of English-speaking boys (in 1882, out of 147 presented for examination 114 were Europeans or Eurasians), a complete recovery had been made by the time the Brothers had adjusted their differences and returned in 1886. In 1900 the school buildings were enlarged by the addition of two semicircular wings, the Government giving \$6,000 on condition that an equal amount was raised in subscriptions. The numbers increased, and once again it was necessary to enlarge the school, and in 1907 the new building was erected in Waterloo Street, the Government giving \$20,000 out of the total cost of \$27,000. In 1890 there were 312 pupils at the school; now there are four times that number. This increase is due partly to the control the Roman Catholic Church exercises over its children, not allowing them to go elsewhere, and partly to the nature of the instruction given, which in 1898 was described as "exceptionally sound and honest." Though no brilliant results have been achieved, good steady work has been done. The Community has always recognised its worth by its generous subscriptions, the Government by its ready grants, as doubtless the Roman Catholics would be the first to admit.

THE CONVENT

The Rev. Father Beurel's efforts did not stop at the Boys' School. On the 7th July 1849 he wrote to the Government asking for land next to the church in Victoria Street to found a charitable institution for females of all classes. When he was told in reply that sufficient land had already been given for church purposes, on the 18th August 1852 he bought with his own money

the house at the corner of Victoria Street and Bras Basah Road. In 1860 he bought the adjacent lots of land that had originally belonged to the Raffles Institution. The convent was first opened in 1854, under Mother St. Mathilde, with one class attended by European and Eurasian girls. In 1862 the Government report states: "The Sisters' School is divided into two departments, the upper being intended for the children of the wealthy and the lower for those of the poorer classes, each class receiving the education suitable to their position in life." In that year eighty-two out of 145 girls were "almost entirely dependent on the Sisters." In 1872 Mr. Skinner reported that "the revenue is considerable, amounting to about \$10,000, a large part of which is gained by the pupils' needlework and the Sisters' efforts in disposing of French goods. . . . The School fees and boarding charges amount to about \$3,000, so, putting the orphanage aside, the School itself may almost be considered self-supporting." The pupils, then, were taught to read French as well as English. The School was first inspected by the Government in 1881, and since that time has fully justified its position as an aided school. In 1892 the large building along the southern boundary was erected, the Government giving one-third of the cost, the rest being collected chiefly from the non-Roman Catholic members of the Community. Eight years later the Government was ready to assist the School, promising \$1,700 as a building grant, provided that an equal amount was raised by subscription. Another wing was erected in 1913, the Government contributing \$20,000 towards the total cost. The official reports on the work done have been consistently good, and the steady increase in numbers testifies to the utility of the school. In 1894 the average enrolment was 253; in 1900, 263; and in 1914, after the opening of the new wing, 621. The work done is chiefly in the Lower Elementary classes, for out of the 621 pupils in 1914 there were only seventy-three in the Higher Elementary and but nineteen in the Secondary classes.

ST. ANDREW'S SCHOOL

In 1871 a Chinese Mission School was opened in Victoria Street, in "a Chinese house, roomy but ill-constructed for the purpose, for which a rent of \$16 monthly is paid, \$3 of which is recovered from a sub-tenant." This school was founded by the Rev. W. H. Gomes, in connection with the St. Andrew's Church Mission, and was managed by a Chinese catechist, Loi Fat. From the beginning English was the only language allowed; Bible instruction was given for one hour daily, and all the pupils were expected to attend. The value of its teaching was soon recognised, and in November 1871 the Government sanctioned a capitation grant of forty cents per head. In 1874 "the new church on Fort Canning Hill, which is also to be used as a school-room for the present, is now finished," and the school was accordingly moved there. At first the numbers were small, and Standard II was the limit of instruction; but steady progress was made, until in 1884 "the number of pupils attending the school is so large that the Mission Church building in which the school is at present held scarcely affords sufficient accommodation for the pupils." In 1899 there were 215 boys on the register, and, as it was decided that St. Peter's Church could no longer be used, a new school was erected hard by, the Government giving half the cost. This new building was opened on the 1st March 1900: "The new school is bright, clean, and airy, but is scarcely large enough for the number of boys who now attend the school." To afford temporary relief a drill-room was turned into a room for Primary classes, an arrangement that still continues. A further addition was made to the school in April 1912, in which year the numbers rose from 245 to 345. The standard of education had been steadily improving, until in 1913 we find that the school "since the Rev. J. R. Lee took charge a few years ago has changed from a purely elementary and poorly staffed school into a thoroughly efficient first-grade school teaching up to and beyond Standard VII."

In 1915 a new block was built, at a cost of \$17,000, to which the Government contributed \$6,000, half the estimated price. At the same time the old Mission House was converted into a boarding house.

ST. ANTHONY'S SCHOOL

A school for girls was opened by Father José Pedro Sta. Anna da Cunha in 1879, in a small house in Middle Road. The next year it was moved into a compound house in Victoria Street, near the church. As "St. Anna's School" it was inspected in 1880, and was reported as "under a competent English mistress aided by an assistant, and the high percentage of passes obtained at the inspection is especially remarkable considering the short time it has been in existence." But, "the school building is small and unsuitable for the purpose, and the case is one in which a building grant would be well bestowed." The school was moved into a larger building in 1882; but further accommodation was still required, and in 1886 a new school was built in the church compound, the Government contributing \$4,000 towards the cost. Boys had been entering the school, and it was now known as "St. Anthony's Boys' and Girls' School." The girls were chiefly Malacca Portuguese, and this school was the only one where they could suitably be taught. There was, as we read in 1887, but "poor material dealt with in the school, the children being mostly those of very poor persons, and of a class who resent anything like a proper amount of discipline being exercised over their children." In 1893 two separate schools were formed, the ground floor of the Parochial House being used for the boys. The Girls' School was under the control of the Father of the Portuguese Mission until 1894, when the Canossian Nuns arrived from Macao and took over the sole charge. The numbers in both schools increased steadily, and satisfactory progress was made. In 1900 "no school showed greater improvement than St. Anthony's. This was due chiefly to the untiring and intelligent supervision of the Manager, Rev. Father

Victal. This school is greatly in want of a better building. I understand that the management has ample funds available, and is only delayed by the difficulty of finding a suitable site." Additions were made to the buildings in 1912, and the present average enrolment of the two schools is 640.

THE ANGLO-CHINESE FREE SCHOOL

In the report for 1887 mention is made of a school for Chinese at Tanjong Pagar, with an average attendance of 100, supported by Mr. Gan Eng Seng. This gentleman, the chief store-keeper of Guthrie and Co., had opened, in 1885, a school of his own in a shop-house at Tanjong Pagar, to afford free education to his fellow-countrymen. In 1888 the Government made it an aided school, and the next year offered a site between Cecil and Telok Ayer Streets, on which Mr. Gan Eng Seng erected a building at his own expense. This new school was opened by the Governor, Sir Cecil Smith, on the 4th April 1893. Until the founder's death Chinese was taught as well as English, and fees were asked only from those who could afford to pay. After Mr. Gan Eng Seng's death it became for a time a purely English school, charging the usual fees. In 1898 a second building was erected, at his own expense, by the school President, Mr. Hok Yong Peng. In 1905 "new and commodious class-rooms for its primary classes" were opened. The study of Chinese—Mandarin taught through Hokkien—was made compulsory again in 1913, and the children of poorer parents were once more admitted free.

THE MALAYSIA MISSION OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

This Mission arrived in Singapore in 1885, and commenced its school work in the following year. There are three schools in Singapore that deserve separate mention :

I. THE ANGLO-CHINESE SCHOOL.

On the 1st March 1886 the Rev. W. F. Oldham opened a school at No. 70 Amoy Street, and, as the numbers grew, on the 1st November of the same year a new school was opened at the foot of Fort Canning, the Government having given the site, and the Chinese having contributed \$6,000 to erect the building. It was first inspected in 1887, when sixty-seven boys were presented, and from that date it has been an aided school. Within two years of its foundation there were 350 pupils in attendance, and in 1889 a large building close at hand was rented and the five lower standards placed in it. The Government recognised the value of the work, and gave an additional strip of ground and a building grant of \$3,000. In 1891 the Inspector of Schools wrote: "The school has now an excellent teaching staff, and with proper organisation it ought without difficulty to be able to maintain its position as one of the principal English schools of the Colony." In its early years its character as a mission school was marked. This led to some trouble with the Chinese, and in 1896, "owing to an agitation amongst certain Chinese on the subject of religious teaching and attendance at religious services, which were alleged to have been insisted on (the school) lost a considerable number of its pupils." The storm, however, blew over. In 1893 a new building was opened. In 1888 Bellevue, on Orchard Road, had been purchased for a boarding house; in 1897 this was rebuilt as Oldham Hall, to accommodate the Principal, his family, and the masters, together with room for several classes. In 1900, to make more room in the school proper, the three upper classes were moved into this house. The Government gave more land near the church in Coleman Street in 1905, together with a grant of \$11,500 towards the new building. This was erected the next year at a total cost of \$27,000, the balance being raised by local contributions. The general level of the teaching improved, and in 1907 the school was

made Grade I in all departments. Further additions were made to the building in 1908, and in 1909 a separate afternoon school was started. This afternoon school was moved in 1917 to Waverley House, and the special classes into Zetland House.

2. THE SHORT STREET METHODIST GIRLS' SCHOOL.

In 1888 there appears in the Government report the name of the Methodist Mission Anglo-Tamil Girls' School, teaching up to Standard I, and the next year it appears as an aided school. Up to October 1891 the school met in a house in Short Street; after that date it was transferred to the Christian Institute, in Middle Road, at the corner of Waterloo Street. Meant for Tamils at first, it soon attracted children of all races, and in 1893 its name was changed to the American Mission Girls' School. Reference must here be made to a boarding house and school for English-speaking girls that was opened at View Place, Mount Sophia, in May 1894. In 1897 the establishment became a boarding house simply, the girls being sent to the Middle Road school. The steady increase of numbers necessitated better accommodation, and in 1898 the present site in Short Street was purchased, the sale of the Middle Road property helping to cover the cost of the new site. The new building was opened in February 1900, the Government having given \$3,000 towards the cost. The Government report for that year says: "The American Mission Girls' School suffered from a weak staff, and the work shown in the standards was poor. An interesting and apparently successful start has been made here in kindergarten work." In 1908, however, the school was classed as Grade I throughout. Additions were made to the school buildings in 1912.

3. FAIRFIELD GIRLS' SCHOOL.

The Mission started a small school for girls in the Telok Ayer district, and in 1889 it came under the Government Code, teaching up to Standard I. In July 1890

it became an aided school, and was duly inspected in the following November. From 1891 to 1898 its name no longer appears in the Government list, as apparently it had become more of a mission to children than a school. In 1899 application was again made to have it admitted to the privileges of the Code, and once more, in 1900, it became an aided school. This same year the Government promised \$3,000 for a new building on condition that the Mission raised an equal amount. The Government's offer was not taken advantage of. In 1902 the school was transferred to the building of the Eastern School, and another move was made the next year to a shop building at the corner of Cecil and McCallum Streets. The school was classed as Grade II throughout in 1908, but the next year the Inspector of Schools minuted that the school was "understaffed owing to the absence of Miss Olsen on leave." A new school being urgently needed, the Government gave a site in Neil Road and made a loan for building purposes, and in 1910 the new school was opened as the Fairfield Chinese Girls' School.

These are the principal schools of the Mission, but its educational activities do not end here. One of their efforts was less successful than usual. The Eastern School was taken over by them from the Presbyterian Church in 1900, and was closed after the inspection in 1902, although the Government had offered a fine site and a building grant of \$3,000, provided that the Mission raised the remainder of the required amount.

In 1915 there were five day schools and two boarding schools conducted by the Mission. A Tamil school for boys was opened in 1889, and became aided the next year. It then had a varied history; it disappears in 1895 from the Government list, to reappear in 1898, when it is inspected, and in 1899, when it becomes an aided school once more. It was then situated in an attap building on the site of the present Kandang Kerbau Market in Serangoon Road. In 1909 the school moved into a rented house further down the road, and in 1913

became the Serangoon English School. There is also an aided school at Gaylang belonging to the Mission.

OTHER SCHOOLS

Other aided schools there are that do good work, but are of too recent foundation to call for separate mention, as the Singapore Chinese Girls' School, founded in 1899, and the Seventh Day Adventist Mission School. One school, not aided and apart from the Government Code, deserves a brief notice. A school was founded in 1842 by Mrs. Dyer, of the London Missionary Society, and was situated in a house in North Bridge Road, about where the Anglo-Chinese Dispensary now is. In the 'Fifties it was moved to River Valley Road, and again to an old-fashioned house on the sea front, where Raffles Hotel now stands. In 1861 the present house on Government Hill was built, under the supervision of Colonel Collyer and Major McNair. In 1843 the school was taken over by the Female Education Society, and in 1900 by the Church of England Zenana Mission. The school now has about 100 children on the books, mostly boarders, and is now on strictly missionary lines.

THE GOVERNMENT

So far the story has been one of individual and of missionary enterprise. Behind these efforts there has been in most cases a power sometimes indifferent and occasionally benevolent. The attitude of the Government must now be taken into consideration. However much various educational bodies may claim to be independent, apart from the Government they can do nothing.

The Bengal Government at first was doubtful about the continuation of Singapore as a British possession. Trade, and the preservation thereof, was its chief anxiety, and Raffles's schemes were allowed to drop. But once the occupation was recognised as permanent, the Government's attitude towards education was friendly and liberal. Although the Company refused to shoulder

the burden itself, it was always ready to assist those who undertook the task. Sites and building grants were freely given, and yearly contributions made. In 1863 the Government instituted six scholarships of \$6 a month, tenable for one year. The subjects of the examination were those already mentioned in connection with the English curriculum of the time, the total number of marks obtainable being 1,170. There were thirty-eight competitors, and the highest number of marks actually obtained was 935 and the lowest five. Vernacular education was not entirely neglected; in 1856 two Malay day schools were founded, one at Teluk Blanga and the other, known as Abdullah's School, at Kampong Glam. This latter, "a thatched building, was pulled down under the orders of the Municipal Commissioners" in 1861, and a new school had to be erected.

When the Transfer to the Colonial Office was made in 1867, the new Government apparently continued the grants paid by the old. Official attention, however, was drawn to the far from satisfactory account of the present state of education in the Colony, and a Select Committee of the Legislative Council was appointed to inquire into the matter. On the 8th December 1870 they reported "that the progress of education had been slow and uncertain," partly owing to the want of sufficient encouragement from the Government. "There are a great number and variety of schools in the Colony, some purely educational, others combining charity with education. Many of these are under the control of the Roman Catholic clergy, but all, apparently, having a system of their own, unchecked, as a rule, by any Government supervision. By Government grants in aid, by voluntary subscriptions, and other means considerable sums of money have, during the last few years, been expended in the cause of education, but owing to the absence of effective supervision and the want of well-defined principles on which the schools should be conducted, your Committee is of opinion that the result has been far from satisfactory." The Committee saw but

two courses open : (a) " either to begin *de novo* and thoroughly reorganise all the existing establishments, or (b) to take the schools as they now are, and by a gradual process endeavour to place them on a more satisfactory and improved basis."

They expressed their unwillingness to interfere with the vested interests of the missionaries, and recommended the second course, disregarding the fact that in most cases the Government had given the land, had contributed towards the cost of building, and had made a yearly grant. It is difficult to see why the Committee talked of " vested interests."

This was a step fraught with serious consequences. The wiser and more statesmanlike course would have involved the expenditure of a large sum of money ; and the deciding factor in the Government's educational policy has always been financial considerations. The Commission of 1870 recommended more attention to vernacular schools. The money voted to pay the teachers was insufficient: they were underpaid, and consequently were often unsatisfactory. In 1886 an official comment is that " not a single teacher now remains who was a teacher in any of the Singapore schools five years ago." They could get larger wages as policemen or peons. In 1891 the average salary of a Malay teacher was \$11 a month, but officialdom was " unwilling to recommend any increase " on the ground that with the larger number of vernacular schools there would be increased competition for the posts, and competition would keep the salaries down. Parsimony and indifference go hand in hand. A training college for Malay teachers, opened in Singapore in 1878, was, on the recommendation of a " retrenchment committee," closed down at the end of 1895. However, it was reopened at Malacca in 1901, but the headship was reserved for a member of the Cadet Service, regardless of his qualifications or the interests of the teachers. How did the teachers fare? In the report for 1904 it is written: " Mr. H. C. Sells succeeded Mr. R. J. Farrer as head of

the College on the 6th July, Mr. Robinson was in charge for the whole of the school year, with the exceptions of a fortnight in March (when Mr. Marsh superintended) and a month again from the 10th August to the 10th September (when Messrs. Pringle and Horth successively undertook the supervision of the College). On the 1st December I [Mr. F. G. Stevens is writing] succeeded Mr. Robinson as acting head."

Now the College, under a qualified head-master, does excellent work. In this same year there were in the whole Colony 375 Malay teachers, and the average per month of their total salaries came to only \$13.88.

This policy of starvation was not confined to Malay education only. There has been a constant succession of resignations from the Government Service both of European and of local teachers. In 1887 the official report states: "I consider that the efficiency of the Government schools is greatly impaired by the fact that so many of our certificated teachers leave us after completing their three years' engagements. They either return home or find more remunerative employment elsewhere. We cannot expect to keep them unless some prospect of advancement is held out." In 1900 the Colonial Office obtained two masters from the West Indies, as "owing, apparently, to the unpopularity of educational service in the Straits among scholastic bodies in England suitable men could not be procured." During the years 1908 to 1910 fourteen Europeans and thirty-one local teachers resigned from the Raffles Institution and the High School, Malacca. This was not merely a temporary exodus. In 1913 three Europeans and thirteen local teachers resigned. Certificated teachers, Scottish graduates, Welsh graduates from universities, and some from Oxford and Cambridge, have all come and in their turn gone.

Naturally this attitude of the Government towards their teachers reacted on the aided schools. They adopted the same methods, and were criticised for poor results. In the report for 1895, in connection with the aided

schools, we find "it is of course impossible to get really efficient teachers for the salaries which in many cases are paid." Four years later the masters in aided schools "as a class are much underpaid, and often inefficient. In one school of over 200 boys the average salary of the teachers was \$18 per mensem, or about £20 per annum. In another school, teaching to a high standard, an interpreter had to be sent for on the inspector paying a surprise visit, as none of the teachers present could speak the language in which they were giving instruction."

In 1886 we read: "From a return recently prepared by the Audit Office it appears that the amount spent on education since the Transfer up to the end of 1885, after deducting fees, etc., received is 2·71 per cent. of the revenue received during the same period. The estimated expenditure for the present year is 4·43 per cent. of the estimated revenue." In later years the authorities failed to rise even to this standard, although the educational problem was greater than before. In the two years before the War the amount voted for education was less than 3 per cent. of the revenue actually obtained in the Colony, and of those sums in 1912 nearly \$31,000, and in 1913 nearly \$23,000, were returned to the Treasury, owing to the fact that Government terms were too low to induce men to come out.

This policy of drift has had its inevitable result. The Inspector of Schools in 1890, when summing up the work of the previous ten years, wrote: "In Singapore and Penang there is not a single Government English school in which instruction is given up to Standard VI, the highest standard of the Code, and the duty of providing an education in English sufficient for the requirements of the Settlement is left entirely to the Raffles Institution, the Penang Free School, and the Mission Schools." And four years later: "The English education of the Colony is almost entirely in the hands of missionary bodies or of committees over which the Government has no direct control." And finally it was left to a non-British

missionary society to recognise the educational need of the Colony.

The Committee of 1870 recommended that there should be a Superintendent or Director of Schools, whose duties " would, of course, extend to a thorough supervision of the schools receiving grants in aid from Government throughout the Colony, and he should reside chiefly at Singapore." In 1872 the office of Inspector of Schools was created, Mr. A. M. Skinner being the first to hold the appointment. Three years later his duties were combined with those of Inspector of Prisons and of Hospitals. The title was changed in 1901 to that of Director of Public Instruction, and in 1906 to Director of Education, S.S. and F.M.S., an Inspector of Schools for Singapore and Malacca being then created.

VERNACULAR SCHOOLS : BOYS

The Committee also recommended a large extension of vernacular schools in which the boys should be taught to read and write native and Roman characters. Mr. Skinner first made a thorough inspection of all the aided schools, and then devoted his energies to getting a system of vernacular education into working order. His difficulties were many ; he had to contend with the apathy, and at times the hostility, of the Malays and a lack of teachers. In those days education had no attraction for a Malay : as the 1887 report puts it, " but little worldly advantage is gained by their children attending school. In fact it is a pecuniary loss to them, when they are without the service of their children." In 1872, at Raffles Institution, out of an attendance of 386 only thirteen were Malays. The Bandarsah schools, where the Koran was taught, were naturally opposed to the spread of a more liberal education, and the attempt that was made in 1881 to incorporate them with elementary schools was a failure. There were, as we have related already, two vernacular schools already in existence. That at Kampong Glam was found to be degenerating into a Koran school, and Mr. Skinner had to

reorganise it. Other schools were opened at either end of the town so as to provide facilities for the children in those districts. A school was opened at Tanjong Pagar in 1874. "Application was made from Government to the Hon'ble Thomas Scott for a site for a school here. The result has been not only the gift of a site for a school, but also a further gift of \$500 to establish scholarships in it from James Guthrie, Esq. The thanks of the Community as well as of Government are due to these gentlemen for this further proof of the interest they take in the progress of the Settlement." In comparison with this we may quote from the Education Report three years later : " The Government's interest in the subject since the Committee's report in 1870 has scarcely been maintained at that point the Committee seems to have anticipated." To encourage the Malays to learn English four scholarships of \$3 a month, tenable for one year, were offered. The holders were to attend the principal English school in the Settlement, and Raffles Institution allowed them to enter free. In 1874 a fee of one cent weekly was charged in the better Government vernacular schools. This was discontinued in 1886, as it was found that the teachers paid the fee so as to increase their capitation allowance. In 1876 there were large attendances in the schools at the west side of the town—there were 150 at Telok Blanga and thirty-one at Telok Saga (on Pulo Brani). The Maharaja of Johore gave his residence at Telok Blanga as a school, and in October a high school was opened there with an English and an industrial class. " His Highness has always taken much interest in education, and has assisted its progress in Telok Blanga and the neighbourhood both by the indirect use of his influence and by the direct and liberal loan of a large building for the Malay College "—thus the report for 1880. To meet the ever-increasing demand for teachers, on the 1st March 1878 the High School was turned into a Malay training college, and speedily justified its existence. In consequence of an outbreak of beri-beri in 1891, and on the advice of the

Medical Officer, the college was moved to a site on Gemmill's Hill. Four years later, on the recommendation of a retrenchment committee, it was closed down. The need of teachers, however, caused it to be reopened in 1901, this time at Malacca, where it now is.

The casual attendance of the pupils was also a source of trouble. In 1881, "to ensure as far as possible pupils remaining longer at school than is the case at present, the parents and guardians of all applicants for admission to the schools are now required to enter into an agreement, with a money penalty in the event of a withdrawal of a pupil from the school without sufficient reason within three years from the date of admission." This arrangement, however, appears to have lapsed very soon.

The building of schools went on steadily, and efforts were made to disarm hostility by using the schools as local dispensaries, chiefly for fever mixture. In 1889 there were twenty Malay schools in Singapore, with an average attendance of 813. As a contrast we might take 1916, when there were sixteen boys' schools, with an average attendance of 1,068.

Gradually the Malays were beginning to realise the advantages of some education. In 1888 those boys who had passed Standard IV in the vernacular were admitted free into any Government English school. In 1884 English up to Standard II was taught in the Kampong Glam Malay School. This instruction was discontinued for two years, and was restarted in 1890, this time under a European master and up to Standard VII. The two branches of the school, the English and Malay, were united into one larger school in 1897, called Victoria Bridge School. The present school buildings, however, were not built until 1906. A surprising advance was made in 1891, when a night school for adult Malays was opened in the Kampong Glam School, with an average attendance of forty-two. The next year fifteen more night classes were established in Singapore, and continued to do excellent work until, in 1894, "in consequence of a falling off in revenue," they were abolished.

In 1893 a Committee appointed to enquire into the education of Malays in the Colony had no fault to find with that given in Singapore, where the results of the boys' schools appeared to be quite satisfactory.

MALAY GIRLS' SCHOOLS

The Malay girls' schools have not fared so well. The Malays were opposed to female education, and their children only attended in response to pressure. The first school was opened at Telok Blanga in 1884, and could show sixty pupils the next year. In 1887 it had to be closed, "the attendance having sunk almost to nil." The next year it was reopened, but in 1889, "owing to the departure of Ungku Anda, who had taken great interest in the Telok Blanga Girls' School, and to the fact that over twenty families having children in the school removed with her to Johore in April last, the attendance at the school is less than was the case last year." The first official inspection took place in 1886, and from that time onwards we find constant references to the difficulty of getting children to attend or of finding competent Malay mistresses. As late as 1906 it appears to be nearly hopeless to get Malays to show "any interest in female education." In 1893 the average attendance of Malay girls in Singapore was one hundred; nine years later we find two girls' schools, with an average attendance of sixty-five; in 1916 there were five schools, and an average attendance of 108. "Two of those girls' schools are non-Government, conducted by the Methodist Mission; the attendance is small, mainly owing to religious scruples on the part of the Mohammedan population."

ENGLISH SCHOOLS

In dealing with the teaching of English the Government was greatly helped by the fact that other schools had done the pioneer work, and also that with the exception of the Malays all races in Singapore were eager to avail themselves of any opportunity of learning English. The policy adopted was to afford the various nation-

alities the opportunity of learning elementary English through the medium of their own language. The first two schools, erected in 1874, at Cross Street and Kampong Glam, were entrusted to the management of the Raffles Trustees, who handed them back to the Government after a year's trial. By the end of 1879 there were six Government English schools, three at either end of the town, for Malays, Chinese, and Tamils respectively. Of the Tamil schools that near Cross Street was incorporated with the Cross Street English School in 1885, and the one in the Kampong Glam district was closed in 1894, as the American Methodist Mission had a similar school in the near vicinity. In 1882 the English class attached to the Malay College at Telok Blanga was moved to Kampong Bharu, which was made a general branch school. Excellent work was done there, but in 1898 "the attendance was so poor that the school had to be closed." The head-master was transferred to the Kampong Glam Chinese School that "was so badly taught." This latter school appears in 1907, with an enrolment of thirty-eight, and after that date is seen no more. The Cross Street School had a happier history. It was first opened in 1874, and in ten years' time was teaching to Standard VI, then the highest standard. Its numbers grew, and it was so well conducted that it was proposed, in 1901, to "establish a Training School in connection with a new Cross Street School." The training scheme did not materialise, but a new school was erected at Outram Road. This was formally opened by the Governor, Sir John Anderson, on the 26th February 1906, and is now known as Outram Road School. The demand for education was great, and the old Cross Street School had to be kept as an infant school preparatory to Outram Road. After the necessary structural alterations, it was opened on the 1st December of the same year, and by May 1907 had 370 pupils. In 1914 the school was moved to a far healthier position on Pearl's Hill.

In 1891 another year was added on to the course for the study of English by the creation of a Standard VII,

and for the first time the Cambridge Local Examinations were held in Singapore. Before this the only serious secondary work had been the preparation for the Higher or Queen's Scholarships, a short account of which must be given.

QUEEN'S SCHOLARSHIPS

"In order to allow promising boys an opportunity of completing their studies in England, and to encourage a number of boys to remain in school and acquire a really useful education," the Government, in 1885, offered two Higher Scholarships of £250 a year, tenable for five years. These were to be awarded according to the result of a special examination set by the University of Cambridge, provided that the candidate had reached a certain standard in English. The scholarships were actually awarded for the first time in 1886, as in the previous year the prescribed standard in English had not been reached. In 1894 and 1895 only one scholarship was offered, "in consequence of the falling off of revenue." Between 1897 and 1902 they were awarded on the result of the Cambridge Local Senior Examination, but from 1903 onwards a special examination was again held, more suited to the needs of the Colony, candidates having to pass the Cambridge Senior first. From 1908 onwards only one was offered: "It is intended to expend the money saved by the abolition of one scholarship on the improvement of education in other directions." After 1911 even this one was abolished also, and the improvement is still to come. It has been urged that these scholarships led to the few brilliant boys being exploited to the detriment of the many. For some years these scholarships stimulated the only secondary work in Singapore, and later a pass in the Senior Examination was a necessary preliminary. For those who believe that it is detrimental to the formation of character to take a boy from the enervating surroundings of Singapore and plunge him into the more stimulating atmosphere of Western life it is a sufficient answer to refer to the careers of Lim Boon Keng (Raffles Institution, 1887),

Song Ong Siang (Raffles Institution, 1888), and Gnoh Lien Tuck (Dr. Wu Lien Tek : Penang Free School, 1896).

As Mr. Buckley, on page 138 of Vol. I of his *Anecdotal History*, gives a misleading account of the progress of these scholarships, and as exaggerated claims to successes in the past are often made, a plain statement of fact is given herewith. Between 1886 and 1911 inclusive, forty-five scholarships were awarded (only one was given in the years 1890, 1895, 1896, 1908-11). Of these, Raffles Institution gained 21, Penang Free School gained 11, St. Xavier's, Penang, gained 6, St. Joseph's Institution gained 5, and the Anglo-Chinese School gained 2.

In 1902 the whole scheme of education in the Colony was considered by a Special Commission appointed by the Government. Besides the taking over of Raffles Institution and certain alterations in the Queen's Scholarships, the Commission recommended the starting of commercial and science classes at Raffles Institution, and that "classes in drawing, geometry, mensuration; and the use of tools and simple machines be also started, if or when a sufficient number of pupils can be found ready to enter them." Scholarships also were suggested for boys intending to study industrial, survey, and commercial subjects. Local teachers were to be trained, the boys in the Normal School that had already been sanctioned, and the girls in a training class to be established in connection with Raffles Girls' School.

COMMERCIAL CLASSES

It remains briefly to summarise the results of these suggestions. At the end of 1900 a grant was sanctioned for boys in commercial classes equal to that given for pupils in the "special" (i.e. the Cambridge) classes. The Anglo-Chinese School and St. Joseph's promptly opened classes, and in accordance with the report of 1902 a commercial class was opened at Raffles. But by 1903 there were only two such classes in Singapore, at Raffles and St. Joseph's, containing twenty boys between them. Commercial reform was in the air; a sub-

committee of the Chamber of Commerce arranged an annual examination for candidates over seventeen years of age, and offered prizes. The first examination, with sixteen candidates, was held in 1904, and a second the following year. After this, in true Singapore fashion, nothing more is heard of these examinations. To induce boys to stay longer in the commercial classes, the Government offered, in 1905, two scholarships at Raffles Institution. These classes are meant for boys who have passed Standard VII; but, to quote the 1910 report, "very few boys remain for the whole two-year course, the majority leaving before they have acquired a sufficient knowledge of commercial subjects to be of much use to them. This is due to the ease with which they can get employment, and to the fact that a completion of the course does not as yet appear to ensure a larger commencing rate of salary at commercial establishments." And again, in 1912, "as an illustration of this, I may mention an advertisement which appeared recently for thirty boys who had passed the fourth standard." Before the business man criticises commercial education, he should see that his side of the matter is in order.

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION

"In 1879 five Malay apprentices were attached to the Jawi Peranakan Printing Press for the purpose of learning printing and book-binding. In 1881 a Malay Printing Press was established by His Highness the Maharaja of Johore in the Malay College at Telok Blanga, and in the revised code of 1879 the subject of surveying was included in the list of extra subjects for which special passes are given." Thus the report for 1882 sums up previous efforts to encourage industrial education. In this year scholarships were instituted for boys who wished to become engineers, surveyors, or engine-drivers. They were worth \$180 per annum, and were tenable for four years. The holders were required to apprentice themselves to the Tanjong Pagar Dock Company, or some other engineering firm, to learn prac-

tical engineering. Apprentices were also attached to the English Printing Office. For the first five years only five were awarded, but in 1892 seventeen held scholarships. In 1901 evening classes were arranged for the holders, but either because the need for them ceased to exist, or more probably because the Government failed to advertise the fact of their existence, they soon died out in Singapore. A survey school had been sanctioned, and the Commission of 1902 recommended that it be transferred to the Raffles Institution, and there its history ends. In 1899 a scheme for training engineering and surveying apprentices at the Roorkee Engineering College in India was drawn up, with the hearty support of the Colonial Engineer. Two candidates were selected, and all arrangements made, and then the Government cancelled the whole scheme on the grounds of expense. The history of the Medical School does not come within the scope of this paper, but it is worth recording that before the opening of the Medical School in 1905 boys were occasionally sent to Madras to qualify as assistant surgeons.

TRAINING OF TEACHERS

A constant problem in local education has always been the training of local teachers. For a long time each school has made its own arrangements. In 1901 we read: "The head-mistress of the Raffles Girls' School has been very successful in training female local teachers, and it was suggested that if the school were taken over by the Government, a training school for girls should be started there. This was done, and the school has more than justified its past reputation. In its other ventures the Government has been less fortunate. In 1903 "an attempt was made during the year to start a training class for teachers," but it met with no success. A scheme for training pupil teachers was then introduced. This failed also, and in 1906 a Normal Class for local teachers was substituted. It is difficult to praise either the way in which the class is run or the results. In

1916, out of 230 junior teachers in Singapore, 137 were qualified at this Normal Class that is held out of school hours, sixty were attending the class, and thirty-three had no qualifications whatsoever. There are rumours, however, that the Government are contemplating a proper Training College.

THE REFORMATORY

To provide juvenile vagrants "with the possibility of earning an honest living on their discharge," a Reformatory was opened in February 1901 at Bukit Timah. With this work must be associated the name of Mr. J. B. Elcum, who for many years was closely connected with the Education Department. He felt that "many of these boys have hitherto had no chance whatever of escaping a life of crime," and tried to make the place a reformatory and not a prison for juvenile offenders. Two and a half hours a day were devoted to school work and five to work at some trade. At the end of 1905 the present buildings were opened. In 1906 the boys were put to work on their own vegetable gardens outside the wall, and in 1910 they planted two and a half acres of land with rubber, the sale of which helps towards the upkeep of the establishment. The value of this Reformatory is proved by the fact that Mr. Prior, the Superintendent, constantly hears from his old pupils, who have grateful recollections of the good training that they received.

Such, then, is the history of education in Singapore for the past hundred years. Some indication of its future course may be gathered from the references to a College that are current at this time. Mr. Hullett suggested this in 1888; it was hinted at by the Inspector of Schools in 1890. It remains for the Government to decide even at the eleventh hour upon a policy. The time for disconnected efforts is past; efficiency demands unity of control. The function of a government is to govern and to lead the way. If, as Raffles wrote, "education affords the only means of effecting any considerable

amelioration of expanding the powers of the human mind," it is now high time for the Government to take control of the destinies of the children committed to its care. Others have done the pioneer work, and while gratefully acknowledging their labours, the Government should take over the burden that it is more fitted to bear. So, and not otherwise, will Singapore become, as Raffles wished, the centre not only of commerce and its luxuries, but of refinement and the liberal arts.

MR. R. W. HULLETT

As a trainer of scholarship winners, Mr. Hullett, the former Principal of Raffles Institution, was no less successful than he was in shaping the destiny of the many Straits boys who passed through the school. Richmond William Hullett, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, took up the appointment of Principal of Raffles Institution in June 1871, when the school was not under Government. He seems to have entered keenly into the life of Singapore, for in the late 'Seventies he owned a griffin, and was found on the committees of several bodies then having charge of the educational work of Singapore. From August 1874 to April 1876 he acted as Inspector of Schools, in addition to his duties at Raffles. From April 1903 to September 1906, the concluding term of his thirty years' work, though nominally Principal of Raffles, he discharged the duties of Director of Public Instruction, S.S. He was devoted to his work, and sought recreation in botany and gardening, wielding the *changkol* (native hoe) for exercise, and for many years served on the Committee of the Botanical Gardens. Thirty years' strenuous service is unique in the history of education in the Colony, and his influence can hardly be over-estimated, for he inspired masters and pupils alike with high traditions of "the School." A Hullett Scholarship, established by his old pupils, perpetuates his memory in the Institution, and when he died, in England, in November 1914, no one mourned his death more than his old pupils.

CHAPTER X

THE SCIENCE OF SINGAPORE

SCIENTIFIC OBSERVATIONS AND RECORDS

By Dr. Gilbert E. Brooke

" Yes, the old lost stars wheel back, dear lass,
That blaze in the velvet blue.
They're all old friends on the old trail, our own trail, the out-trail,
They're God's own guides on the Long Trail—the trail that is always
new."

To the general public the records of atmospherical and astronomical observations are usually voted a weariness to the flesh. Meteorology, as far as most people are concerned, consists in tapping an aneroid barometer to see if the weather is going to improve, or gazing at a jejune thermometer with languid interest after a breathless night.

It is not intended in this chapter to weary the reader with endless columns of figures, but rather to put before him a short sketch of the progress made during the century, and a brief record of local work in meteorological and allied subjects. For the benefit of the searcher after detail, however, three short tables are appended.

Soon after the occupation of Singapore the need was felt for a survey of the coast and island. This was carried out by Captain Franklin, of the Quartermaster-General's Department, being completed in 1822, and the chart was used by Mr. Crawford when he went round the island, with Mr. Forrester and Lieutenant Jackson, to take formal possession after the Treaty of the 2nd August 1824. In this chart Blakan Mati was called by its early name, " Pulo Panjang " ; and P. Brani, " Pulo Ayer Brani." The signal flagstaff of the station was

on the little island, Pulo Tambakul, or Goa Island (which is now known as Peak Island), and was moved thence to St. John's Island in February 1823. The charted soundings were not very accurate, and but little was known about local tides ; so much so, that in 1833 orders came from Bombay to carry out tidal observations. They were begun in the following year, but the establishment allowed was very insufficient.

In 1840 Second-Lieutenant Charles Morgan Elliot, of the Madras Engineers, a younger brother of Sir Henry Myers Elliot, Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, was sent to Singapore to establish a " magnetic observatory." He reported his arrival on the 12th September, and by the end of the month had selected a suitable site one and a half miles from town, " beyond the company's grazing ground." The Observatory had wooden walls and an attap roof, but the floor and pedestals were of granite. It was built in a bend of the river just to the left of the approach to Kallang Bridge, and his house was on the opposite side of the road.

When the place was in order, the local Government abolished the old tide-reading establishment, and transferred the duty to Lieutenant Elliot, who started a proper tide-gauge in January 1841, and began regular observations of rainfall and temperature at the same time. The four and a half years during which this capable young officer was stationed in Singapore were full of busy incidents. Not six months had elapsed before his health began to give way, and he went on a two months' trip to Batavia. Unfortunately he had forgotten that the Company stood *in loco parentis* to the various residents in its dominions, and he was in disgrace when he returned for having gone without leave !

The following year saw him in temporary charge of convicts, and also in charge of public buildings as Inspecting Engineer. He also went for a month to Rajah Brooke, in Sarawak, to make magnetic observations. After leaving Singapore, he spent some time continuing his observations in different parts of the Archipelago,

and went to England, where he published his results in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, of which Society he was made a Fellow. He later returned to the East, where he died in 1852.

Thus ended the first series of scientific observations, after which there was a long gap, until the efforts of Mr. Vaughan in 1862. Mr. Jonas Daniel Vaughan was originally a midshipman in the E.I. Co.'s steam frigate *Tenasserim*, and attracted the attention of Colonel Butterworth in 1842. In consequence, he was transferred to the Straits station, where he did some pirate hunting in the *Phlegethon* and *Nemesis*. This versatile officer was then appointed Superintendent of Police at Penang, from which place he was transferred to Singapore as Master Attendant in 1856. From 1861 to 1869 he was Police Magistrate and Assistant Resident Councillor, and then went on furlough to England, where he was called to the Bar from the Middle Temple, and acted for a short time as a Puisne Judge in Singapore. Not only was he a good musician and amateur actor, but he found time for a considerable amount of literary work and papers on local subjects.

The local rainfall and temperature observations which he made between 1862 and 1866 have been continued to the present day, first by Mr. Arthur Knight, and then (with wind, humidity, etc.) by the Medical Department since 1869. These records have been taken by the Assistant Surgeons, a valuable work. One of them, Mr. Leicester, went to Calcutta in November 1881 to learn the work of a meteorological observer, and returned in January 1882. No note has been taken of other meteorological phenomena, such as earthquakes, etc. Fortunately Singapore lies well outside the active volcanic belt. Earthquakes—of which there have been examples in 1873, 1874, 1892, 1896, and 1907—seldom amount to more than a distinctly perceptible tremor.

Of thunderstorms Singapore has not been without its fair share, and the damage done by lightning has been considerable, though in recent years the frequency and

severity of the storms seem to have distinctly diminished. In August 1845 the steeple of the first St. Andrew's Church was struck by lightning, and one of the tablets near the altar was splintered. It was again struck in April 1849, when the punkah and walls were badly damaged, but fortunately the church was empty at the time. In March 1850 the Fort Canning flagstaff was splintered ; and in May of the following year the Mount Faber staff suffered the same fate ! Twenty-five years later the stone beacon at Sultan Shoal was destroyed ; and, coming to more recent times, the spire of the present St. Andrew's Cathedral was struck in 1891.

Hydrographic surveys have been made occasionally since the early one of 1822, previously mentioned. The last survey of the century was carried out in 1909 by H.M. Surveying Sloop *Waterwitch* (at one time a yacht belonging to Mrs. Langtry). The Commission included Lieutenant and Commander H. P. Douglas (afterwards of the Hydrographic Department of the Admiralty), assisted by Lieutenants J. S. Harris, J. S. Schafer, F. E. B. Haselfoot, and C. H. Knowles. Lieutenant Schafer (eldest son of the great physiologist, Professor Schafer), who afterwards left the Navy for rubber-estate work in the Federated Malay States, rejoined the Service at the outbreak of the Great War, and his valuable life was cut short by the explosion of a mine in the North Sea. The *Waterwitch* finished her naval career by being accidentally rammed by the Governor's yacht when lying at anchor in Singapore Roads. She was afterwards raised, repaired, and sold.

This chapter would not be complete without reference to solar or sidereal observations and time-ball work.

The first move that seems to have been made in this direction was by a Captain William C. Leisk, the Surveyor of Shipping to the Insurance Offices, who wrote to the Government in July 1847 suggesting that a time-ball should be fixed on the Fort Canning staff for the use of shipping. Two years later the desired permission was obtained, and Captain Leisk had a ball dropped from

the yard-arm between the hours of nine and ten a.m. daily (weather permitting), notice of the time being given on the previous day. How long this time-ball continued in operation it is impossible to say ; but Ellis, the Master Attendant, in his annual reports of 1883 and 1884, pointed out that an observatory and time-ball were badly needed, and that he had recommended them for the previous ten years. He had an astronomical timepiece in his office, regulated by solar observations, and the noon-gun at Fort Canning got the time twice a week.

The result of the Master Attendant having thus started the ball rolling was that Mr. W. H. M. Christie, the Astronomer Royal, made suggestions in 1889 on the requirements of the new Observatory, which was finally built on the old Fort Fullerton site at the mouth of the river—lat. $1^{\circ} 17' 14''$ N. ; long. $103^{\circ} 51' 16''$ E. A 3-inch reversing transit telescope, by Troughton and Simms, was duly installed ; and two chronometers—a sidereal and a mean solar—by V. Kullberg, were ready about 1893.

The time-ball, at first intended for Blakan Mati, was erected at Pulo Brani, and was working until 1905. Then began the present phase of the history of the Observatory. Mr. R. S. Fry, who was in charge of the Observatory for so many years, reported in September 1903 that the accuracy of the standard clocks was being impaired by vibration from the neighbouring reclamation, and he suggested that the Observatory should be moved to Mount Faber and the time-ball also taken there from Pulo Brani. The suggestion was acted upon, and the Observatory was built on Mount Faber, in lat. $1^{\circ} 16' 8''$ N., long. $103^{\circ} 49' 24''$ E.

On the 25th April 1905 the instruments were moved from Fort Fullerton to their new home, and after a month's testing and adjusting, came into use on the 1st June 1905.

Standard time of the 105° E. meridian (i.e. seven hours ahead of Greenwich mean time) was adopted in the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States on that date, and is still in use.

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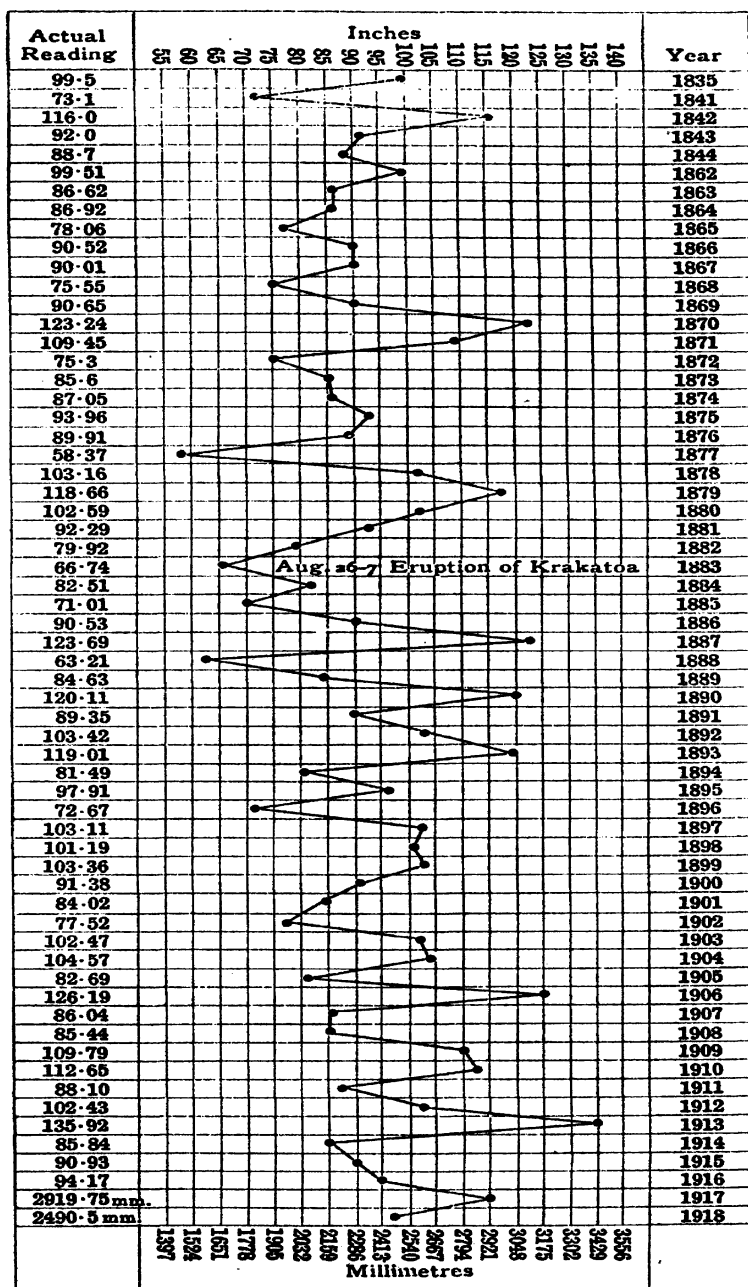
NOTES ON THE METEOROLOGICAL TABLES .

The observations between 1820 and 1825 were made in an attap shed on the present Fort Canning Hill, chiefly by Lieutenant-Colonel Farquhar. Those from 1841 to 1845 were made by Lieutenant Elliot in his observatory near Kallang Bridge.

A continued series of observations began on the 1st January 1869, under the new Colonial Office *régime*, and are complete to the present day. The observations from 1869 to 1873 inclusive were made at the old Convict Gaol Hospital, which was on the now vacant ground adjoining the S.V.I. headquarters, and opposite the Museum, where the bridge to Bencoolen Street is situated. From 1874 onwards the observations have been made at Kandang Kerbau. Many unofficial observers have rendered help in the past, as, for instance, the late Mr. Arthur Knight, who kept a continuous record of the rainfall for many years.

In analysing these tables, several features are very prominent. December and January are consistently the wettest months of the year; the only other month approaching them is November. February and March are the two driest months.

The wettest year that Singapore has had was in 1913, when the total rainfall reached 135·92 inches. The driest year was 1877, when only 58·37 inches were recorded. The lowest recorded temperature seems to be 62° F., taken on the grass on the 27th July 1882.

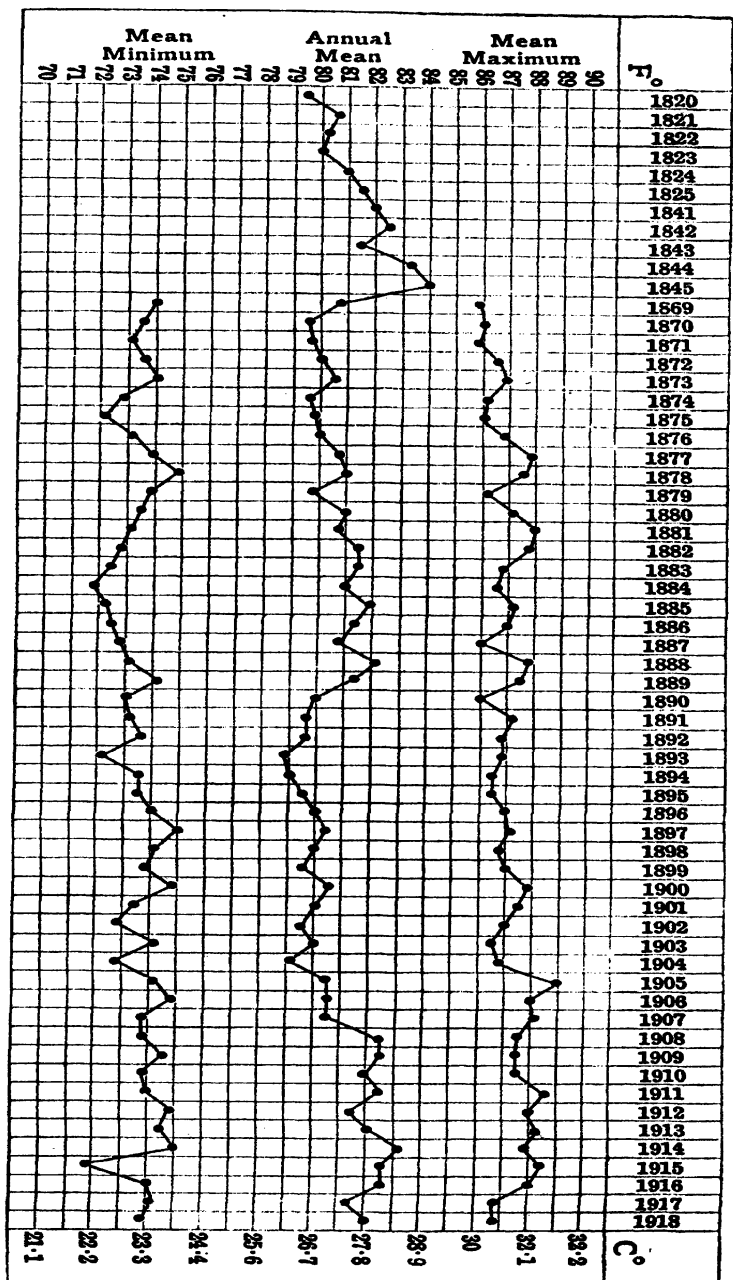


ANNUAL RAINFALL AT SINGAPORE

S. W. Monsoon					N. E. Monsoon						
September	August	July	June	May	April	March	February	January	December	November	October
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											1915
											1916
											1917
											1918
September	August	July	June	May	April	March	February	January	December	November	October

MONTHLY RAINFALL DISTRIBUTION IN SINGAPORE

Driest Month = o. Wettest Month = . .



SHADE TEMPERATURE AT SINGAPORE

The monsoons are an interesting subject. The weather-year may be considered as beginning in October, which is a month of featureless rainfall and transitional winds from all quarters, which show a slight preponderance of southerly element from the expiring South-West Monsoon. The North-East Monsoon then begins in November, and continues from the north-east for five months to the end of March. This is the dominant monsoon of Singapore, and is characterised at its commencement by producing the three wettest months in the year, and closes with the two driest months. The type is also dominant, for any element other than north-east is almost entirely absent during the whole five months.

At the close of this monsoon another transitional month is found—April—during which the winds are variable and distributed. Both the transitional months of April and October are frequently characterised by the explosive gales known as "Sumatras," and by thunderstorms.

The five months from May to September inclusive will be seen to constitute what is called the South-West Monsoon ; but, although the northerly element is practically absent, the wind has a south-easterly prevalence which often approaches that from the south-west, especially in May. The South-West Monsoon is on the whole a dry one, but the rainfall, though moderate, is fairly evenly distributed.

The features of the temperature charts show the unvarying nature of the conditions in Singapore, even over a period of many years. They do not, however, bring out the monotonous lack of seasonal variation which has such a prejudicial effect on the health of European residents as years go by.

MEDICAL WORK AND INSTITUTIONS

By Dr. Gilbert E. Brooke

"The ports ye shall not enter,
The roads ye shall not tread,
Go, make them with your living
And mark them with your dead."

Looking back across the gulf of years to the early days of the nineteenth century, we can but shudder at the prodigal waste of life amongst the pioneers of Empire—a waste which the later discoveries of science have given us the means to combat, thereby robbing the unknown of many of the terrors which previously haunted it. The tale of medical effort in Singapore, and the story of its medical institutions, form an important page in the history of that place. There was, moreover, in its early days, an indirect connection with medicine in the persons of Nathaniel Wallich, John Crawford, and José d'Almeida.

Wallich had been in the Medical Service of the Danish Settlement at Serampore, and his botanical career and visits to Singapore have been dealt with elsewhere in this book.

John Crawford, famous both as an administrator and as an author, had belonged to the Bengal Medical Service, and had passed three years in Penang as a Civil Surgeon before doing diplomatic work in Java under Raffles. He followed Farquhar as Resident at Singapore from 1823 to 1826, when he was succeeded by Mr. Prince. Besides several diplomatic missions, he was our Ambassador to Burma in 1827; and was the first President of the Straits Settlements Association when formed in London in 1868, just before his death. His daughter, Eleanor Julia Charteris, who was married in 1864 to the late Sir George Dalhousie Ramsay, C.B., died as recently as 1918.

José d'Almeida had been a surgeon on a Portuguese man-of-war. He resigned about 1824, and after making several voyages between Macao and Calcutta in a

Portuguese barque called the *Andromeda*, he settled in Singapore in 1825 as a medical practitioner, and opened a dispensary on the site of the present godown of Guthrie and Co. His later connection with commerce was of quite an adventitious origin. A Spanish and a Portuguese vessel being detained in harbour by the monsoon, it became necessary for them to sell their cargoes. The successful efforts of d'Almeida in this direction determined him to start in business and abandon medicine.

For the commencement of the medical history of Singapore, however, it is necessary to begin at Penang.

When Raffles left Penang on the 19th January 1819, with his cruisers and transports, the head of the Medical Department of that place was Superintending Surgeon G. Alexander. There were three or four other surgeons on the establishment ; but the one chosen to accompany Sir Stamford in charge of the troops on his eventful mission was Sub-Assistant Surgeon Thomas Prendergast, who had been a medical officer in the General Hospital there. This young officer was in sole medical charge at Singapore until the arrival of Dr. Montgomerie in May.

It is of interest also to note that Louisa Bellamy, wife of Charles Bellamy, who was one of the junior assistant surgeons at Penang, also accompanied Sir Stamford Raffles to Singapore, and was present on the memorable occasion of the hoisting of the flag on the 6th February. Mrs. Bellamy was the great-granddaughter of William Gordon, Sixth Viscount Kenmure and Baron Lochinvar, who had been attainted and beheaded on Tower Hill on the 24th February 1716 for his share in the Jacobite rising of the previous year. But her uncle, John Gordon, was restored as Seventh Viscount by Act of Parliament in 1824 ; and her brother, Adam, a naval officer, was eventually the eighth and last Viscount.

During the first few years of its existence housing problems in Singapore were endowed with an importance which was not to reappear so acutely until nearly a century had gone by. In those days the cantonments were situated near the site of the present Short Street,

and the exercising ground (or "cantonment plain") was roughly bounded by what we now know as Prinsep Street, Albert Street, Queen Street, and Bras Basah Road—the intersections of Waterloo Street, Bencoolen Street, and Middle Road not being then in existence. Their hospital was situated very near the house in Selegie Road now occupied by Dr. Weerekoon, and known as the "Central Pharmacy." This was the only General Hospital in Singapore until February 1827, when it fell down, and was temporarily repaired. Cantonments were then moved to the neighbourhood of Outram Road, and the European sick were treated from 1833 to 1845 in a gallery of the Pauper Hospital. The further history of military hospitals need only be briefly reviewed. By 1867 there was a hospital for European artillery at Fort Canning, as well as the establishment at Sepoy Lines; and by 1870 there was also a hospital for a British regiment at Tanglin. The list of assistant surgeons and surgeons attached to these hospitals is a long one. Perhaps the most noted officer was the P.M.O. in 1872—Staff-Surgeon Herbert Taylor Reade, V.C., of the 61st Regiment. He won his V.C. at the Siege of Delhi on the 14th September 1857. A large party of rebels had advanced from the direction of the bank and occupied the roofs of several houses, from which they attacked Reade while he was attending to many wounded in the street. With a party of only ten, of whom two were killed and six wounded, Reade dislodged the mutineers, killing many of them. Two days later he was the first to storm the breach in the magazine, and, with the help of his sergeant, he spiked one of the enemy's guns.

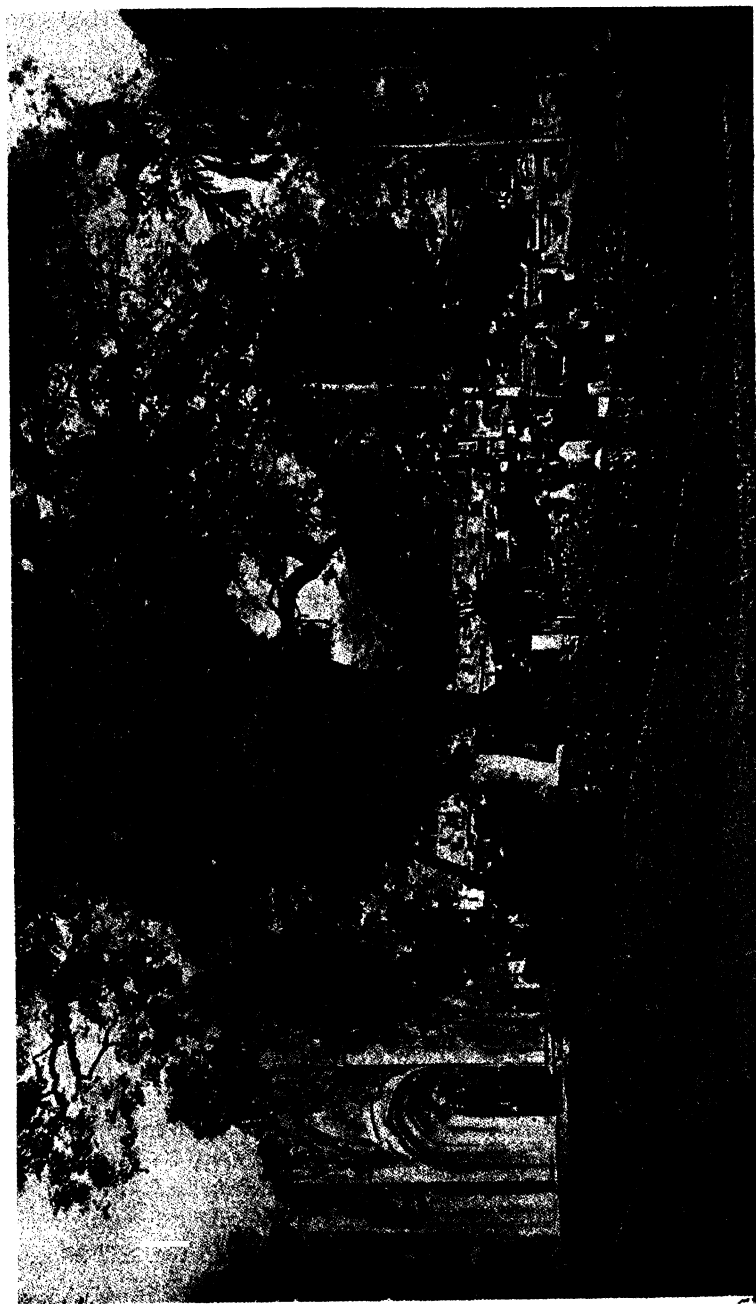
The general trend of medical and scientific work in Singapore throughout the century is not especially remarkable for constructive ability or statesmanlike policy. It must be remembered, however, that the handicaps were many, comprising not only popular apathy or official indifference, but also a progress in scientific knowledge which was but of slow and gradual growth.

Vaccination against smallpox had been introduced only in 1798, and its adoption was by no means general at the time that Singapore was founded. The bacterial origin of infectious diseases was not even known until the early 'Seventies. The organism of cholera was uncertain until isolated by Koch in Egypt in 1883. The microbe of plague was found only in 1894 by Kitasato during the Hongkong plague epidemic. The rôle of the flea in the dissemination of plague came much later still ; and that of the anopheles mosquito in the production of malaria was demonstrated by Ross only in 1897-9. Preconceived ideas were therefore the only guide for many years, strange as they now seem to us of a later day.

The medical staff of the Straits Settlements in its early days was, of course, drawn from the Military Service of the East India Company. The uniform was that of the regiment to which they were attached or had been attached when seconded for civil duties. The pay and allowances were fair, but the pensions they drew were of the most meagre description. Assistant surgeons after twenty years' service were entitled to only 5s. a day ; or 2s. 6d. a day if they were retired for ill-health after ten or more years. Surgeons received 10s. and superintending surgeons 16s. 4½d. a day after twenty years' service, including one furlough of three years.

After the incorporation of the Straits Settlements in 1826, Superintending Surgeon G. Alexander, M.D., was in charge of the whole department, but continued to live at Penang. Assistant Surgeon B. C. Henderson was in charge of the General and Pauper Hospital at Singapore, as well as being Residency Surgeon ; but he went to China on sick leave in 1827, and was relieved by Assistant Surgeon Caswall. Assistant Surgeon A. Warrand was in medical charge of the Madras troops and of the local military staff after the departure of Montgomerie with the Bengal troops in 1827.

Dr. Alexander seems to have been a keen and resourceful officer, but was not at all a favourite with his official



OLD CEMETERY, FORT CANNING.

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superiors. The idea of a leper asylum at Pulo Jerejak originated with him, as also the first suggestion of quarantine boarding of ships to stop the entry of small-pox, which was so frequent in the early days. The Government generally ignored his suggestions, which made him somewhat querulous. But the climax came when he had to go to China on sick leave, leaving Assistant Surgeon W. E. E. Conwell, M.D., in charge. Dr. Conwell was an energetic man, with the ear of the Government, but had the fatal habit of rearranging a house during an ephemeral occupation. The subsequent protests of Dr. Alexander led to the latter's retirement, but fortunately not to the former's preferment.

The Singapore of early days had a reputation in India as a health resort, and many a sick civil servant came south, and sometimes reached the end of his journey there, as the tombstones at Fort Canning testify. The cemetery on the slopes of Fort Canning was opened in 1823 ; and was consecrated by Bishop Wilson of Calcutta, on the 6th October 1834. In this peaceful acre, with its decaying tombs, many a pioneer is sleeping his last sleep. Amongst them are William Scott, the Master Attendant, who was a son of James Scott (an early settler of Penang, and uncle of the great novelist). Sir José d'Almeida is buried there ; also George Doum-gold Coleman, who was so long associated with the public life and works of the Settlement. There is the grave of the Hon. Charles Robert Lindsay, second son of the sixth Earl of Balcarres, who died on the 4th July 1835. He was a Collector of Customs at Agra. Also of Leopold James Henry Grey, of the East India Company's Service, a son of a Bishop of Hereford and grandson of the first Earl Grey. A register and plan of the inscriptions and tombs was made in 1912 by Mr. H. A. Stallwood, Architectural Assistant to the P.W.D., and appears in No. 61 of the Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. The register of Anglican burials begins on the 24th February 1820 in the first of the eleven volumes kept by St. Andrew's Cathedral.

The progress in the development of the Settlement was quite unparalleled. On the 11th June 1819 Raffles had written home: "My new Colony thrives most rapidly; we have not been established four months, and it has received an accession of population exceeding 5,000, principally Chinese, and their number is daily increasing."

This influx of population, however, was to become a source not only of strength but of weakness. In the train of the immigrants came infectious diseases, such as smallpox, leprosy, etc., and hordes of decrepits. Although Dr. Alexander had suggested the boarding of ships, no quarantine action of any importance was undertaken for more than half a century.

St. John's Island was used for some years from about 1823 as a station for the "report boat" of the Marine Department, but not as a quarantine station. An amusing incident occurred in 1828, when three Malay pirate boats stole the Master Attendant's boat one night. The station lascars ineffectually pursued them in a smaller boat, but "their muskets were so defective that they could not get them to go off."

By the 'Forties the immigration was amounting to about 10,000 annually, some of which was by square-rigged vessels, but the majority by junks, during the monsoon season, January to the end of April. These people used Singapore as a jumping-off ground. If the voyage was protracted, the junks frequently ran out of water and provisions, and hundreds died. Oxley mentions, in his annual report for 1850, that sixty-seven had recently landed in a dying state, and he suggested that the Nakodahs who brought sick and destitute persons should be fined. This resulted in the passing of the India Act No. 41 of 1850.

This subject introduces the history of the various pauper hospitals, which have loomed largely down the vistas of the past. The inception of the first poorhouse was due to a "presentment" of the Grand Jury in February 1829, who objected to meeting "the miserable

and disgusting objects " to be seen all over the town. To the establishment of such an infirmary the Government agreed, allocating the pork-tax to meet the upkeep expenses.

In order the better to understand the vicissitudes of the Institution, it is necessary to have a bird's-eye view of the five phases through which it has passed. The first (1830-33) was an attap building on the site of the present S.V.I. headquarters in Bras Basah Road. The Asylum was subsequently built on this site about 1841. The next stage was a brick building on the site adjacent to the previous one, at the corner now near the Museum. It was in use from 1833 to 1851, and admitted convict patients as well as town paupers; and even European patients from 1833 to 1845. Its accommodation was extended by the erection of a shed at the foot of Pearl's Hill, which received the overflow from 1845 to 1849. The third phase lasted from 1849 to 1858, and consisted of the hospital erected by Tan Tock Seng on the slopes of Pearl's Hill. This site was expropriated in 1858, and the patients were detained in temporary buildings on Balestier Plain until 1860, when the new Tan Tock Seng Hospital at the corner of Balestier Road was finished, and occupied until 1909. The site and buildings were then given to the Cantonese for their Kwong Wai Siu Hospital, and Tan Tock Seng entered its new and present home in Moulmein Road.

The first attap building seems to have been a disgraceful affair. The *Singapore Chronicle* of 1831 remarks that the occupants number sixty, that many of them are lepers, and that the upkeep cost only one-third of the \$820 per mensem which the Pork Farm produced. The following year the Grand Jury made another " presentment " calling attention to the disgraceful building, in consequence of which the Governor-General sanctioned the erection of a building on Coleman's plans for \$11,402. This block, situated at the corner of " Hospital Street " (i.e. Stamford Road), served for eighteen years the double purpose of convict

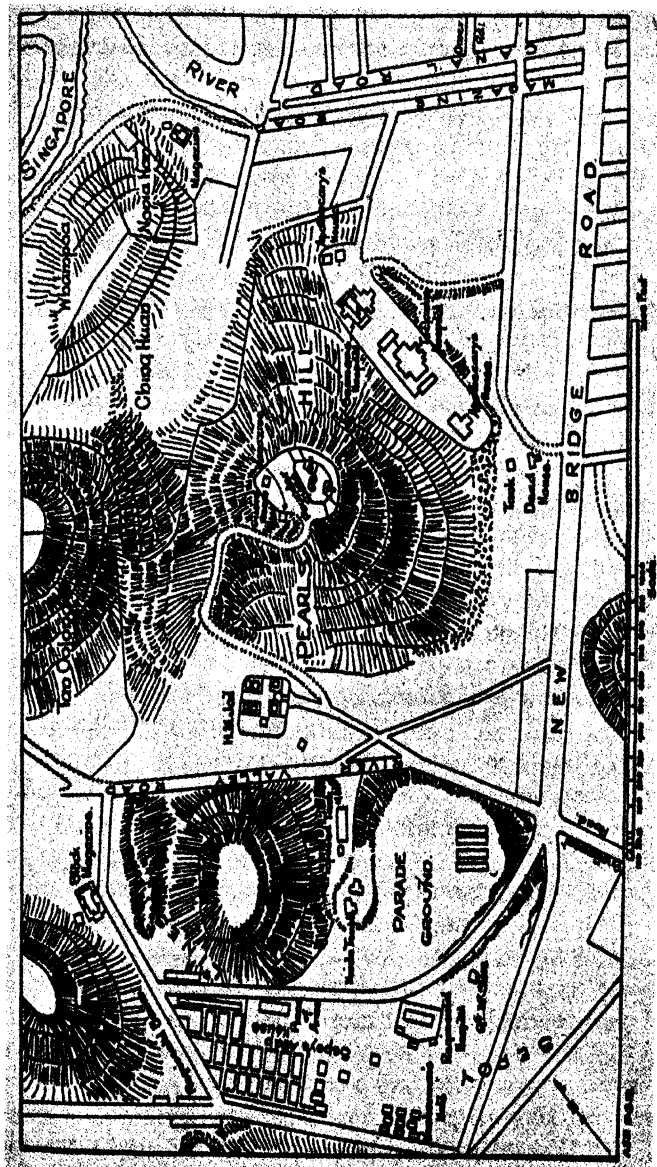
and pauper hospital. On the 20th September 1837 the pork-tax was abolished, and in consequence of the removal of the only source of revenue, it was decided to admit acute cases only. But there were already 154 patients, and the Government had to give 3,575 rupees per annum towards the upkeep.

Contemporary evidence gives us glimpses of what the place must have been like. The floors were of mud ; the patients had plank bunks, the condition of which can be better imagined than described, for the cooking-pots were kept on the beds when not in use. The place was probably full of flies ; and a row of mephitic latrines occupied one end of the ward, above which was a plank gallery, used for several years as a European seamen's hospital. The dirt must have been appalling, for the cleaning was left to the sick inmates and lepers.

But life had, perhaps, some compensation for the inmates after all, for they had some tea at 7 a.m. and fish-curry and rice at 2 p.m. ; and were allowed clean clothes every Sunday and Thursday !

The gradual closing of the poorhouse brought its own result. The town was gradually filled with loathsome vagrants, so much so that Resident Councillor Church urged on the Indian Government the necessity of readmitting chronic cases, and pointed out that the abolition of the Pork Farm had not resulted in lowering the market price of pork, but had actually raised it by eight doits per catty. India, however, was adamant, and the Governor-General expressed the opinion that it was not an official duty to look after decrepits who could enter the Settlement without let or hindrance, but rather that of the public to whom their presence might be offensive. His contention was not without justification, for the local authorities had persistently ignored the control of immigration either from its public health or economic aspects.

The momentary deadlock was solved, however, by the generosity of a philanthropic Chinaman, and Tan Tock Seng Hospital seemed about to begin a career of useful-



PEARL'S HILL, AND SURROUNDINGS, 1857.

ness. Mr. Tan Tock Seng was a native of Malacca who had lived nearly all his life in Singapore, first as a vegetable seller and later as a shop-keeper and merchant, and was the first Chinese J.P. Wealth came to him, and he nobly used the gifts which life had lent. On the 25th July 1844 the foundation-stone of the new Pauper Hospital was laid at Pearl's Hill, in the presence of Mr. Thomas Church, the Resident Councillor, the building (and the adjacent European Seamen's Hospital) having been designed by the Government Surveyor, Mr. J. T. Thomson. But Mr. Tan Tock Seng, who had spent seven thousand dollars on it, was not to get rid of his child so quickly. Months, and then years, went by. The hospital was completed by the end of 1846; was a haunt of bats; decayed; was repaired—but still the wind swept through its empty wards.

The next year Assistant Surgeon Traill, who had been appointed to Singapore in 1844 on the departure of Dr. Montgomerie, urged the removal to "Tan Tock Seng" of the remaining inmates of the old Pauper Hospital, but the monthly outlay was considered too serious. The Grand Jury urged the re-establishment of the Pork Farm, and the merchants petitioned the Governor-General to the same effect. But fate intervened, and the old pauper shed at the foot of Pearl's Hill became so unsafe that the 130 occupants were perforce moved into the new building in October 1849. It was then found that no water had been provided, and when the next morning broke, many of the inmates were found washing their sores in the puddles outside.

After the Indian Mutiny it was thought necessary to expropriate the Pearl's Hill site. This was done without reference to the Committee of Management, who thought they had been treated with the "utmost want of courtesy," and that the Balestier site was unhealthy. The patients, however, were transferred, in February 1859, to some temporary wooden building; and finally into the new three-ward hospital at the corner of Balestier and Serangoon Roads, in May 1869.

For nearly fifty years the hospital remained in that site. The annual admissions mounted up from less than a thousand to over five thousand; and, although Tan Beng Swee (the grandson of the founder) built three wards in 1879, the hospital again outgrew its accommodation, and a further change to its present home in Moulmein Road became necessary. Most of the benefactors have been Chinese; but a notable exception was an Arab merchant, Syed Ali bin Mohamed, who gave an area of five acres off Queen Street in 1857. Mr. Ong Kim Wee, of Malacca, provided a ward for the blind in 1911.

The tablet which marks the hospital to-day bears the following legend :

" TAN TOCK SENG'S HOSPITAL

FOR THE SICK POOR OF ALL NATIONS

INCORPORATED BY ORDINANCE VII OF 1880, AND

SUPPORTED BY GOVERNMENT WITH THE AID OF

VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS.

" The original Hospital was built in 1844 by Mr. Tan Tock Seng, at his own charges, and was afterwards enlarged at the expense of his son, Mr. Tan Kim Ching.

" It was removed to a new site, in Seranggong Road, by the Government of India in 1860, and additional wards were added in 1879 by Mr. Tan Beng Swee, and at subsequent dates by the Straits Settlements Government.

" The present building, erected at a cost of \$481,210 (including the cost of site), principally from Government funds, with the aid of a donation of \$50,000 by Mr. Loke Yew and a bequest made by Mr. Wee Boon Teck, was completed in 1909, Sir John Anderson, K.C.M.G., being Governor of the Straits Settlements."

The subject of lepers, as already stated, was early connected with that of paupers, and both classes were at first herded together. It was not until 1848 that temporary sheds were put up on the cross-road between Seranggong and Gallong (i.e. Lavender Street). How

long they were there is not now known ; but in 1857 they were in a building in Penang Lane, where the Seventh-Day Adventist Chapel now stands. Another move was made before 1874, when they were housed three miles from town on Serangoon Road, in a place which had formerly been an extra gaol for brick-making prisoners. The daily average number of occupants was then about twenty-three, but many would not accept treatment, and preferred to abscond and beg.

The General Hospital, as well as the Pauper Hospital, has had many vicissitudes.

The following is a brief résumé of its seven phases : From 1823 to 1829 it was situated in Selegie Road as a combined Military and General Hospital. From 1833 to 1845 it was housed in a gallery of the Pauper Convict Hospital. In 1845 a special Seamen's Hospital was opened at Pearl's Hill, which was kept in use until the site was expropriated by the Military Authorities in 1858. From the latter date to 1860 temporary quarters were provided near Armenian Street ; and then for the next thirteen years a new hospital at Kandang Kerbau was in use. In 1873, owing to an outbreak of cholera in the adjacent Asylum, the patients were moved to the old Military Hospital at Sepoy Lines, until the present building was completed and occupied in 1882.

After the unsavoury occupation of a portion of the Pauper Hospital, the Governor-General sanctioned the erection of a separate Seamen's Hospital on the understanding that the Treasury would duplicate public subscriptions. The building erected at Pearl's Hill was first occupied (by eleven patients) on the 1st November 1845. The swamps at the foot of the hill were probably bad, for a dozen mosquito-nets were urgently procured. The references to this period are few and far between. The probability is that the number of patients did not increase rapidly ; for a note occurs, two years later, that one Chinese sweeper and the purchase of twelve Bibles had been sanctioned.

It was about this time that Dr. Oxley asked for a

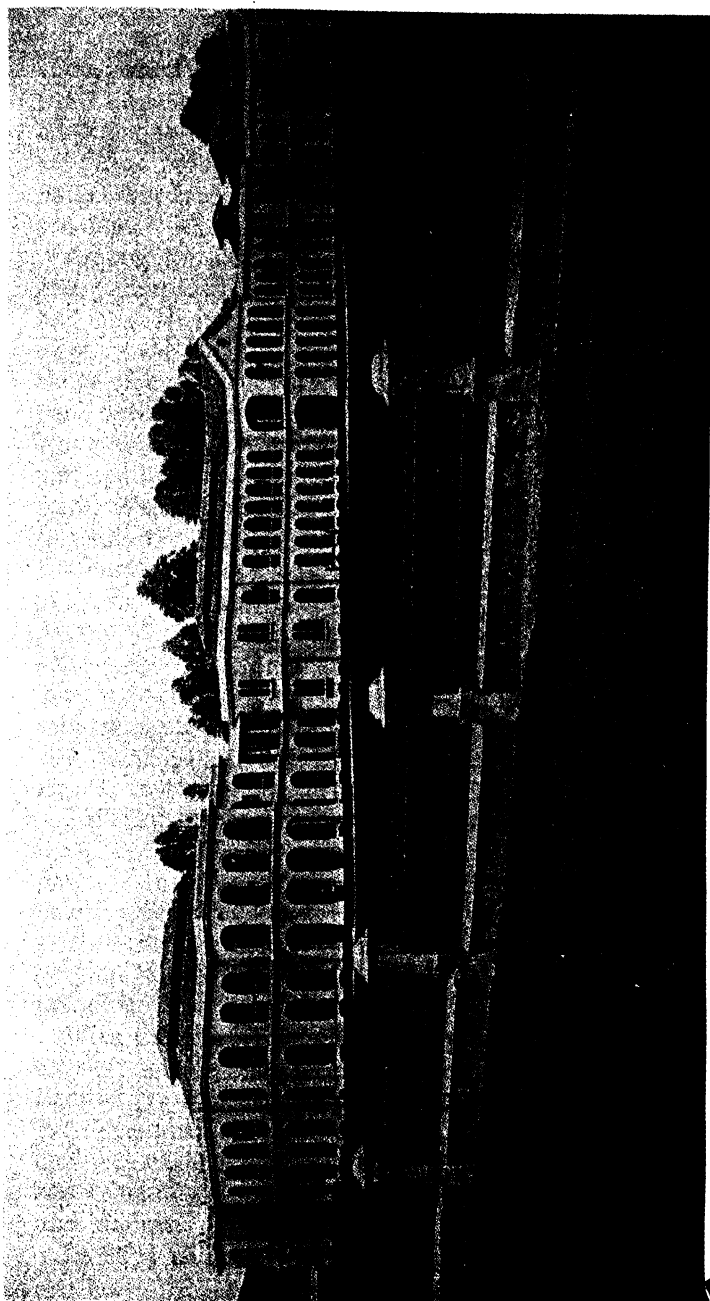
mortuary to be built. It was erected close to the New Bridge Road end of the path leading past the Pearl's Hill Hospitals, and was completed on the 21st October 1851 ; but the lead table-top was unfortunately stolen after a week !

At the expropriation of the Pearl's Hill area in 1858 a house near the site of the present Y.M.C.A. was rented for \$33 a month, as a temporary Seamen's Hospital and Medical Stores, until the new General Hospital at Kandang Kerbau should be completed. Dr. Rose reported, on the 9th January 1860, that the building was completed, and the move was made at the end of that month.

This new building had European and native and police wards ; and in the neighbourhood were the Medical Stores, Government Dispensary, the Senior Surgeon's Office, as well as the new Lunatic Asylum. The hospital was not, however, very satisfactory. The neighbouring racecourse was swampy and unhealthy, and the dirty cattle-sheds of the P.W.D. abutted on the property. Cholera broke out in the Asylum, and the patients were hurriedly transferred, on the 22nd July 1873, from the General Hospital to the old Sepoy Lines Hospital, which had been occupied by police N.C.O.'s since the removal of the Indian Native Regiment.

After several years a new General Hospital was built close by, and was opened for use on the 1st August 1882. This is the building at present in occupation, though various additions have been made from time to time. A new European female block and operation room were completed in 1907, and electric light and fans were installed in 1913.

The life of the institution has been placid on the whole ; but a proposal to introduce nursing sisters from the Convent led to a storm of protest from many of the leading inhabitants in March 1885. Dr. Rowell was P.C.M.O. at that time, and Dr. Simon was Resident Surgeon. The protest proved unsuccessful, and some Convent Sisters began their work on the 1st August in the same year. This arrangement continued until the 14th May



THE GENERAL HOSPITAL, IN 1919.

SOCIETY

1900, when some Sisters arrived from England, and the Convent ceased to be responsible for the nursing arrangements. Mention should be made of the devoted attention paid for years by Miss Sophia Cooke to the native wards of the General Hospital ; her life and work are dealt with elsewhere in this volume.

Among the other medical institutions of Singapore few, perhaps, call for historical remark except the Asylum and the Medical School. A lunatic asylum did not exist in the early days of the Colony. Those who had the misfortune to lose their reason were put in the convict gaol with the prisoners. This *régime* continued until November 1840, when one lunatic murdered another—perhaps he was not so mad as he was painted ! There were, at that time, nine of them in the gaol ; and, being Chinese, they could not be sent to Calcutta. Governor Bonham, therefore, supported Dr. Montgomerie in recommending that an asylum should be built. A vote of \$1,325 was passed, and the building was erected on the site occupied by the first Pauper Shed, where the S.V.I. headquarters now are. The number of patients was seldom more than thirty or forty, and no occupation was given them except basket-work, which Dr. Oxley started in 1844.

This first Asylum, added to in March 1851, was in use from 1841 until 1860, when it was pulled down, and the patients transferred to a new building adjacent to the newly erected General Hospital at Kampong Krabau. Part of the high wall of the first Asylum, and the postern-gate on the road, are still to be seen in the S.V.I. compound in Bras Basah Road.

With the removal of this old Asylum nothing was left at that end of the large convict domain except the Convict (ex-Pauper) Hospital. The latter continued its existence until the 2nd May 1873, when the Singapore convict establishment was finally broken up, and the 200 remaining convicts sent to the Andamans, Ceylon, and Madras.

In 1873 cholera broke out at the Kandang Kerbau

Asylum, which permanently frightened away the General Hospital next door. The "floors had sunk, and the roofs were leaky," and the building was condemned at that time; but nothing was done until 1883, when work was begun on the Sepoy Lines site, now in occupation. The latter building was first used on the 12th August 1887, and the occupants unfortunately brought cholera with them from the old site, a disease which has broken out at intervals ever since. For the first year at Sepoy Lines Dr. Tripp was the Medical Officer in charge; but in 1888 Dr. W. Gilmore Ellis was appointed Medical Superintendent by the Secretary of State, and held the post for about twenty years.

In addition to the work of these useful public institutions, valuable service was rendered to the Settlement by private practitioners from an early period. The first seems to have been Dr. Alexander Martin, who came to Singapore in the 'Twenties, and died on the 7th January 1831. His brother, Dr. M. J. Martin, continued his practice alone until 1840, when his nephew, Dr. Robert Little, arrived from home to join him. In 1846 the firm was augmented by another practitioner, Dr. Henry Allen Allen; and their dispensary in the Square, called the Singapore Dispensary, seems to have been started at about that time, the first and only previous dispensary being that of a chemist, S. C. Woodford, of Kampong Glam and Commercial Square. Dr. Martin left them on retirement about 1852, and Dr. J. H. Robertson joined them about 1858. Another early surgeon was Dr. Charles Julius Curties. He was an original member of Zetland Lodge in 1845. He succeeded Dr. Little as Coroner, and died on the 5th June 1860, being buried in Fort Canning Cemetery. These veterans, who saw so much of early Singapore life, will long be remembered by tradition.

Dr. Allen was an original member of Zetland Lodge in 1848, and for some years was a tower of strength to the Savage Club, especially as a tragedian. He died about the year 1869.

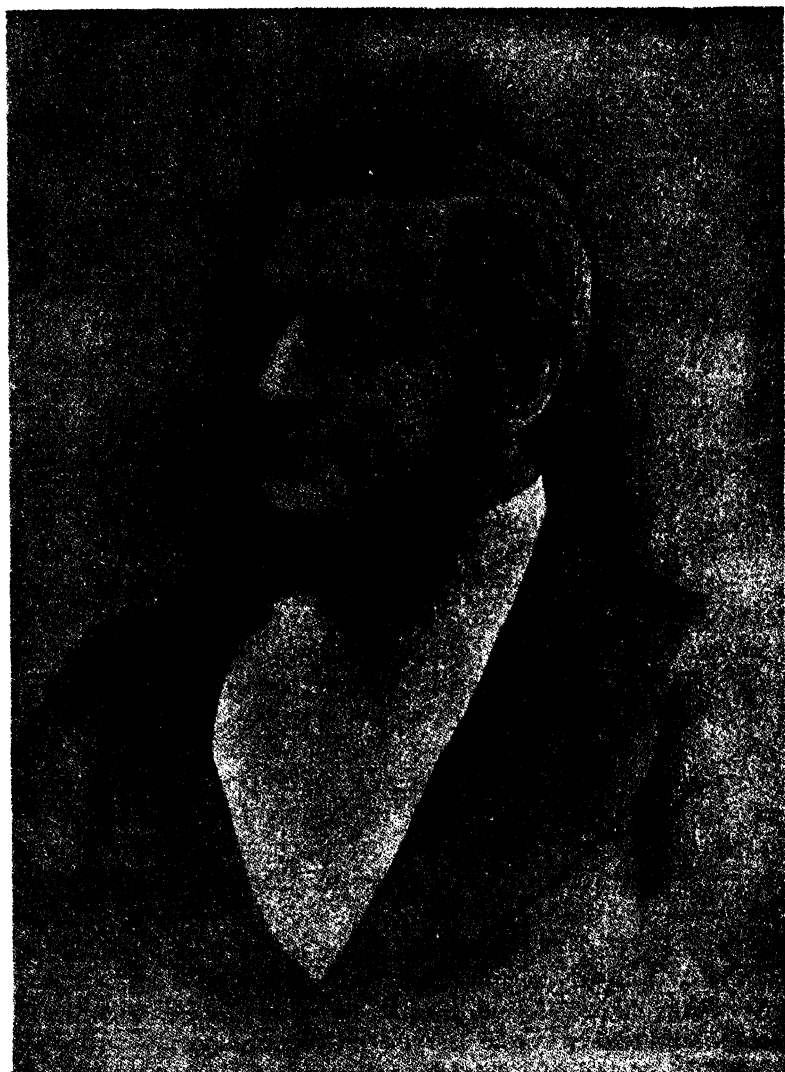


DR. ROBERT LITTLE.

Dr. Robert Little, M.D., F.R.C.S. (Edin.), was the son of an Edinburgh lawyer, and grandson of the minister at Applegarth, in Scotland. His two younger brothers, John Martin Little and Matthew Little, were resident in Singapore for many years, and were founders of Messrs. Little, Cursetjee and Co., now John Little and Co. Dr. Little lived at the Singapore Dispensary for a few years, but afterwards bought some property in River Valley Road, and occupied Bonnygrass House for over thirty-five years, which must be a record for continuous European domicile. His first wife was a daughter of Mrs. Whittle, who kept a school in North Bridge Road in 1837. Dr. Little was a man of courtly manners and personal charm. He had a striking personality, and was very neat, and had few idiosyncrasies, unless the habit of always wearing gloves out-of-doors can be included in that category. The extent of his interests and activities can be judged by the following notes extracted at random from various sources. In 1844 we find him as a moving spirit in the establishment of a library. Four years later he became Singapore's first Coroner. In January 1851 he opened a private hospital for seamen, charging them only fifty cents a day. A little later he was assisting to collect a Presbyterian congregation; and in another couple of years (1st January 1858) he was gazetted as Surgeon to the Singapore Volunteer Rifles. When the Colony was transferred to the Colonial Office in 1867, he was one of the first Unofficial Members of Council. He finally retired about 1882, and settled at Blackheath, where he died on the 11th June 1888.

Dr. John Hutchinson Robertson was born in Edinburgh on the 21st May 1829, and was the eldest son of John Robertson, a well-known Edinburgh merchant. He was the founder of Edinburgh University Cricket XI, and was its first captain. For some time he practised in Edinburgh, but finding the winters too trying, he went to Singapore in 1857-8, taking with him his bride, Mary Anne, the eldest daughter of Thomas

Murray, LL.D., the author of many books and a well-known Gallovidian. Into the life of Singapore he entered with zest. For many years he was a J.P. and a Municipal Commissioner. In the early 'Sixties he tried hard to start golf in Singapore, and was also most useful in musical matters, as he was an accomplished musician, who had previously played first violin in the Edinburgh Amateur Orchestral Society for some years. Of his eight children, seven were born in Singapore, and of those, three are still in Malaya: Thomas Murray Robertson, the present Coroner; Farleigh Robertson, the manager of Jelevu Estate; and John Argyll Robertson, the manager of the Chartered Bank at Kuala Lumpur. Dr. Robertson was a familiar figure, and always wore a frock-coat and top-hat. For many years he used to drive an American buggy with a pair of somewhat attenuated horses, which were trained to wait outside a house by themselves. There is a story that some wag hung the following notice on them while their master was visiting his patient: "Paddy wanted, enquire within"! The buggy was given up in later years in favour of a two-seater tricycle, on the back seat of which his Chinese boy would be perched, holding up an umbrella over him. Dr. Robertson was much loved by the populace, and was a good surgeon. About the year 1879 he parted company with Dr. Little, and started "The Dispensary," afterwards carried on by Dr. Galloway from 1885. The latter in turn left The Dispensary, and started the British Dispensary in 1897. Dr. Robertson left Singapore in 1886, and subsequently died in Edinburgh. Meanwhile, the original Singapore Dispensary was made over by Dr. Little to Dr. T. S. Kerr, and continued its existence until 1918, when an amalgamation with Maynard and Co. was effected. The latter dispensary was originally started by Dr. John Scott, M.D., Queen's University, Ireland, F.R.C.S., in 1861, under the name of the "Straits Dispensary," with Dr. Rose and Dr. Krausse as partners. Dr. Rowell succeeded Dr. Scott in 1867,



DR. JOHN HUTCHINSON ROBERTSON

and was joined by Dr. Bentley in 1877; and later by Dr. Tripp, who formed a company of the concern in 1884, under the name of Maynard and Company. Many of the medical men above mentioned subsequently joined the Government Service, Drs. Rose and Rowell both becoming heads of the department.

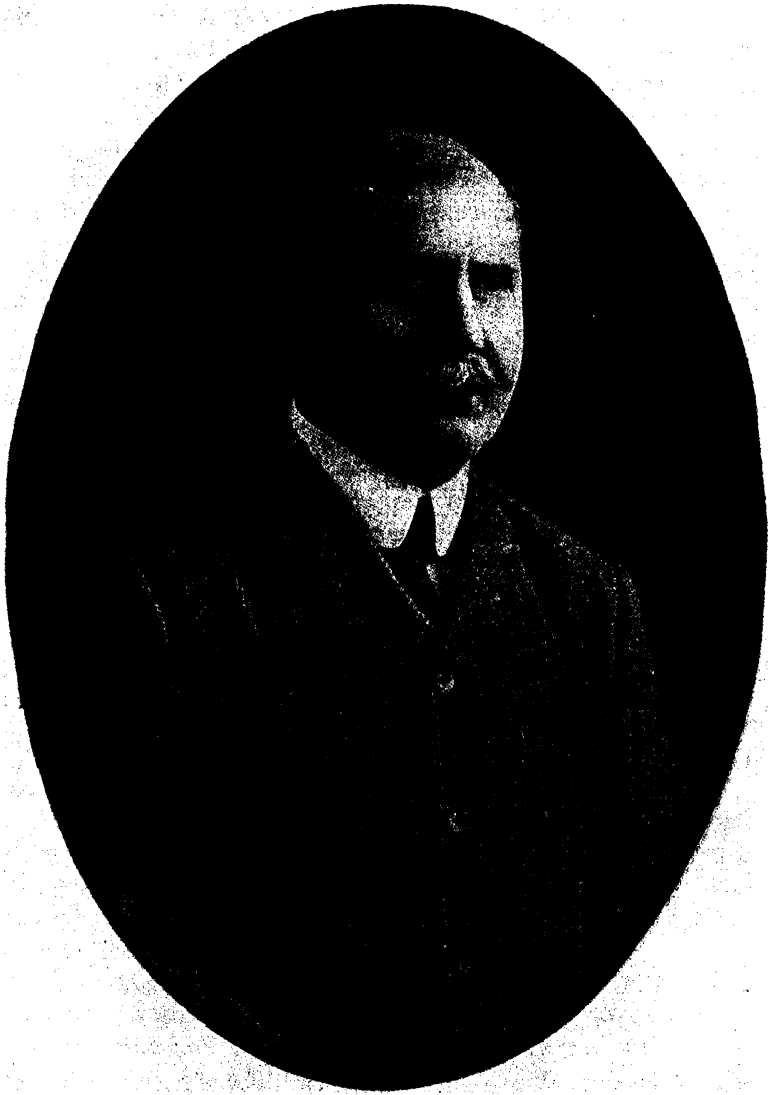
Dr. Arthur James McDonald Bentley was educated at Rugby and then at Edinburgh, becoming M.B., C.M., and M.R.C.S. (Eng.) in 1871. He was attached as Surgeon to s.s. *Diana* on an Arctic exploring expedition in 1869, subsequently practising in the Dutch Indies from 1872 to 1876. While in private practice in Singapore he acted on several occasions as Colonial Surgeon, and was definitely appointed to that post in 1880, in the place of Dr. Simon, who became Resident Surgeon. Later practitioners are too recent to be reviewed here; but a brief biography of heads of the Medical Department is given as an appendix, and a portrait is included of Dr. Galloway, at one time a Member of Council, who has done so much for Singapore during the last few decades.

Smallpox epidemics were not infrequent in the early days of Singapore. Each epidemic has usually lasted for a couple of years. Thus 1849-50 and 1859-60 were both bad epidemics. In 1899 there were 300 cases, followed by 220 in 1900; 159 and 109 cases in 1902 and 1903 respectively; 414 and 241 in 1910 and 1911. Vaccination was practised from the beginning of the occupation. The supplies obtained from Bengal were generally inactive, but were tried until the 'Forties, when Batavia lymph was adopted, and proved more successful for twenty or thirty years. Dr. Oxley in 1850 experimented with some samples from the Royal Jennerian Institute in London, but naturally the results were negative after so long a voyage. Not until 1892 did Singapore attempt to supply her own needs. In that year Dr. Simon started its manufacture with some calves from Mr. Crane's "Clearwater [*sic*] Dairy Farm"; and Mr. Leicester, the Apothecary of

the Government Medical Stores, was put in charge. During the following year, however, the supply of calves ran short; and, as the local ones proved too expensive, Dr. Kerr, the acting P.C.M.O., abandoned the scheme, and obtained his supplies from Saigon.

The close connection of the Settlement with India on the one side and China on the other has naturally been responsible for the periodical introduction of cholera. The first record of an epidemic was in 1841-2, subsequent visitations being in the years 1851, 1862, 1873-4, 1895-6, 1900-3, 1911. The worst year was 1902, when 842 cases were reported and 759 died.

Soon after the 1841 epidemic attention began to be drawn to the necessity for better sanitary conditions. A pioneer in this direction was the Rev. Horatio Moule, one of whose sons, George Evans Moule [Senior Optime in 1850 (Corpus College)], was afterwards Bishop of Mid-China in 1880; and another, Handley Carr Glyn [Second Classic 1864 (T.C.C.)], Bishop of Durham in 1901. He succeeded the Residency Chaplain, Mr. White, commencing duty on the 18th May 1845. His efforts on behalf of sanitation resulted in his invention of the first practical earth-closet, a device which appears in text-books of hygiene even to this day. The results were not published, however, until 1863, when his paper was read before a meeting of the Society of Arts on the 13th May, which subsequently appeared in their Journal. Mr. Moule's name appears occasionally in the old records until he left Singapore in 1851. Apparently he was not quite to the liking of the Presbyterian inhabitants who attended his ministrations, for they had a meeting in November 1846, at which they told him that they were not wishing to reflect on him in any way, but would much rather have a padre of their own. The next year finds him writing to the P.W.D. to put up punkahs in the church, for, as he quaintly put it, "the ladies have to punkah themselves even during the time they are on their knees"! Two years later we find him writing a complaint to Government about the firing of salutes



DR. DAVID JAMES GALLOWAY.

on Sundays, "so wanton a desecration of the Lord's Day." Mr. Moule had several livings in England, and died in 1886 at the age of eighty-one.

The cholera epidemic of 1851 lasted only from January to May, but was rather serious, because many cases were hidden, and those which were found would not go into hospital. A stock mixture was kept ready at all the country police stations, consisting of: tincture of calumba 6 oz., compound tincture of cardamons 2 oz., aromatic spirits of ammonia 2 oz., compound tincture of camphor 3 oz., tincture of capsicum 1 oz. Two drachms of this mixture were to be taken in half a glass of peppermint water every quarter of an hour—a good working prescription even after a lapse of seventy years! At the same time the Government published a cure for the disease, in four languages. The body had to be briskly "champooed." Then a wineglassful of neat brandy and black pepper had to be taken; and this was followed by a hot decoction made by boiling a quarter of a pound of pounded ginger in half a pint of water for ten minutes, straining, and adding one tablespoonful of salt. The epidemic resulted in the projection of waterworks for the town, so that the unfortunate victims did not die in vain.

The next visitation (1862) was chiefly remarkable for the great number of Chinese processions and the vast amount of cracker firing which was indulged in.

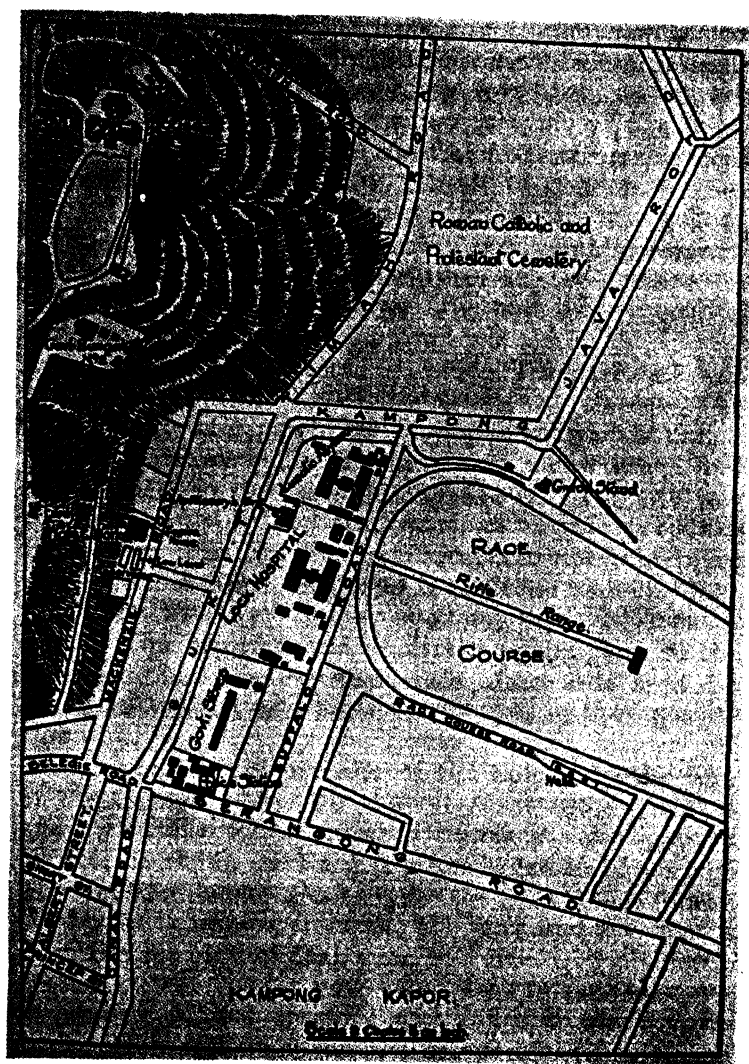
The epidemic of 1873 lasted from July to September, with 857 cases and 357 deaths, and was probably introduced from Bangkok by the s.s. *Chow Phya* on the 2nd July, although, as so frequently has happened, cases began in the Asylum almost immediately.

It was probably this epidemic which prompted the Acting Master Attendant, Henry Ellis, to write to Government on the 15th November 1873, suggesting a lazaretto at St. John's Island. Mr. Ellis had served in the Indian Navy from 1851 to 1863, when that service was abolished. He was then Master Attendant at Penang from 1867 to 1873, when he was transferred to

Singapore, and during his service it was made a S.S. billet in 1882. His scheme included a steam cutter, a floating police station, a hospital on St. John's, and a quarantine burial-ground on Peak Island. These excellent suggestions bore fruit, and a lazaretto was completed in November of the following year (1874). Not a whit too soon, for the s.s. *Milton* brought 1,300 Chinese coolies that month with a bad cholera infection on board. St. John's has remained the quarantine station ever since; but the Master Attendant's suggestion as to the boarding of ships was dropped, and he had to bring it up again in 1881. This roused the P.C.M.O., Dr. Rowell, who said that perfectly effective measures to exclude epidemic disease from Singapore by means of quarantine were naturally impossible; but he admitted that the danger of disease entry might be reduced by the intelligent inspection of ships and the isolation of sources of infection. Consequently an apothecary for boarding ships was sanctioned in 1883. He was also to look after St. John's (which had then a staff of one dresser and four coolies), as well as control any infectious disease ashore! A launch was purchased for him in 1884, and a Quarantine Ordinance was passed in 1886 (No. XIX of 1886); but the apothecary, Mr. S. A. Reardon, was not appointed until 1894 or 1895, and Dr. Rowell did both town and port health work himself.

The treatment of cholera in 1877 consisted of the frequent exhibition of dilute sulphuric acid in half-drachm doses, and the inhalation, for an hour or two at a time, of the fumes from burning sulphur and nitre. The human frame is indeed long suffering! Cholera cases in the early days were treated in the wards of the General or Pauper Hospitals. Then for many years they were removed to the Government Infectious Diseases Camp in Balestier Road. Finally the Municipality erected a commodious hospital for infectious diseases in Moulmein Road, which was opened in July 1913.

Returning again from the survey of cholera to the doings of earlier years, we find a note in the records of



KANDANG KERBAU HOSPITAL, AND SURROUNDINGS IN 1878.

1854 that Dr. Oxley brought eight bottles of Malacca "hot-spring water" to be sent to Calcutta for analysis. Many years later, in 1908 to be exact, a hot spring was discovered in the swampy jungle beyond Seletar, twelve miles along the Chan Chu Kang Road. It was found to be water of an alkaline siliceous type, with a trace of lithia and iron, and the chief constituents were reported, on analysis by Dr. Thresh, of London, to consist of sodium chloride 47.59 grains to the gallon, silica 7.73, calcium carbonate 4.06, and potassium sulphate 3.75. The temperature at the outflow is 65° C. (149° F.); and the water is now largely bottled for consumption.

In 1865 the cemetery in Bukit Timah Road was opened, and the old Fort Canning one was closed. The Municipality had bought the ground from Syed Abdullah and C. R. Prinsep for \$10,000, and a new grant had been issued on the 22nd January 1864. The site was consecrated by Bishop McDougal, of Sarawak, on the 15th November, but the first burial did not take place until the 2nd April 1865, and is recorded as being that of "John Findlay," single, aged 23, died of "locked-jaw." The Registrar was at first the chief clerk in the Treasury, but the registers were afterwards kept by the Municipality, who have six volumes in their possession.

Following on the transfer of the Colony to the care of the Colonial Office on the 1st April 1867, a Births and Deaths Registration Ordinance was passed (XVIII of 1868), and registration began in May 1869. The register books are kept in the P.C.M.O.'s office, the births beginning from the 7th May and the deaths from the 1st May of that year.

During the next year the Contagious Diseases Ordinance (XXIII of 1870) was added to the statute book. It is well to recall the course of British action in these matters. After the passing of the C.D.A. in 1864, which applied only to certain garrison districts, select committees were appointed in 1868 and 1869 to

enquire into the working of the Act, and they "recommended the cautious extension of the system of the Act." The Royal Commission of 1870, subject to certain modifications, were generally in favour of the system of the Act; and the House of Commons Committee of 1879 passed a majority report against their repeal.

In Singapore a Committee, consisting of Mr. W. H. Read; the P.C.M.O., Dr. Randell; the Postmaster-General, Mr. Trotter; the Protector of Chinese, Mr. Pickering; and Surgeon-Major O'Halloran, was appointed on the 2nd November 1876 to enquire into the working of the Ordinance after six years' experience. They sent in their report in February of the following year, and their document concludes: "That the Ordinance has been productive of good appears to be undoubted; but it still requires many alterations to make it effective, and its ultimate success must depend mainly upon the discreet manner in which its provisions are enforced."

The annual medical report for 1877 says: "There can be no doubt that the introduction of the Ordinance has been of much benefit to the women themselves." That for 1883 remarks: "It is a matter of much satisfaction to be thus assured that the introduction of the Act into the Settlements has resulted in a steady reduction of the diseases which it is intended to combat, as shewn by the above facts and by the returns from the several hospitals, both Military and Civil." In 1887 Dr. Tripp reports: "The results are exceedingly satisfactory, and show how much benefit the public has derived from the provisions of the C.D.O., especially when considered in relation with the records of the civil and military hospitals in the Colony." But the Ordinance was repealed on the 1st January 1888. Thereafter disease rapidly increased. The percentage of infections amongst those examined had been reduced to about fourteen in 1878, and steadily gone down to under four during 1885 and the subsequent years. The vol-

untary examinations of the year following the repeal of the Ordinance disclosed a percentage of 14·5 infected in Singapore and nineteen in Penang! Conditions became so bad that, in April 1890, Tan Tock Seng's Hospital had to close its doors except to the very worst cases of disease resulting from the repeal of the Ordinance. The most recent legislation is the Protection of Women and Girls Ordinance (XIII of 1896), which came into operation in November of that year, but that Ordinance deals with other aspects.

The annual report for 1873 by Dr. Randell, the P.C.M.O., was apparently the first medical report to be printed, and appeared nearly two years late! The P.C.M.O. at that time, and for years afterwards, was Health Officer, in addition to his administrative work. Singapore Municipality was divided into two sanitary districts—City and Kampong Glam, and there were two Indian Inspectors of Nuisances. It was not until the 13th May 1891 that the Municipal Commissioners proposed to appoint a Health Officer of their own. The first to hold the appointment was Dr. Charles Eardley Dumbleton, who had been Deputy Health Officer to the parish of St. James's, Westminster. He left for Singapore on the 15th December 1891; but owing to ill-health, Dr. Gilmore Ellis had to do most of his work, and Dr. Dumbleton resigned in August 1893, and died in Australia soon afterwards. Dr. Middleton was appointed in January 1894, and the progressive improvements in the sanitary conditions of the city are due to his inception. A Deputy Health Officer was sanctioned in 1897, and Dr. J. A. R. Glennie took up the post on the 8th November. In the early part of the present century the mortality rate continued very high, so much so that, at the end of 1905, the Legislative Council asked for a Commission to report on the great mortality and the sanitary conditions causing it. In consequence of this, Professor W. J. R. Simpson, Professor of Hygiene at King's College, London, and formerly for many years Municipal Health Officer at Calcutta, was selected to

enquire into local conditions. He arrived on the 12th May 1906, and left in the middle of August. His exhaustive report contained very valuable and useful suggestions.

The subject of Infantile Mortality is one which has largely exercised the Government in recent years. This annual rate is a very delicate index to the health of a community. The figure for Singapore had reached 345·5 by the year 1911, but declined yearly until 1917, when it again touched the three-hundreds. In the latter year the rate by nationalities was: European, 93·2; Chinese, 294; Malay, 432·6; and Indian, 206·5. For purposes of comparison it may be mentioned that the infantile mortality rate for England and Wales was 106 in the year 1910.

The local situation was met by the appointment of a Municipal Nurse in October 1910, to secure information regarding the conditions of the early life of infants and to advise the mothers. Miss Blundell took up the appointment. A system of instructing and licensing midwives was also inaugurated. Two were so licensed in 1911, after passing an examination, and seven in 1912. During the latter year, Miss Blundell was joined by Miss McNeary, and they paid 8,855 visits and saw 3,449 infants, while the midwives attended 140 cases.

The Midwives Ordinance came into force in the Municipality on the 1st July 1917, and Dr. Violet Burne gave six months' valuable help, paying 1,233 visits to supplement the work of Nurse Samson and Mrs. Black. Seventy-nine untrained midwives (50 per cent. Malay and 39 per cent. Chinese) were brought to light, and twenty-seven of them were put on class D of the register.

In view of the exceptional infantile mortality rate amongst the Malay races, the remarks of Mrs. Burne on various Malay puerperal customs are of great interest. The average Malay baby is at birth only about five or six pounds in weight. It is washed in tepid water, often containing a large nail and a nut (Buah Kras), which is

supposed to make the infant strong, and to prevent convulsions and scabies. A sireh leaf, heated at the fire, is applied to the abdomen, chest, and thighs, and is supposed to prevent the entrance of "angin"—as chopped onions are placed on the forehead of a Javanese baby. The arms are then bound to the side by a strip of sarong (Kain-lampin), and a larger piece (Kain-bedong) is then wrapped round it from shoulders to feet like a mummy. This custom is continued for two or three months, and its origin has not been satisfactorily explained; but the child seems certainly to sleep comfortably. At first the baby is put on the floor with a small pillow under its head, but afterwards it is housed in a slung cot. The number 44 seems to be in some way connected with Malay customs. The infant is occasionally placed on a pile of forty-four sarongs, one of which is removed daily; when the pile has vanished, the child may be taken out, has its head shaved, and may eat rice. The Javanese often give bananas and milk on the day of birth, while the Malays are fond of a mixture of gula lebah (honey) and Minyak sapi (suet); but they do not feed the infants at regular intervals, only when they cry.

With regard to the general vital statistics of the Settlement the birth-rate in recent years has fluctuated between twenty-one and twenty-three per mille; and the death-rate from thirty-eight to fifty-one, with an average of about forty-four per mille.

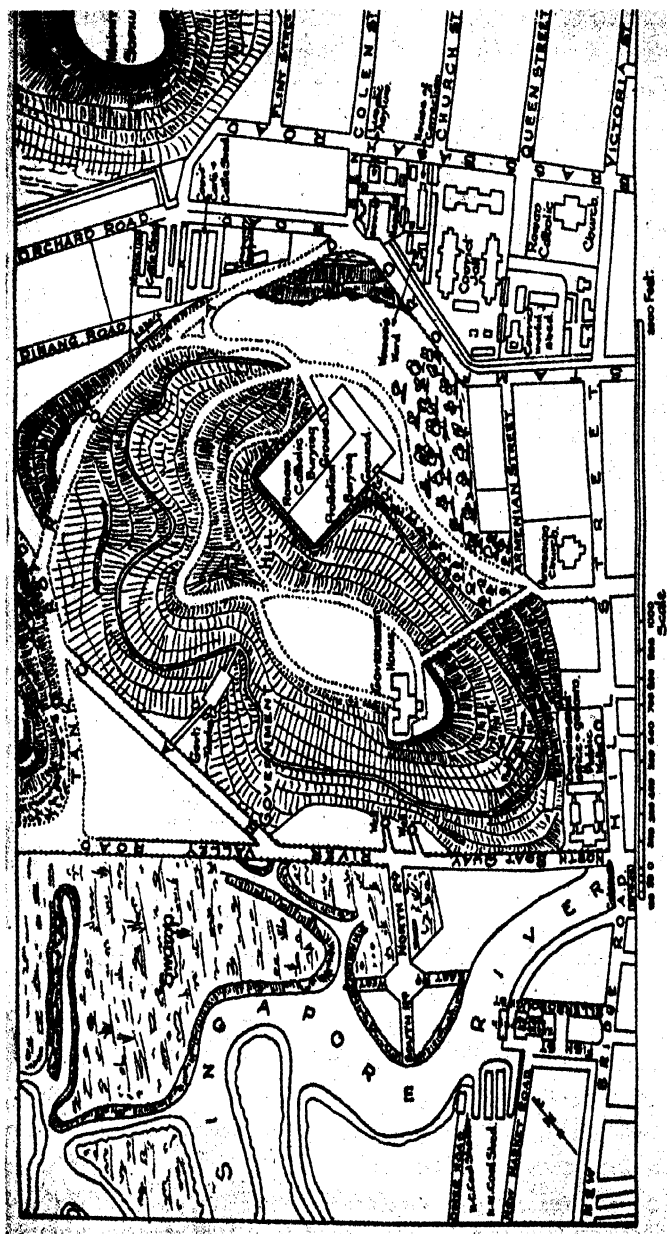
For many years of the Colony's existence the four chief causes of mortality have been: phthisis, malaria, dysentery, and beriberi.

Beriberi has been responsible for thousands of deaths. Its incidence, as disclosed by the admissions to hospital, has shown a remarkable periodicity, with maxima about every four years. This fact points more towards a bacterial origin than to a "deficiency of vitamins"—which is the most recently accepted etiological theory. The latter theory is also controverted by the behaviour of the disease in Singapore Gaol. It first broke out in that

institution in 1875, and occurred annually until 1884, when it died out. From 1885 to 1897 (twelve years) no cases occurred. A further epidemic of 124 cases began in 1901, and forty-nine of them were removed to St. John's in November and discharged cured within two months. The next year it was still prevalent in the gaol, and thirty-four cases were sent to temporary buildings on Lazarus Island in March. But malaria became very prevalent amongst them in July and August, and a life-prisoner escaped, so that the remaining thirty-three were sent back to gaol on the 25th September. There is no doubt, however, that the ordinary polished white rice has some connection (probably bacterial) with the disease, for the substitution of under-milled parboiled rice in the dietary, in November 1904, resulted in a prompt reduction of incidence and mortality.

About the year 1887 the first Government Analyst seems to have been appointed, a Mr. G. H. Stephenson, who had been Manager of the Straits Dispensary. His office was the building at the corner of Hill Street, adjacent to the Masonic Hall, which had previously been the office of the Registrar-General. He resigned in September 1889, and William Norman Bott, Ph.D. (Heidelberg), F.C.S., the new Government Science Master at Raffles Institution, replaced him. Mr. George H. B. Matthews—if memory is correct, a son of the County Analyst of Gloucester—succeeded Dr. Bott in 1898, but left within a year. Mr. P. J. Burgess, M.A., F.I.C., was the next holder of the office, from 1900 to 1906, when Dr. Frankland Dent, M.Sc., Ph.D., F.I.C. (who had been appointed Assistant Government Analyst the previous year), succeeded him; and the Analyst's Laboratory was shortly afterwards moved to new and more commodious quarters near the Medical School at Sepoy Lines.

In 1889 an outbreak of rabies occurred, and three cases of hydrophobia were reported. The previous history of the Settlement mentions remarkably little hydrophobia. Two fatal cases had occurred in February



CONVICT GAOL, HOSPITAL, AND SURROUNDINGS IN 1857.

1847, four months and two months respectively after the patients had been bitten.

In 1890 rabies began to spread, and got worse again in 1891. Three cases of hydrophobia died in the former year and four in the latter. The island was divided up into town and country districts, and a campaign of dog destruction was carried out by Mr. G. P. Owen and Mr. D. H. Wade. A "Pasteur" Institute was opened in Saigon that year, but no outbreak of any note has occurred since.

On the 11th March 1890 a meeting of Medical Practitioners, attended by Drs. Galloway, Mugliston, Leask, and von Tunzelmann, founded the Association known as the Straits Medical Association. The other original members were Dr. Gilmore Ellis, Dr. Tripp, Dr. Simon, Dr. Murray Robertson, Dr. Jansz, and Dr. Koehn. Five journals were published up to 1894, and in December of that year the Association became affiliated to the British Medical Association, of which it was thenceforth known as the Straits Branch.

From February to April of the year 1890 Singapore was visited by an epidemic of influenza. It did not return until 1918, when two short visitations (during the world-wide pandemic) raised the death-rate from pneumonia, but did not at any time give cause for alarm.

In 1894, plague, which had been extending southwards, reached Hongkong for the first time. The commencement of effective quarantine in the Straits Settlements may be said to date from then. From June to September immigration was prohibited entirely. Fortunately plague never spread in Singapore to any extent; and, though a few cases have been reported nearly every year since that time, yet the annual total has not exceeded the low range of five to thirty-five cases. The entry of the disease into India in 1896, however, must have been effected by rat-infested cargo from Hongkong. The plague deaths in India from 1896 to the end of 1904 alone totalled over three millions; and we can but have a haunting thought that, had every ship been

fumigated properly when passing through Singapore, this waste of life might perhaps have been obviated. Singapore, although it escaped any serious visitation, lost the services of two valuable officers in 1908, Dr. Raikes, the Resident Medical Officer at the Quarantine Station, and Assistant Surgeon Wray, who both died of plague contracted in the course of their duty.

In 1905 much-needed legislation was passed, to wit : the Medical Registration Ordinance and the Poisons Ordinance. The same year saw also the foundation of a Medical School.

The Medical School is an institution of comparatively recent growth. The initiation was due to the late Dr. Simon, who recommended (in 1889) that a Medical School should be established, owing to the difficulty experienced in obtaining apothecaries (i.e. assistant surgeons) for Government Service. The idea began to mature in the following year, when, as a beginning, it was decided that the first two years of the curriculum should be passed in Singapore and the final two or three years in Madras. A few aspirants appeared, but not one could pass the preliminary examination, and only two students passed in 1891 ! So the idea had to be abandoned, and the Straits Government sent their students to Madras.

Thirteen years later a petition was addressed to Governor Sir John Anderson by the leading Chinese and other non-European communities of Singapore, headed by the Honourable Tan Jiak Kim, praying that a Medical School might be established. The proposition was favourably viewed. The public subscribed over \$80,000 ; the Government gave the building and site of the Female Lunatic Asylum, which had been moved to Pasir Panjang ; and Ordinance XV of 1905 incorporated the Council of the School.

The first session began on the 3rd July 1905, twenty-three students having been enrolled. The first Principal of the school was Dr. Gerald Dudley Freer, ex-Colonial Surgeon Resident of Penang. The formal opening took

place on the 28th September by Sir John Anderson. The subsequent history of the school has been one of steady progress under the guiding hand of the late Dr. R. D. Keith, and, recently, that of Dr. McAlister. By the generosity of Mr. Tan Teck Guan a new building, comprising reading-room, museum, office, etc., was opened in 1911. In 1912 the standard of the Preliminary Examination became that of the Senior Cambridge Certificate; and during the same year the Committee of the King Edward VII Memorial Fund handed over to the Council of the school the sum of \$124,855 to found a King Edward professorship. The fund was allocated to a Chair of Physiology, of which the first and present occupant is Dr. James Argyll Campbell, M.D., D.Sc. Up to that time the School had been called "The Straits and Federated Malay States Government Medical School," but the title was changed in 1913, by Ordinance, to that of "King Edward VII Medical School, Singapore." A commodious hostel was erected at Government expense in 1916 for the use of F.M.S. students.

When the Centenary of Singapore closed, 261 students had been on the matriculation books, and ninety-five had obtained the licence to practise after completing their course. Since 1916 the L.M.S. of the school has been recognised by the General Medical Council of Great Britain as a qualification entitling the holder to be admitted to the Colonial List of the Medical Register.

In 1907 a new cemetery was opened on the 15th December by the Municipality at Bidadari, as the one at Bukit Timah Road was being closed. The remains of the respected resident, Mr. George Mildmay Dare, were the first to occupy this peaceful spot, in which 5,936 burials had taken place only ten years later.

In 1911 the subject of malaria came very much to the fore. For the week ending the 10th June deaths from malaria alone amounted to 127. An Anti-Malarial Committee was therefore appointed, and \$10,000 was voted for preliminary work on the campaign. Dr.

Finlayson was seconded for two years' special duty, and a certain amount of work has been proceeding ever since in carrying out surveys of breeding grounds and the works necessary to reclaim them. With regard to malaria, more, perhaps, than to any disease, modern research has revolutionised medicine. As we look back to-day to our predecessors groping in the dark, it is often hard to restrain a smile at the quaint conceptions they indulged in. A paper written by a Government medical officer about the year 1840 said that malaria, in his opinion, was undoubtedly due to rotting pineapples, and that this theory was borne out by the unhealthiness of the Signal Station staff at Blakan Mati, which was in those days covered with pineapples. The well-known Dr. Little, however, wrote a long paper to *Logan's Journal* in 1848 disproving this, and proving, as he thought conclusively, that the disease was due to the effluvia given off by decomposing coral at low tide, especially the type known as Batavia, Jungle, or Remittent fever (Diman Kapièlu), which had a mortality of 33 per cent.

This ends the brief review of Singapore's medical struggles. What the future may hold, who can tell? In British hands, with the accumulated experience of centuries, and the lamp of science burning more brightly than ever before, there would seem but few clouds across the dim dawn of the coming day—

“ Behind whose twilight wait unseen
A perfect earth, perfected man,
To finish all that we began,
To be what we would fain have been.”

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HEADS OF MEDICAL DEPARTMENT

1. Prendergast, Sub-Asst. Surg. Thomas : Assistant in General Hospital, Penang, April 1817 ; Acting Surg.-in-charge Singapore and troops.
2. Montgomerie, Asst. Surg. William : 19th Jan. 1819–May 1819 ; returned to Madras on V.P.A. 7th Dec. 1822 (see below) ; Acting Surg.-in-charge Singapore, May 1819–March 1826.
3. Alexander, G., M.D. : Ex-Superintending Surg., Penang ; became Superintending Surg., S.S., on the incorporation of the Settlements in March 1826 ; left for good in Oct. 1828.
4. Conwell, Asst. Surg. W. E. E., M.D. : Acting Superintending Surg., S.S., from Feb. to Sept. 1828.
5. Montgomerie, Asst. Surg. William (see above) : sent from Bengal to Penang in 1829, with the title of Senior Surgeon, S.S. : made Singapore his headquarters, 24th Dec. 1834 ; 1837, 20th Sept., Sheriff of the three Settlements ; retired 17th Jan. 1844 to England ; died at Barrackpore, 21st March 1856.
6. Oxley, Asst. Surg. Thomas, B.A. : 1825, 15th April, on Penang Establishment ; 1830, 13th Feb., Asst. Surg. to Residency ; 1830, Oct., transferred to Singapore *vice* Dr. Sim, deceased ; 1838, transferred to Malacca (under protest, as all his savings had been sunk in spice plants) ; 1841, 12th Oct., returned to Singapore ; 1842, Sept., Sheriff for the three Settlements ; 1844, 17th Jan., Senior Surg., S.S. ; 1847, 31st Jan., promoted to rank of Surgeon ; 1857, 23rd Feb., retired to England ; 1886, March, died.
7. Rose, Asst. Surg. Joseph : Surg.-Major Bengal Service ; 1857, Feb., Senior Surg., S.S.
8. Randell, Henry Lloyd : Staff Surg. Imperial Medical Establishment ; 1867, Acting Col. Asst. Surg. ; 1869, Col. Surg. ; 1871, Senior Surg., S.S., *vice* Rose ; 1873, title changed to Principal Civil Medical Officer ; 1877, died.
9. Anderson, Andrew Fergusson, M.D., J.P. : 1869, Asst. Col. Surg. ; 1874, July–Sept., Acting P.C.M.O. ; 1880, 14th Dec., retired on account of ill-health.

10. Rowell, Thomas Irvine, M.C., J.P.: 1868, May, Acting Col. Surg.; 1877, 1st July, P.C.M.O. and P.H.O.; 1878, Nov., member of Sir William Robinson's Mission to Siam to invest the King with G.C.M.G.; 1881, Dec., Reg.-Gen. of Births and Deaths; 1888, 1st Jan., President Municipality; 1889, April, health broke down; 1890, Oct., retired.
11. Simon, Maximilian Frank, M.D. (St. Andrews), M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.: 1848, 30th Jan., born; ed. St. Thomas's; 1870, Asst. Surg. International Field Hospital at Bingen on the Rhine; 1871, 2nd March, Gov. Medical Officer, Jamaica; 1875, Aug., Asst. Col. Surg., Malacca; 1879, 1st April, Col. Surg., Singapore; 1880, 14th Dec., Col. Surg. Resdt.; 1891, 1st Jan., P.C.M.O.; 1900, 9th June, farewell dinner on retirement; 1902, 17th July, died in London.
12. Mugliston, Thomas Crichton, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.; 1854, 28th Feb., born; 1876-8, Surg. R.N.; 1887, Municipal Commissioner, Singapore; 1888, 16th July, Col. Surg., Singapore; 1890, Feb.-Aug., Acting P.C.M.O. for Dr. Simon; 1901, April-Dec., Acting P.C.M.O. for Dr. Kerr; 1901, 1st March, Col. Surg., Penang; 1908, 5th Jan., retired on pension.
13. Kerr, Thomas Sharp, M.B., C.M. (Edin.), B.Sc. (Public Health): 1857, 27th April, born; 1881, June-Oct., Acting Col. Surg. General Hospital; 1883, 19th Dec., appointed Col. Surg. Resdt., Penang; 1891, 1st Jan., Col. Surg. Resdt., Singapore; 1893, 1st Jan., Col. Surg., Penang; 1900, P.C.M.O., S.S.; 1901, April-Dec., sick-leave; 1902, Aug., invalided home; 1902, Dec., retired on pension.
14. Leask, John, M.B., C.M. (Edin.): 1856, 11th July, born; 1882-3, Dist. Surg., Natal; 1890, 8th Feb., Acting Surg. Resdt., Singapore; 1891, 1st Jan., Col. Surg., Malacca; 1893, 21st Feb., Col. Surg. Resdt., Penang; 1897, 1st Jan., Col. Surg. Resdt., Singapore; Aug. 1902-July 1903, Acting P.C.M.O.; retired on pension.
15. McDowell, Donald Keith, C.M.G. (1901), L.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. (Edin.), L.F.P.S. (Glasgow): 1867, 16th Sept., born; 1894, 2nd Jan., Medical Officer, Leeward Islands; 1895, 2nd Nov., Asst. Col. Surg., Gold Coast; 1895, Ashanti Expedition; 1896-7, Lagos Expeditionary Force; 1898, Chief Medical Officer, Gold Coast; 1900, 31st March, P.M.O., Northern Nigeria; 1900, P.M.O. Ashanti Field Force; 1903, 1st July, P.C.M.O., S.S.; 1905, 1st Sept., Insp. General Hospitals, F.M.S., in addition; 1910, retired on pension.
16. Ellis, William Gilmore, M.D. (Brux.), M.R.C.S., L.S.A.: 1860, 15th June, born; ed. Bart.'s; R.M.O. and Sc. Master, Wellington College; Ship's Surg. E. Extens. Telegraph Co.; Medical Officer Middlesex County Asylum, Banstead; 1888,

- 6th June, Medical Superintendent Lunatic Asylum, Singapore ; 1910, 1st Jan., P.C.M.O., S.S. ; 1910, 30th June, Official Member Leg. Council, S.S. ; 1917, 8th Oct., died General Hospital, Singapore, and buried with military honours.
17. Croucher, Francis B., M.B., C.M. : 1866, 30th Nov., born ; 1893, 15th Oct., House Surg., Singapore ; 1897, 1st Jan., Col. Surg., Malacca ; 1908, 23rd Sept., Senior Medical Officer, Penang ; Feb. 1911–Feb. 1912, Acting P.C.M.O., S.S. ; 1911, 28th March, Senior Medical Officer General Hospital, Singapore ; 1914, 1st Jan., title changed to Chief Medical Officer, Singapore ; Oct. 1917–July 1918, Acting P.C.M.O.
18. Lucy, Sidney Herbert Reginald, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. : 1868, 1st July, born ; 1894, 7th Sept., Dist. Surg., Perak ; 1897, 16th Aug., Dist. Surg., Selangor ; 1903, 1st Jan., State Surg., Pahang ; 1905, 1st June, Col. Surg. Resdt., Penang ; 1908, 1st Jan., Senior Medical Officer, Penang ; 1910, 1st April, Senior Medical Officer, Perak ; 1911, 1st Jan., Senior Health Officer (Federal) ; 1918, 20th July, P.C.M.O., S.S.

RAFFLES LIBRARY AND MUSEUM, SINGAPORE

By Dr. R. Hanitsch, Ph.D., formerly Director

The history of a library and museum in Singapore readily falls into three periods, commencing respectively as follows :

- (1) From its foundation, in 1823, as an integral part of the Singapore Institution (later called the Raffles Institution) ;
- (2) From the establishment, in 1844, of the Singapore Library, a proprietary concern, supported by a number of shareholders, in connection with which in 1849 a museum was formed ;
- (3) From the taking over by Government, in 1874, both of Library and Museum, henceforth called the Raffles Library and Museum.

1823–44

The conception of a library and museum for Singapore dates back to the 1st April 1823, when, under the presi-

dency of Sir Stamford Raffles, a meeting of the principal inhabitants of the town was held at the Residency House, to consider the establishment of a Malay College in Singapore, and to transfer to this city the Anglo-Chinese College in Malacca, then in charge of the distinguished Chinese scholar and missionary, the Rev. Dr. R. Morrison, the two schools to be united under the general designation of the Singapore Institution.

Raffles opened the meeting (see article "Singapore Institution" in the appendix to his *Memoir*), and submitted, in the form of a lengthy minute (reprinted in the appendix to the fourth annual report, 1837-8, of the Singapore Institution Free School), his ideas as to the functions of a Malayan College in Singapore. Dr. Morrison, in supporting Raffles, said, in the course of a short speech: "This (viz. the expediency to found such a College) being assented to, it must further be observed that there are means of diffusing knowledge which will apply equally to Chinese and Malay students; such as a European Library, an extensive Museum, scientific lectures delivered in English."

Apparently no time was lost in bringing these ideas to fulfilment. For in the list of officers, appointed on the same date, Dr. Morrison appears as first Librarian of the General Library, and Dr. Collie both as Professor of Chinese and Librarian (see page 76 in the appendix to Raffles's *Memoir*), whilst we find as one of the objects of the Institution "to collect the scattered literature and traditions of the country, with whatever may illustrate their laws and customs, and to publish and to circulate in a correct form the most important of these" (ibid. page 79). Soon after, on the 15th April 1823, "Mr. (T.) Maxwell, as Secretary to the Institution, is requested to take charge of the Library and Museum of the Institution until suitable buildings may be erected, and to act as Librarian during the absence of Dr. Morrison" (ibid. page 84). At the same meeting the Secretary submitted an account of the subscriptions up to date, "showing a balance of \$17,495 in favour of the

Institution and Colleges, besides a monthly subscription of \$300 for the Schools, and of \$25 per annum on account of the Library " (ibid. page 83). The new Librarian was, no doubt, expected to make up in enthusiasm what he lacked in funds.

We find the next reference to a library and museum in the annual reports of the Singapore Free School, of which the third report (1836-7) is the earliest accessible to me. On page 8 there is a short list of books presented to the Singapore School, with the remark: " The few books which form the School Library are in constant circulation among the boys and their friends." On page 9 we read that " funds will be required to furnish a library and museum, in which books given to the institution and all such specimens of the natural history of these regions as can be collected shall be kept."

In the fourth annual report (1837-8), page 13, of what is now called the Singapore Institution Free School we read: " The number of volumes already in the library is 392. The principle upon which the library is founded is as follows: Free admission is given to everyone. All subscribers and donors to the Institution, and the teachers and scholars therein, are entitled to remove books from the Library for perusal, and any other party may acquire the same right on a monthly payment to the Librarian of 25 cents. The formation of a Museum in connection with the Library is an object still contemplated by your Committee, and though a commencement has not yet been made, your Committee confidently hope this will not continue to be the case much longer."

On page 23 of the same report there is a sort of prospectus: "Singapore Institution Library and Museum—formed and maintained by donations of books, money, specimens of natural and artificial produce, etc. etc. The Library already consists of 370 volumes, many of which are highly interesting, and gladly perused by the youths in the school. Donations thankfully received."

And finally, on pages 59-71, there is a "Catalogue of Books in the Singapore Institution Library," with the statement that "The following is the form of label inserted in the books :

" SINGAPORE INSTITUTION LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

" Formed and maintained by donations of books, money, specimens of natural productions and objects of art, etc. etc.

" ADMISSION FREE

" Subscribers and donors to the Institution, and the teachers and scholars therein, are entitled to remove books from the Library for perusal, and any other party may acquire the same right on a monthly payment to the Librarian of 25 cents.

" Days allowed for perusal, and a fine to be levied of cents for each day kept beyond that period. If lost or injured, the value of the volume or set to which it belongs is to be paid."

With the issue of this catalogue and book label we may consider the library as safely launched. However, the chief value of this fourth annual report lies in the fact that it contains a reprint of Raffles's " Minute on the Establishment of a Malayan College at Singapore," of the 1st April 1823, as copies of the original pamphlet containing it were scarce even at that early date (1838). The reprint consists of eighteen closely printed pages, followed by eight pages giving the " suggestions " made by Dr. Morrison, and Rev. Mr. Hutchings, H.C. Chaplain, Penang, in reply to Raffles's minute."

The fifth annual report (1838-9) states that 297 volumes had been lent out during the year, " chiefly to scholars " ; and it gives a list of the monthly subscribers, thirty-three in all, which it will be interesting to reproduce, as it contains so many names familiar even to-day.

	Sp. Dols.		Sp. Dols.
Messrs. Almeida & Sons	2	Mr. McMicking	2
Mr. Bonham	2	„ M. J. Martin	2
„ Boustead	5	„ G. Martin	2
„ Brennand	2	„ Napier	2
„ Church	3	Messrs. Rappa & Co.	1
„ Coleman	4	Mr. Rodyk	1
„ Connolly	2	„ T. Scott	2
„ Crane	2	„ W. Scott	2
„ Caldwell	1	„ W. Spottiswoode	2
„ Carnie	2	„ Schwabe	2
„ Fraser	2	„ Shaw	2
„ Guthrie	2	„ A. Stronach	1
„ Hay	1	„ T. Stronach	1
„ Hewetson	1	„ Whitehead	2
„ Johnston	3	„ Zechareah	2
„ Leffler	1	„ W. McDonald	2
Dr. Montgomerie	2		
		Sp. Dollars	65

In the balance sheet we find “ Ramsammy, Librarian,” with a yearly salary of \$48. There is a considerable list of books presented, and the report closes with a catalogue of books, seventeen pages, in which fiction is conspicuous by its absence. The Museum is not mentioned in this report.

The sixth annual report (1839-40) shows a slight drop in the number of subscribers, viz. thirty, against thirty-three.

The seventh annual report (1840-1) acknowledges “ a small addition to the School Library, almost entirely through the continued patronage of the Committee of Public Instruction at Calcutta,” but regrets that “ the Library is not so much frequented as it deserves to be, though it is open to all persons of respectable character, free of any charge.”

The eighth annual report (1842-3) states that the “ large rooms in the main building are now exclusively appropriated to the general purposes of the Institution, the one being used as a committee-room, the other as a library.” Further donations of books are acknowledged from the Committee of Public Instruction, Calcutta, and the usual catalogue of books is appended.

The reports for the years 1843-4 and 1844-5 are issued in one volume. They contain the significant statement that “ the western wing of the Institution

has been allowed for the use of the Singapore Library, and the books belonging to the Institution Library have been lent to the Managing Committee of that body, for as long a period as they may require the accommodation, during the time the Singapore Library is kept on the premises." Thus ends the first period in the history of the Library.

1844-74

So far the Library had distinctly been a school library, though it was open to any one on payment of a small fee (twenty-five cents a month); but whether the Museum existed only in name, and whether and what specimens it contained, cannot be gathered from the school reports.

The second period of the history of the Library (and later on of the Museum as well) dates from the 13th August 1844, when, at the offices of Mr. Thomas O. Crane, a meeting was held to consider the proposal of the establishment of a public library in Singapore, to be called the Singapore Library. Mr. W. Napier was called to the chair, and the following resolutions were passed :

" That a Public Library be formed, to be called ' the Singapore Library,' of which the subscribers to the proposal for its establishment be Proprietors ;

" That besides the Secretary, the following be a Committee for the management of the Library : W. Napier, L. Fraser, R. McEwen, A. Logan, C. A. Dyce, and H. C. Caldwell ;

" That the Committee apply to the Trustees of the Singapore Institution for the use of a room in that building ;

" That Mr. J. C. Smith, Head-master, be requested to act as Secretary and Librarian ;

" That Mr. W. H. Read be requested to act as Treasurer ;

" That the Hon. Colonel W. J. Butterworth, C.B., Governor of the Straits Settlements, be requested to accept the office of President, and the Hon. T. Church, Resident Councillor, that of Vice-President ;

" That these resolutions be published in the *Singapore Free Press*, and that until the expiry of one month from such publication shareholders shall be admitted at an entrance money of thirty dollars, and that thereafter the entrance money be forty dollars."

Of the lengthy rules which were passed at the same meeting we quote only the following :

" For the purpose of at once forming a fund to purchase a stock of standard books and to meet other preliminary expenses a contribution of thirty Sp. dollars shall be paid by every Shareholder on his admission, and each shareholder, while he resides in Singapore, shall also contribute monthly a sum of \$2.50 to the funds of the Library to meet the current outlay. All persons who may hereafter desire to become proprietors shall be balloted for at a General Meeting of Shareholders, and, on admission, shall pay such entrance money as shall be annually fixed at the General Meeting of Proprietors. The Library shall be considered a permanent public institution, and shall only be dissolved on the resolution to that effect of three-fourths of the whole of the Proprietors. With a view to allow officers of the Regiment and other residents not inclined to become Proprietors to participate in the benefit of this Institution, an additional class of subscribers shall be formed, who shall be admitted in the following manner, and shall be designated Class II. They shall write their names in a book to be kept by the Librarian for that purpose ; the Librarian shall immediately prepare a circular notifying the application to the Committee. Strangers or merely temporary residents shall be allowed to subscribe in the same mode as subscribers of Class II, but with this distinction, that their application shall also be signed by a resident subscriber, who shall guarantee the due return of all books, etc., received by them from the Library. Such subscribers shall constitute Class III. Subscribers of Classes II and III shall pay a monthly subscription of \$2.50."

The book in which intending subscribers of Classes II and III signed their names is still in existence. It

comprises the years 1845-52, and also contains the signatures of the visitors to the Library for that period.

The "Proposal for the Establishment of the Public Library to be called the 'Singapore Library,'" which had apparently been circulated previous to the first meeting, and which contains an appeal for the gift of books and money, has the following interesting paragraph about the foundation of the Library in Penang :

"It was thus that, many years ago, in Prince of Wales's Island, the public spirit and intelligence of the inconsiderable body of gentlemen who then constituted its society put that comparatively small Settlement in possession of a library containing most of the standard works of English, and many of foreign 'literature,' and not unworthy of the older and more important Presidencies. Even before a single volume had been ordered from Europe, the different members of the Community, by each giving largely from his own private collection of books, had placed the Library on a respectable footing."

The following are the names of the original shareholders, thirty-four in number, a list of whom is given both in the Minute Book and in the *Singapore Free Press* of the 15th August 1844. To the names I have added their trade or profession, and their business or private address, taken from the *Straits Times Almanack, Calendar, and Directory* for 1846. The addresses are very interesting, showing that Kampong Glam was at the time a favourite residential district !

Lieut.-Col. W. J. Butterworth, C.B., Governor of the S.S., Government House.

Hon'ble Thomas Church, Resident Councillor, Esplanade.

Captain D. H. Stevenson.

William Napier, Notary Public and Law Agent.

William Renshaw George, Proprietor *Free Press*, Deputy Sheriff, Kampong Glam.

H. C. Caldwell, Senior Sworn Clerk, Court of Judicature, Victoria Street.

Lewis Fraser, Partner, Maclaine, Fraser & Co., Kampong Glam.

John P. Cumming, Partner, Maclaine, Fraser & Co.

Gilbert A. Bain, Partner, Maclaine, Fraser & Co., Kampong Glam.

James Guthrie, Partner, Guthrie & Co.

Thomas R. Kerr, Assistant, Guthrie & Co., High Street.
R. P. Saul.

John Purvis, Partner, John Purvis & Co., Sheriff, Kampong Glam.

Thomas Dunman, Deputy Superintendent of Police, North Bridge Road.

Abraham Logan, Notary Public and Editor *Free Press*, Hermitage.

J. R. Logan, Notary Public and Law Agent, Hermitage.

Michie Forbes Davidson, Partner, Shaw, Whitehead & Co.

J. C. Drysdale, Partner, A. L. Johnston & Co.

Frommurze Sorabjee, Parsee Merchant, Commercial Square.

Charles A. Dyce, Assistant, Martin, Dyce & Co.

Thomas Owen Crane, Merchant and Agent, Tanjong Cattong.

Robert Little, Surgeon, Martin & Little, Commercial Square.

John Myrtle, Partner, George Armstrong & Co.

M. J. Martin, Surgeon, Martin & Little.

William Henry Read, Partner, A. L. Johnston & Co., Kampong Glam.

Robert McEwen, Partner, W. R. Paterson & Co., Kampong Glam.

William Blundell, Partner, Middletons, Blundell & Co., Orchard Road.

Alfred Middleton, Partner, Middletons, Blundell & Co.

C. H. Harrison, Middletons, Blundell & Co., Orchard Road.

Joaquim d'Almeida, Partner, d'Almeida, Sons & Co., Kampong Glam.

Gilbert McMicking, Assistant, Syme & Co., Kampong Glam.

E. J. Gilman, Partner, Hamilton, Gray & Co.

John Colson Smith, Head-master, Institution.

Samuel Congalton, Commanding H.C. steamer *Hooghly*.

At a meeting a few days later (on the 16th August 1844), Messrs. Smith, Elder and Co. were appointed London agents of the Library. The sum of £200 was sent to them for the purchase of books, with a standing order for the regular monthly despatch of new publications up to £10. Similarly Mr. J. P. Simmonds was appointed Newspaper Agent, and the sum of £20 was advanced to him. At the same meeting a letter was read from the Trustees of the Singapore Institution allowing the north-east wing of the building for the use of the Library. Many donations of books were recorded, especially from the Honourable T. Church, Mr. H. C. Caldwell, Mr. F. Sorabjee, Captain S. Congalton (the famous pirate hunter, whose portrait, a fine oil painting, even at the present day adorns the Museum), Mr. A. Logan, Mr. W. H. Read, Mr. L. Fraser, and others.

At the meeting of the 29th November a letter was read from Mr. J. C. Smith, Head-master of the Singapore Institution, declining any pecuniary allowance for his duties as Secretary to the Library, but asking to be allowed to employ a librarian to assist him. Consequently the sum of \$12 a month was voted for a librarian and \$5 a month for a peon.

The Library was declared open on Wednesday, the 22nd January 1845, and on the 25th day of the same month the first annual general meeting was held, the following members being present: W. Napier (in the chair), A. Logan, J. R. Logan, H. C. Caldwell, G. McMicking, R. Little, L. Fraser, W. H. Read, M. F. Davidson, J. Myrtle, R. P. Saul, and J. C. Smith. The Treasurer's account showed receipts of \$1,182.50 and disbursements of \$1,167.

Amongst the by-laws the following are of interest:

“(1) The Library shall be open every day in the week for the use of subscribers from 6 a.m. until 9 p.m.,

Sundays excepted, and the Librarian shall be in attendance from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. for the purpose of issuing and receiving books. (3) Subscribers shall only be allowed to have in their possession at one time *one work* and *one periodical*. (6) On the arrival of new books and periodicals immediate notice thereof shall be given to the subscribers, and the books shall remain in the Library for inspection four days, after which they shall be given out to subscribers in the order of application. (7) No books shall be given out by the Librarian without a receipt or written order for the same from the subscriber who applies for them."

At the annual general meeting, on the 31st January 1846, it was decided to reduce the monthly subscription of shareholders to \$2, the others to remain at present rates. It was announced that "The stock of books ordered from England last year has been received, and those, with the monthly additions from the London booksellers, have served to place the Library on a very respectable footing. Six hundred and seventeen volumes, exclusive of periodicals, have been received during the year." "The Committee also take this opportunity to thank Dr. Little for his donation of the busts of Her Gracious Majesty, Prince Albert, Shakespeare, Scott, Byron, etc., which have enabled them to make a very desirable improvement in the appearance of the Library.¹

"The bust of Sir Stamford Raffles, by Chantrey, has also been removed to the Library, and an appropriate pedestal erected to it by order of the Hon'ble Colonel Butterworth, C.B."

The annual report also gratefully acknowledges their indebtedness to the Trustees of the Singapore Institution. "We are still allowed the use of the present airy and spacious Library Room gratis . . . with the advantage of possessing a noble suite of apartments commanding a delightful view of the harbour, which has

¹ The busts of Homer, Shakespeare, and Byron, which are now in the lower room of the new Library building, are probably the identical ones.

been the admiration of the numerous strangers who have visited it."

Nothing of importance happened during the year 1846. The Librarian's pay was increased from \$12 to \$15 a month, and it was decided to keep the Library open from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. only, instead of to 9 p.m., as hitherto.

The Minute Book, under the 1st July 1847, contains a copy of the following interesting circular addressed by the Secretary to the Shareholders :

" SINGAPORE LIBRARY, LIBRARY ROOM,

" 1st July 1847.

" Under instructions from the Committee of Management, the Secretary begs to propose, in addition to a formal vote of thanks, that the Proprietors shall mark their sense of the handsome and valuable donation of 115 volumes received from James Brooke, Esq., of Sarawak, by electing him a Shareholder ; thus making him entitled to the privileges of a Subscriber of the First Class ; and as his expected speedy departure to England will not admit of a Special General Meeting being convened for this purpose, the Proprietors are requested to express their votes upon this subject opposite their respective names.

" (*Signed*) J. C. SMITH, *Secretary.*"

James Brooke was then in Singapore, on his way to England, and the books which were received from him on the 28th June, and of which a complete list is given, include works by Ainsworth, Jane Austen, Bullen, Cooper, De Staël, Edgeworth, Victor Hugo, Marryat, Schiller, Shelley, Trollope, and others. The following is the text of the letter of thanks addressed to him by the Secretary :

" SINGAPORE LIBRARY, LIBRARY ROOM,

" 1st July 1847.

" To James Brooke, Esq.,

" SIR,

" I have the honour to inform you that the Managing Committee of Singapore Library desire to tender you their best thanks for the very handsome

and valuable donation of Books you have been pleased to forward to the Library, and I am further instructed to acquaint you that by the unanimous vote of the shareholders you have been elected a Proprietor, and thereby made entitled to the privileges of a subscriber of the first class.

" In conclusion, I beg to offer you the most cordial wishes of the Committee for your future health and happiness ; and their earnest hope that, after the enjoyment of a pleasurable visit to your native land, you will speedily return to that field of philanthropic usefulness and distinction which has rendered your name known and honoured in every part of the civilised world.

" I have the honour, etc.,

" JOHN C. SMITH, *Secretary.*"

This generous gift was also referred to in the Secretary's Report which he laid before the Proprietors at their annual meeting of the 28th January 1848. Many of these books are even now (1918) in the Raffles Library, and are in fair condition. The tales and novels by Maria Edgeworth still bear on the front cover Brooke's crest, a badger, with the legend " James Brooke, Sarawak, Borneo," and on the inside a printed label, " Presented to the Singapore Library by James Brooke, Esq., of Sarawak, Borneo " (see S. 473-9 and S. 483-7).

Brooke arrived in Singapore after his return from England on the 20th May 1848, stayed for more than three months, and whilst he was still here the news arrived that Her Majesty had been pleased to confer upon him the Order of the Bath (K.C.B.). The installation took place in Singapore (see Spenser St. John's *Life of Sir James Brooke*, p. 137).

The committee meeting of Tuesday, the 29th January 1849, proved to be momentous in the history of the Institution :

" Read a letter from His Honour the Governor dated the 26th instant forwarding two ancient coins from His Highness Sir Maharajah the Tamoongong of Johore, which it is resolved shall be accepted and placed in the Library Room, with the best thanks of the Committee

to His Highness for the gift, and to His Honour for his kindness and trouble in procuring them and forwarding them to the Committee for this purpose."

The Governor's letter runs as follows :

" It has been suggested by J. R. Logan, Esq., to whose exertions we are indebted for the present most promising Library, that the accompanying coins would be appropriately placed in the Reading Room of that Institution, as the nucleus of a Museum, tending to the elucidation of Malayan History, which it is hoped may eventually be formed in this station.

" Under these circumstances, and with the above view, I beg to present the coins in the name of His Highness Sir Maharajah the Tamoongong of Johore, who purchased them from the convicts employed in constructing the road to 'Teluk Blanga,' or New Harbour, in the vicinity of which they were discovered about eight or nine years since.

" J. R. Logan, Esq., to whom these coins have been submitted, observes that they are not the coins of Johore, but probably Achinese, of whose invasion I found many traces and traditions up the Johore River—that the 'Inscriptions are as here noted.'

" Sultan Sri	Tuhan
Sikandar	Nardubah
Mahbud	bin Ali
Sri Sultan	Tuhan
Sha Alam	Nardubah
Mirsab	bin Ali.

" The letters being in some places rudely and carelessly formed, differing even in the words which are evidently the same in both coins, leaving some doubt whether 'Nardubah may not be bindubah or Nardulah, and that similar coins have been found at Pahang, and Johore, as also at Rhio.'

" It will afford me much pleasure to acquaint His Highness the Tamoongong with your acceptance of the coins, for deposit in the Singapore Library Room.

" I have, etc.,

"W. J. BUTTERWORTH, *Governor.*"

This letter having been read, the following resolution was passed: "On the proposition of Mr. Caldwell, it is resolved that the establishment of the Museum, in connection with the Library for the elucidation of Malayan History, etc., shall be recommended to the Proprietors at their approaching annual meeting." Thus it is very evident that the gift of these two gold coins provided the direct stimulus to the proposal for the establishment of a museum. Unfortunately those coins are no more to be found now, and there is no record what became of them.

The annual general meeting was held two days after, on the 31st January 1849, when the following resolutions were passed:

"Proposed by Mr. H. C. Caldwell, seconded by Mr. L. Fraser, and resolved unanimously, that a Museum with a view principally to the collection of objects to illustrate the General History and Archæology of Singapore and the Eastern Archipelago be established in connection with the Singapore Library; that it be called the 'Singapore Museum,' and that it be deposited in the rooms of the Library.

"Proposed by Mr. M. F. Davidson, seconded by Mr. G. McMicking, and resolved unanimously, that Messrs. J. R. Logan, H. C. Caldwell, A. Logan, T. Oxley, H. Man, and W. Traill be constituted a Committee for the purpose of framing rules to regulate the Museum, and to procure contributions of objects for the Museum. That the Secretary and the Treasurer of the Library be requested to act as Secretary and Curator and Treasurer of the Museum, and that they be ex-officio members of the Committee.

"Proposed by Mr. L. Fraser, seconded by Mr. M. F. Davidson, and resolved unanimously, that a paper be circulated amongst the Community generally, setting forth the establishment of the Museum, and requesting the aid of donations of money for the purpose of procuring suitable cabinets or other depositories for the collections."

Two months later, on Saturday, the 30th March 1849, there was a special general meeting of the proprietors

at the office of Messrs. A. L. Johnston and Co., of which we quote the minutes in full :

" Present : Messrs. H. C. Caldwell, R. Bain, R. Little, G. G. Nicol, M. F. Davidson, A. Logan, J. H. Campbell, L. Fraser, and J. C. Smith.

" (I) On the proposition of Mr. Fraser, Mr. Caldwell was unanimously called to the Chair.

" (II) The following General Rules for the Museum were severally proposed and unanimously agreed to :

" (1) That a Museum be established in connection with the Singapore Library, with a view principally to the collection of objects to illustrate the General History and Archæology of Singapore and the Eastern Archipelago, that it be called the ' Singapore Museum,' and that it be deposited in the rooms of the Library.

" (2) That the proceedings of the Museum shall be managed by a Committee of six persons, exclusive of a Secretary and Curator, and a Treasurer, who shall, ex-officio, be also members of the Committee.

" (3) That the Committee and office-bearers be elected annually at the general meeting of the proprietors of the Library, and that members of the Committee shall not necessarily be proprietors of the Library, but the majority of such Committee must be proprietors.

" (4) That the Committee shall have power to fill up any vacancy occurring in their body before the time of annual election.

" (5) That the proprietors of the Library shall have power at any general meeting to revise and alter the Rules of the Museum as framed by the Committee.

" (6) That no article belonging to the Museum shall be allowed to be taken out of it for inspection by any person.

" (7) That the Museum shall be and is hereby declared indissoluble, and shall not be removed from the Settlement.

" (III) The following rules for the regulation of the Museum, made and passed by the Committee on the 3rd day of March 1849, were also unanimously agreed to :

" (1) That the Committee shall meet once a month

for the transaction of the general business of the Museum, but the Secretary may convene intermediate meetings should occasion require ; and that a meeting of three shall be competent to form a quorum.

" (2) That the Committee shall elect a Chairman.

" (3) That the articles in the Museum shall be under the charge of the Secretary and Curator, who shall keep the keys of the cabinets or other depositories of rare coins or other articles of value.

" (4) That a record shall be kept by the Secretary and Curator of all articles presented to the Museum, by whom and when presented ; and that a descriptive catalogue be made up from the record annually, or as often as the Committee may deem necessary, for general information and reference.

" (5) That the establishment of the Museum and its object be made public, and that contributions be solicited of the undermentioned articles : 1. Coins ; 2. Manuscripts ; 3. Inscriptions on stone or metal ; 4. Implements, Cloth or other articles of Nature, Art, or Manufacture ; 5. Figures of Deities used in Worship ; 6. Instruments of War or other Weapons ; 7. Instruments of Music ; 8. Vessels employed in Religious Ceremonies ; 9. Ores of Metals ; 10. Minerals of every description ; 11. Fossils ; and any other object which may be considered suitable for the purposes of Museum.

" (6) That the names of all persons contributing any article of the above nature to the Museum be published in such a way as the Committee may hereafter determine.

" (IV) There being no further business, the thanks of the meeting were given to Mr. Caldwell for his conduct of the Chair.

" H. C. CALDWELL, *Chairman.*

" J. C. SMITH, *Secretary.*"

It is pleasing to find the following reference to the newly established Museum in the minutes of the proceedings of the next annual meeting of the proprietors, of the 28th February 1850 : " As no doubt the Committee

of that branch (i.e. the Museum) will in due time publish a report of their proceedings, it may suffice here to say that their laudable exertions have been attended with very satisfactory success, and that the Museum is now a most valuable addition to the Library, and doubtless so esteemed by its visitors, who are thus further attracted to it by a medium so interesting." Unfortunately there are only few clues to what sort of collections the Museum contained at that time. The first interesting record is a letter, of the 17th September 1852, by the Secretary, Mr. J. C. Smith, addressed to the Honourable Islay Ferrier, at the time Resident Councillor, Malacca :

" SIR, I have the honour to wait upon you with the best thanks of the Chairman and Members of the Managing Committee of the Singapore Museum for your very interesting contribution of four ancient Mohammedan Tombstones recently dug out of the Old Fort Wall at Malacca, presented by you through W. Napier, Esq., and which from the utility to illustrate the early history of that ancient and classical city constitute an important and very valuable addition to this Museum."

There is a number (about sixteen) of Malayan tombstones even now in the Museum. None of them bear any labels, and none have yet been satisfactorily deciphered, but they were always understood to have been brought across from Johore about the year 1875.

Two years after, on the 9th November 1854, Dr. Oxley, as Chairman of the Managing Committee of the Museum, addresses the following letter :

" To The Honourable Colonel W. J. Butterworth, C.B.,
Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore, and
Malacca.

" HONOURABLE SIR,

" I have the honour to inform you that at an adjourned meeting of the Managing Committee of the Singapore Museum held this day, a list of articles lately received into the Museum was laid before them by the Secretary and Curator, and it was unanimously resolved that the best thanks of the meeting be tendered for the

valuable contribution of Native Arms, illustrations of Natural History, and other suitable articles which Your Honour has been pleased to present to the Museum in furtherance of its objects, and I am requested to add that should there be any particular history attached to any of them it would very much enhance their value in the estimation of the Committee should Your Honour be pleased to favour them therewith for record in the archives of the Museum.

“ I have the honour, etc.,

“ T. OXLEY, *Chairman.*

“ SINGAPORE, *the 9th November 1854.*”

None of these specimens can now be traced in the Museum.

On the very next day (10th November 1854) Dr. Oxley again writes to Governor Butterworth, acknowledging his letter of the 6th October :

“ HONOURABLE SIR,

“ I have the honour to report for your information that the communication dated the 6th October with which I was honoured, on the subject of extending the operations of this Museum to the interchange of local produce, etc., with the Madras Committee, together with the copy of Surgeon Balfour's letter of date the 16th August, were laid before the meeting of the Members of the Managing Committee of this Museum held yesterday, and after giving the important suggestions therein offered due and mature consideration, it was found that this Committee has no funds at its disposal which it could devote to the very desirable object of procuring specimens of the marketable produce of these seas to interchange with the Madras Museum ; but the Chairman and Members of the Committee beg to assure Your Honour that they are fully alive to all the advantages likely to accrue from the adoption of the proposal which has thus been made to them, and they will gladly evince their readiness and anxiety to co-operate in the promotion of these objects of high and manifest utility by seeing that any funds the Local Government may place at their disposal under Your Honour's direction be carefully applied so as to improve the Museum as

an interesting resort for the exhibition of articles most suitable to illustrate the General History and Archæology of these Straits, and of the Eastern Archipelago, and if possible, to carry out Your Honour's valuable suggestion to render it the means of advancing the commercial interests of the Settlement."

Unfortunately there is in the Minute Book no copy of Governor Butterworth's letter of the 6th October 1854, nor do we know what sort of reply he sent to the Committee to their strong hint for funds for the Museum.

Soon after, in January 1855, Governor Butterworth presented a portrait of Sir James Brooke to the library. But, unfortunately again, we do not know what has become of it.

The election of subscribers took place by circulars, which were faithfully copied out in the Minute Book. The following may serve as a specimen :

" SINGAPORE LIBRARY COMMITTEE CIRCULAR

" JOHN LITTLE and MATTHEW LITTLE, Esquires

" Having been proposed by H. C. Caldwell, Esquire, as subscribers of Class II the votes of the Committee are requested agreeably to Rule 14, Library Rooms, 1st September 1845.

" J. C. SMITH, *Secretary*.

" W. Napier, Esquire . . .	Admit W. N.
H. C. Caldwell, Esquire . . .	Admit H. C. C.
C. A. Dyce, Esquire . . .	Admit C. A. D.
L. Fraser, Esquire . . .	Admit L. F.
A. Logan, Esquire . . .	Admit A. L.
R. McEwen, Esquire . . .	Admit R. McE.
W. H. Read, Esquire . . .	Admit W. H. R."

In most cases this procedure seems to have been a mere matter of form. Yet there were exceptions. When Dr. Thomas Oxley, Senior Surgeon S.S., applied in December 1845 to become subscriber of Class II, all members, with two exceptions (viz. Mr. Napier and Mr. McEwen), expressed their opinion that he should be a

proprietor, and ought not to be admitted as a second-class subscriber. However, he renewed his application soon after, and was admitted to Class II (February 1846).

When, in November 1852, the "Honourable E. A. Blundell, Esquire, Officiating Governor of the Straits Settlements," applied to be allowed to become a monthly subscriber of Class II, Dr. R. Little wrote: "Make an Honorary Member, and send him the List for Donation"; and Mr. W. H. Read: "Let him buy a share, and I will sell mine." However, the majority agreed to his election.

Postage was, as it is, of course, well-known, very much higher in those far-off days than at present. In 1847 the Secretary wrote to the following effect to Mr. James Hume, *Star Press*, Calcutta:

"I have particularly to desire that no parcel or paper of any kind may be despatched for this Library by the P. & O. S. N. Co.'s steamers, as the charges for postage by these vessels are so enormous that they amount to a complete prohibition. . . . We have lately had a good instance here of this exorbitancy, when a pamphlet published in Madras at four annas was charged two rupees postage to this place."

However, the P. & O. S. N. Co. was not always so black as it was painted. In 1851 the Librarian wrote to Mr. John Sparkes, Superintendent of the Company's Agency in Singapore, asking that the freight on the monthly parcels of books from their London booksellers might be remitted, a privilege enjoyed by the Calcutta Public Library. "The Library (with which is connected a Museum illustrative of the General History and Archæology of the Indian Archipelago, etc.) is open to strangers; and the officers and passengers of the Peninsular and Oriental Company may therefore at all times freely resort there during the stay of the steamers at Singapore, without any charge." Though for a long time no reply was received, still repeated requests and personal representation by Mr. John Harvey when in London had at last the desired effect, and in August 1853 the Secretary was able to inform the shareholders that the

P. and O. Co. had agreed to forward the monthly parcels of books "on the same footing as parcels of books for the use of public institutions, and only charge the Library the actual cost of transit through Egypt." This generous arrangement continued until the year 1876.

The Secretary, Mr. J. C. Smith, had, when the Library was opened in 1844, declined to accept any pecuniary allowance for his work. But we find that in 1853, when he submitted to the Committee a copy of the new catalogue, his services received some slight reward, the Committee agreeing to request the Secretary "to purchase for himself a copying press with the necessary apparatus to make it complete, as a suitable present from the Committee to mark their sense of the trouble and pains he has taken to accomplish this desirable object." Further, when Mr. Smith, some time in 1853, had also taken up the post of Treasurer, we find in April 1854 Mr. Caldwell, the Chairman, in a circular to the Committee pointing out that Mr. Smith is still carrying on the duties of Treasurer in addition to those of Secretary, and proposing that Mr. Smith be allowed to charge a commission of 5 per cent. on the subscriptions he collected. This was agreed to.

As we are now emerging from the sorrows of a world war, we can all the better understand how political events in years past threw their shadow over a small library in the Far East. On the 2nd February 1855, in a letter to Messrs. Mann Nephews, the Secretary wrote:

"The present war being so protracted, the interest in its results so absorbing, and the arrangements for the mails so unsatisfactory, I am further instructed to request that you will be good enough to forward via Marseilles all the numbers of the *Evening Mail*," etc. etc.

And on the 2nd July 1858, when ordering books from Madras, the Secretary closes with the words:

"We do not desire to have all these works and publications sent out at once, but you could do us great service in sending out three or four every month, and we hope you will continue to do so as other similar

publications appear, until peace and tranquillity have been restored to this suffering country."

It is curious to note how unsatisfactory in the supply of books the Library's agents in London seem to have been in those early years; whilst at the present day, even now in the fifth year of a world war, there is hardly ever any cause for complaint.

In October 1862 the Library was discovered to be in financial difficulties, and Dr. Scott wrote to Mudie's:

"The Treasurer of the Library and I were very greatly and most disagreeably surprised to learn that the late Secretary (Mr. J. C. Smith) had an account against the Library amounting to nearly £70! This came like a thunder-clap on the Committee, who, with us, imagined the Library free from debt. It was this belief alone that induced me to extend my order of books, periodicals, and papers to £12 monthly, whereas we find that the subscription will barely cover £10 worth monthly. I beg your particular attention to this, after receipt of which your monthly bill *must not exceed £10 till further orders.*"

We now come to an unfortunate gap in the history of the Library and Museum. There is no minute book in existence for the years 1866 to 1872, and it is only from the end of 1873, when the first suggestion was made to establish a museum under Government control, that we possess again printed and written records. This, unluckily, coincides with a gap in the Singapore newspapers. The *Singapore Free Press* had come to an end in 1864, and was re-established only in 1884, whilst of the *Straits Times* the years 1863 to 1870 are missing from the library files, and are apparently not to be found anywhere else either. Only from the various Singapore *Directories* can we gather that the Library was being carried on in its usual way. For the members of the Committee are regularly given there from year to year. From these directories we can also gather that the Museum, if it had not been abolished altogether, was certainly neglected. In 1864, for the last time, Mr. A. Logan figures as Chairman, and Dr. Scott as Treasurer,

Secretary, and Curator. After that date, until the year 1875 inclusive, the Directories omit all mention of a Museum.

1874 TO THE PRESENT DAY

The suggestion of the establishment of a Library and Museum in Singapore under Government control arose in the following manner :

Amongst the papers laid before the Legislative Council, on the 13th May 1873, by command of H.E. Sir Harry Ord, Governor, was a despatch from the Secretary of State relative to a permanent exhibition of Colonial products in connection with the Exhibition Building at South Kensington, this to include not only commercial products, but objects of interest of whatever kind, illustrating the ethnology, antiquities, natural history, and physical character of the country.

At a later meeting of the Council, held on the 4th June 1873, the subject was again brought forward, Mr. Scott stating that he had been present at a recent meeting of the Chamber of Commerce, and that the majority had thought it desirable that Government should support the project of a Colonial Exhibition. The Colonial Secretary then proposed that a vote be placed at the disposal of Government, viz. £404 9s. 6d. for the construction and £21 3s. 1d. for the maintenance. This was passed.

Nothing further seems to have been done in the matter till the arrival of the new Governor, H.E. Sir Andrew Clarke, in November 1873, when the following letter was addressed to the Colonial Secretary by Dr. Randall :

“ OFFICE OF P.C.M.O.,

“ SINGAPORE, 8th December 1873.

“ The Hon’ble the Colonial Secretary, S.S.

“ SIR, I have the honour to submit, for the favourable consideration of H.E. the Governor, the desirability that I think exists of taking such steps as may be necessary for endeavouring to establish in Singapore a Museum for the collection of objects of Natural History. Abounding as this Peninsula and surrounding islands of

the Archipelago are in material for the purpose from the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, I am of opinion that a collection might in time be easily procured which would not only be of immense value and interest to the scientific world, but would also afford a great interest to the residents of the Straits, and be a work in which the Government might fairly anticipate every encouragement and assistance from our own Community and those around us.

"I have, etc.,

"H. L. RANDELL, P.C.M.O."

H.E. the Governor replied :

"I am glad to find someone moving in this matter, as I have now under consideration what steps we should take to give effect to the resolution of Council, deciding to take part on behalf of these Settlements in the proposed Permanent Exhibition of Colonial Products in London, and the same organisation would, I think, do for both objects. Can we combine with the Museum a Public Library ?"

The Governor now caused the following letter to be addressed to the Honourable Dr. R. Little :

"COLONIAL SECRETARY'S OFFICE,

"SINGAPORE, 1st April, 1874.

"SIR, I am directed by the Governor to transmit to you the enclosed printed correspondence, relative to a Permanent Exhibition in London of Colonial Products, and to the establishment of a Public Library and Museum in Singapore. His Excellency requests that you will have the goodness to preside as Chairman of a Committee to inquire into these subjects, consisting of the following members—with power to add to their number.

"The Hon'ble R. Little, M.D.	Dr. Randell
" W. R. Scott	Dr. Anderson
" Major McNair	Mr. Fisher (Telegraph
" Ho Ah Kay	Manager)
(Whampoa)	Captain Lloyd (Brigade
	Major).

"I have, etc.,

"E. H. WATTS, *Act. Assist. Col. Secretary.*"

The following names were subsequently added :

Mr. F. C. Bishop, Mr. J. G. Brinkmann, Mr. H. Buchanan, Captain Caldbeck, Mr. J. Cameron, Mr. R. Campbell, Mr. W. T. Carrington, C.E., Mr. Tan Kim Ching, Rev. W. Dale, Mr. J. Fisher, The Venerable Archdeacon Hose, Mr. R. W. Hullett, B.A., Mr. R. Jamie, Mr. W. Krohn, Captain Satterthwaite, R.E., The Honourable T. Shelford, The Honourable H. W. Wood, and His Honour Mr. Justice Woods.

The preliminary meeting of the Committee was held at the Raffles Institute, on the 24th April 1874, the following being present : The Honourable Dr. Little (Chairman), Honourable Whampoa, Honourable McNair, Honourable W. R. Scott, Mr. J. Fisher, and Mr. R. W. Hullett. Their first business was to request His Excellency to appoint someone to act as Permanent Secretary, and to take charge of the Library and Museum:

“ The Committee felt that their enquiries into the formation and establishment of a Museum would be much facilitated by such an appointment. They had before them the testimonials of Mr. James Collins, from His Grace the Duke of Argyll, Secretary of State for India ; Dr. Hooker, C.B., Director, Royal Gardens, Kew ; Professor Oliver ; J. G. Baker, Esq., F.L.S., and Mr. Jackson, of Kew ; Dr. Redwood, Professor of Chemistry to the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain ; W. Carruthers, Esquire, F.R.S., Keeper of the Herbarium, British Museum ; Dr. Masters, F.R.S. ; T. T. Bennett, Esq., F.R.S., former Keeper of the Herbarium, British Museum ; and from Professor Cobbold, M.D., F.R.S. ; and also diplomas from four scientific societies, copies of a report on Caoutchouc to the Government of India, and articles and reviews published in various scientific journals, etc. . . . His salary might for the present be paid at \$150 a month.”

His Excellency approved of this, and Mr. Collins entered on his duties on the 8th May 1874, as Economic Botanist, Librarian, and Secretary to the Committee.

The question of the Library came up for discussion

at the Committee meeting of the 13th May. Dr. Little, after a few remarks as to the past history and present position of the Singapore Library, said that he believed that if the Government were to pay the proprietors of that Library the sum of \$500 or thereabouts, stated to be the debt of the Library, and to make each of the proprietors a life subscriber, without payment, the proprietors in that case would transfer their library of about 3,000 volumes, and all their rights over the same, to the Government, and that such a library would form a valuable nucleus in the formation of the Library with which they were entrusted.

This motion was carried, and a copy of the resolution was forwarded to Mr. A. S. Cumming, the Honorary Secretary of the Singapore Library. The final amount settled upon was \$560.71, the following names being appended to the agreement :

Miss Little	Mr. E. Losé
Mr. A. M. Aitken	Honourable H. W. Wood
Mr. C. Baumgarten	Honourable T. Shelford
Mr. R. Campbell	Mr. A. Duff
Mr. J. d'Almeida	Mr. A. S. Cumming.

The Library was formally taken possession of on the 1st July 1874, and the work of cataloguing and repairing the books was at once entered upon, over 1,000 books having to be rebound or otherwise repaired.

The Library was then still located in the lower rooms of the Town Hall, where it had been since September 1862 ; but the Municipal Commissioners now gave up to the Committee three of their best rooms on the upper floor, an exchange which for the preservation of the books, the convenience of readers, and the amount of light was found admirable (see annual report for 1874). There it remained until December 1876, when it was moved back to Raffles Institution.

The Committee meetings seem up till then to have been always held at the Raffles Institution. This was now found inconvenient, and so in June 1874 the Secre-

tary was authorised to select and engage a room in the Square as an office and place of meeting, and to furnish it. Judging by the number of meetings, the Committee was remarkably energetic in the first few months of its existence: they met weekly in June and fortnightly during July and August. After that they sank back into more respectable leisure and monthly meetings.

The Library was opened to the public on the 14th September 1874 (not 4th September, as stated in the annual report for that year), and the following advertisement appeared in the *Singapore Times* for several days previously :

" RAFFLES LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

" His Excellency Sir Andrew Clarke, to give effect to the resolution of the Legislative Council of the 28th March 1874, has appointed this Committee to establish a Library and Museum in Singapore.

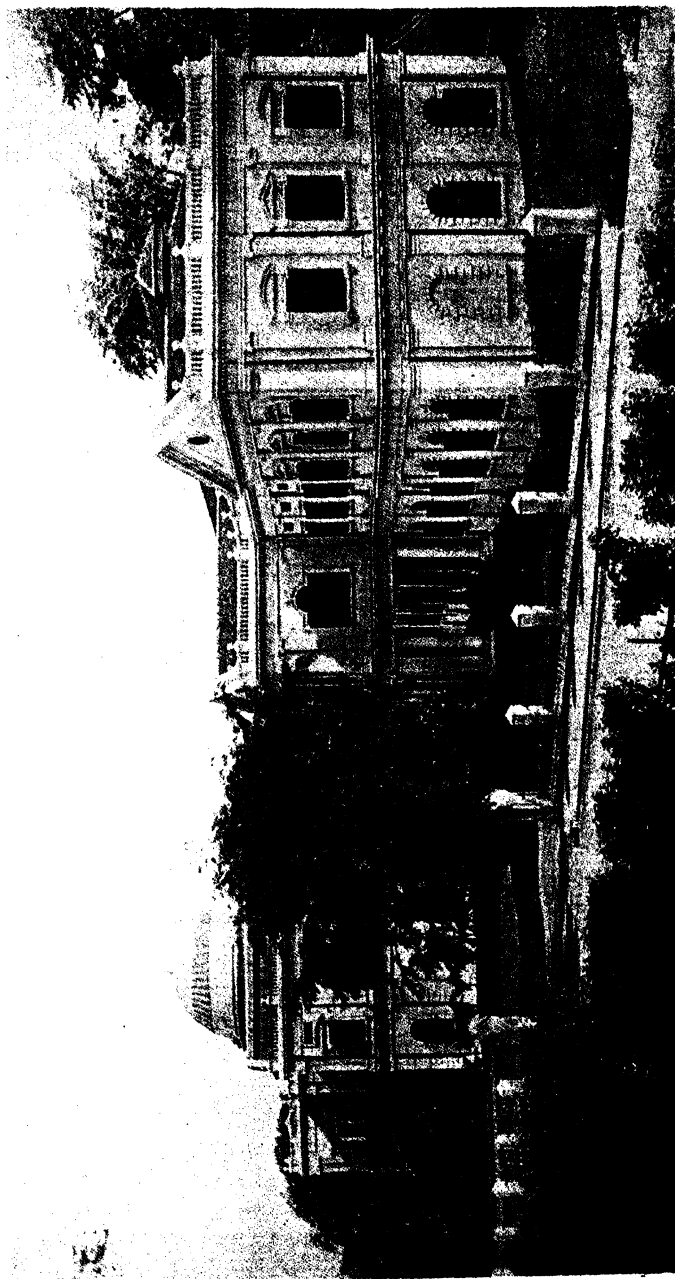
" The Library will be opened on the 14th September, and will consist of a Reference Library, and Circulating or Lending Library, and a Reading Room where books and periodicals may be consulted.

" In the Reference Library will be collected valuable works relating to the Straits Settlements and surrounding countries, as well as standard works on Botany, Zoology, Mineralogy, Geography, and the Arts and Sciences generally.

" In order that every possible advantage may be placed within the reach of readers in the Settlement, the Reference Library and Reading Room will be free to all persons on an introduction from a member of Committee, or on obtaining the Librarian's permission.

" The Circulating Library can only be used by subscribers, but that every one may have an opportunity of availing himself of it, the Second Class subscription will be \$1½ per quarter, entitling the subscriber to borrow one complete work of one or more volumes, and one periodical at a time.

" The Committee will be happy to receive donations of valuable books or manuscripts for the benefit of the public.



RAFFLES LIBRARY AND MUSEUM, SINGAPORE.

"That every one may fully enjoy the advantages the Library offers, the Committee have, with the sanction of His Excellency the Governor, framed the following Rules, and they trust the subscribers and public will heartily co-operate in carrying them out."

The minute book has the following florid peroration in addition: "In conclusion, the Committee earnestly hope that the reading public of all classes will not neglect to avail themselves of this opportunity of storing their minds with the treasures of knowledge to be found in the Library, and so advancing the education of the mind far beyond what tuition can effect, while a more profitable or amusing employment could not be found for their leisure hours than the perusal of the travels and voyages of learned and enterprising men, the histories of Nations, the biographies of illustrious individuals, and the carefully selected novels which will be found in the Library."

The advertisement then gives the names of the members of the Committee:

Honourable R. LITTLE, M.D., *Chairman*.

ANDERSON, Dr. I.	HOSE, Rev. G. F., M.A.
BISHOP, Mr. F. C.	HULLETT, Mr. R. W., B.A.
BRINKMANN, Mr. J. G.	JAMIE, Mr. R.
BUCHANAN, Mr. H.	KROHN, Mr. W.
CALDBECK, Capt.	LLOYD, CAPTAIN, R.E.
CAMERON, Mr. J.	MCNAIR, THE HON. MAJOR
CAMPBELL, Mr. R.	RANDELL, DR.
CARRINGTON, W. T., C.E.	SATTERTHWAITE, CAPT., R.E.
CHING, Mr. TAN KIM	SCOTT, THE HON. W. R.
CUMMING, Mr. A. S.	SHELFORD, THE HON. T.
DALE, REV. W.	WHAMPOA, THE HON. H. A. K.
FISHER, Mr. H. T.	WOOD, Mr. H. W.
FISHER, Mr. J.	WOODS, Mr. R. C., F.L.S.

It is not necessary to give the Rules in full, except to mention that the rate of subscription seemed very high. A Class I subscription, entitling to two complete works and one periodical at a time, with the exclusive use of all new books for the first three months,

was \$20 per annum ; a Class II subscription, for one complete work and one periodical, \$6 per annum.

The Committee seems to have been most lavish in the supply of periodicals : not less than fifty different newspapers and magazines were taken in, and many of these in triplicate (*Blackwood's*, *Macmillan's*, *Fraser's*, *Cornhill*, *Temple Bar*, *Athenæum*, *Punch*, *Edinburgh Review*) and in duplicate (*Quarterly Review*, *Fortnightly*, *Art Journal*, *Once a Week*, *All the Year Round*, and *Chambers's*). The list also included one French paper (*Revue des Deux Mondes*) and two German ones (*Unsere Zeit* and *Die Kolnische Zeitung*).

The whole of the books and periodicals were supplied by Messrs. Edmonston and Douglas, Library Agents, Edinburgh.

Though the number of subscribers during this year was only small—there were nine Life Members, thirty-one Class I. and sixty-two Class II subscribers—the new Secretary had probably his hands full in taking over the old Singapore Library ; and so we are not surprised to read in the first annual report, signed by Dr. R. Little, as Chairman of the Committee, that “ both because of the amount of Library work and the want of proper accommodation the formation of the Museum and Permanent Exhibition has received scant attention.” The Library was apparently the millstone around the neck of the Secretary, which it has remained ever since. However, a small beginning was made : a collection of woods was presented by Mr. J. Meldrum (later Dato Meldrum, of Johore), a collection of stone adzes, arrows, etc., from New Guinea, was purchased for the sum of \$70 from the sailors of H.M.S. *Basilisk*, and some ethnological specimens from Borneo were acquired.

The name “ Raffles Library and Museum ” was agreed upon at the Committee meeting of the 16th July 1874. At a previous meeting (18th June) Captain Lloyd had proposed that the Library be called the “ Singapore Library,” instead of “ Singapore Public Library,” as proposed by the Sub-Committee. The Honourable Dr.

Little then proposed and Captain Caldbeck seconded the following amendment : " That the Library be called the ' Raffles Library.' " Captain Lloyd's motion being withdrawn, the Honourable W. R. Scott proposed that the Library and Museum should be considered together, and that the name be " The Singapore Library and Museum." This being put to the meeting, the voting was as follows : for the amendment (Singapore Library and Museum) 8 ; against (and for Raffles Library) 5. At a later meeting (that of 16th July) the Chairman, the Hon. Dr. R. Little, stated that he had forwarded a copy of the Rules as passed by the Committee to H.E. the Governor for his approval. He had received a reply from His Excellency (which had been sent round to each member), to the following effect : " I should wish to see the Committee and suggest that the title should not be ' Singapore,' but rather the ' Straits ' Library. I should have preferred it having been called the ' Raffles Library.' Otherwise I approve of the Rules." It was then proposed by the Rev. W. Dale, and seconded by the Honourable Major McNair, " That the Library and Museum be called ' Raffles Library and Museum.' " The following amendment was proposed by the Hon. T. Shelford, and seconded by Mr. R. Campbell : " That the Library and Museum be called the ' Straits Settlements Library and Museum.' " On being put to the vote : for the amendment, 3 ; against, 7. The name of " Raffles Library and Museum " was therefore carried.

The minutes from May 1876 onwards show that the appointment of Mr. Collins was an unqualified failure. We read under 1st May 1876 :

" The minutes of the last meeting could not be read, as they had not been copied into the Minute Book. A note was read from Mr. Collins excusing his absence from the meeting on account of sickness."

8th January 1877 : " The Librarian, Mr. Collins, did not appear, and after waiting three-quarters of an hour, and a messenger having meantime been sent to his room. he sent an apology for his absence, urging that he was

sick. The Committee can find nothing in the circumstances to explain Mr. Collins's want of courtesy in not informing them earlier of his inability to attend the meeting, and instruct the Chairman (Hon. W. Adamson) to call upon him for an explanation."

15th January 1877: "Mr. Collins's letter of explanation to the Chairman for his absence at last meeting was read, and it was stated that the Chairman had agreed to pass this matter over on Mr. Collins giving an undertaking that for the future his management should be in every respect satisfactory."

However, things did not improve. Under the 20th March 1877 we find the following entry: "The meeting was called for the purpose of considering the 'Report for the Library and Museum for 1876,' and the Report, having been already in the hands of the Committee, was taken as read. The Chairman (i.e. the Hon. W. Adamson) complained that the Librarian had not attended to instructions in correcting the Report for the previous meeting."

This unsatisfactory state of affairs apparently ended with the dismissal of Mr. Collins. In the minutes of the Committee meeting of the 6th August 1877, Dr. N. B. Dennys, Assistant Protector of Chinese, appears as Acting Secretary. In November of the same year the permanent appointment of Secretary and Curator was offered to him, at a salary of \$150, this to cover any expenses for travelling. Dr. Dennys does not seem to have accepted that offer, for he continued to sign himself "Acting Secretary." The estimates for 1878 were: Curator, \$1,800; Clerk, \$480; Osteologist, \$840; Taxidermist, \$720; Apprentices, \$240; Servants, \$420; whilst the revenue consisted of the Government grant (\$5,600) and subscriptions (\$896). The Osteologist was a Mr. Kunstler, who stayed here only a short time, whilst the Taxidermist was Mr. L. A. Fernandis, who faithfully continued in the service of the Museum until 1903, when he retired with a small gratuity (\$500). Dr. Dennys's record stood in pleasing contrast to that

of his predecessor, and in the minutes of the 8th January 1878 the Committee expressed its appreciation of the efforts of the Acting Secretary to get the Library and Museum into good order. In September of that year the Hon. C. J. Irving, Chairman of the Committee, stated that the philological library of the late Mr. J. R. Logan, of Penang, Editor of the *Journal of the Eastern Archipelago*, was for sale at \$520, and at the October meeting it was decided to write in to Government saying that the Committee was most anxious to have the books, but that they regretted that they had no funds at their disposal from which they could contribute towards the purchase. Government seems to have agreed to this; the receipt of the books was announced in January 1880, and in July of the same year a catalogue of the collection was printed off, at a cost of \$198 for 600 copies. The catalogue, numbering forty-five pages, is very well done, and was no doubt Dr. Dennys's work. The Logan Collection forms still one of the most valuable sections of the Raffles Library, and is housed in two large book-cases.

The lack of space seems to have been chronic in those early years and for many years after. In April 1879 the Acting Secretary was authorised to solicit subscriptions from the community for a new Library and Museum building, but little progress was reported at the next meeting. The proposal of a new building was again discussed in August and October of the following year (1880).

Dr. Dennys went on four months' leave in November 1881, and Mr. Arthur Knight was appointed to act for him at \$50 a month. Mr. Knight had then already been many years in Singapore (he arrived here in January 1860). He repeatedly acted again, and until his death, 28th November 1916, always retained a deep interest both in the Library and Museum and in the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, which both in its place of meeting and in its work is closely associated with the Library and Museum.

In May 1882 a valuable collection of Malay weapons was purchased from Mr. (now Sir) F. A. Swettenham at \$500. They are apparently the krises and spears in the Museum which bear the label "Perak collection." In June 1882, on Dr. Dennys's application, it was agreed that the duties of Librarian and Curator should be separated, and that each of those officers should receive a remuneration of \$50 a month ; that Mr. A. Y. Gahagan should act as Librarian, and Dr. Dennys retain the charge of the Museum, this arrangement to be a temporary one pending the erection of a new Museum. At the same meeting the Curator was requested to prepare a catalogue of the Museum. However, the catalogue was not published until 1884. It was prepared chiefly or entirely by Mr. A. Knight, printed by the Singapore and Straits Printing Office and numbered 198 pages. But the collections were at the time not yet in a fit condition to be satisfactorily catalogued.

In 1883 Dr. T. I. Rowell, P.C.M.O., started to prepare a collection of stuffed fish. He was engaged on this work for about three years. The result was a valuable collection of 200 or 300 specimens, with their Malay names and scientific names. But they were little attractive, as no attempt was made to paint them. The collection is now superseded by a collection of fish painted in their natural colours, the work of the Assistant Curator, Mr. Valentine Knight.

In the same year (1883) the Honourable W. H. Read presented to the Library a copy of the Boro-Boedoer, by Wilsen and Brumund (2 vols. text and 4 vols. plates). The following is the entry in the Minute Book referring to the gift : " The attention of the Committee was drawn to a valuable collection of plates of the Boro-Boedoer sculptures, with letterpress descriptions, presented by the Honourable W. H. Read. It was directed that they should be acknowledged with thanks, and be properly bound." It may be that the Acting Secretary, Mr. Arthur Knight, did not put the Committee's acknowledgment for this gift in a sufficiently

grateful and appreciative form. For there is in the Library an undated letter from Mr. Read addressed to Mr. Gahagan :

“ MY DEAR GAHAGAN,

“ I think you are the Acting Secretary of the Museum, and last year I sent the Committee a book of infinite value and rare, on the ruins of the Hindoo temple of Boro-bodor in Java. I got the same thanks as if I had given a stuffed cat. Notwithstanding this discouragement, as I fancy the value of this gift was and, maybe, is still unknown and unappreciated, I now send you a letter of John Crawford's, also possibly an unknown quantity, but which should be appreciated, as he succeeded the ' immortal Raffles ' in the Governmentship of Singapore.”

The shades of W. H. R. may rest in peace ! The letter in question, dated the 14th July 1828, and addressed to A. L. Johnston, is, with others, duly preserved in the despatch-box in the safe of the Museum.

Dr. Dennys acted for the last time as Secretary at the Committee meeting of May 1882. The last annual report signed by him was that for 1880, whilst that for 1881 was by Mr. Arthur Knight, those for 1882 and 1883 by Mr. Gahagan. In the reports for 1884 and 1885 the Library part is signed by Mr. Gahagan, and the Museum part by Mr. Knight. Dr. Dennys, however, did not entirely sever his connection with the Museum. He became a member of the Committee, and was present at many meetings until February 1886.

At the meeting of November 1884 attention was “ drawn to the fact that the bust of Sir Stamford Raffles, at present in the Museum, was lent, not given, by the Trustees of the School to the Library, and the Acting Secretary (i.e. Mr. Gahagan) is desired to make a special note of this.” This, of course, refers to the celebrated bust by Chantrey.

Mr. Phillips, the present Principal of the Raffles Institution, wrote to me, under the 11th September 1918, that “ Chantrey's bust of Raffles is at present in the

Town Hall. It was in Raffles Institution for quite sixty years, but Mr. Hullett handed it over to the Municipality when he left Singapore in October 1906."

The finances of the Library and Museum were at that time in a most flourishing condition. In August 1885 it was decided to increase the fixed deposit of \$9,000 by another \$3,000, and in the following February a further \$1,000 was added.

In March 1886 the appointment of a suitable Curator and Librarian was discussed. Two months after Messrs. Bicknell, Copley, Evatt, and Trotter applied for the post of Acting Secretary, and Mr. Copley was appointed. He remained in charge until August only, when he was succeeded for a few months by Mr. W. T. Wrench. In July of the same year it was decided to appeal to the authorities of the British Museum for help in the selection of a suitable man: "We require a Curator and Librarian for the Raffles Library and Museum, who will also be the Secretary to the Committee of Management. He will have to supervise the moving of the present books and collections to the new Museum, where he will rearrange them—and as the Museum will have to be formed anew, he must be a good all-round man. He will have quarters for an unmarried man in the new Museum. They will be simply furnished with plain, needful furniture. The pay to be \$300 a month on an agreement for five years. His passage will be paid out, and also back at the end of the five years." In January 1887 an application from Dr. R. von Lendenfeld for the post of Curator was considered; the agreement was on the point of being signed, when it was cancelled for some reason which does not appear from the minutes.

In May of the same year (1887) an application from Mr. William Davidson for the vacant post was considered: "The Committee think Mr. Davidson's testimonials very good, but they are desirous to avoid again falling into the mistake of haste." Mr. Davidson was finally appointed, and was for the first time present at the Committee meeting of the 23rd December 1887. Davidson

came from India ; he was an ornithologist of some note, had worked with A. O. Hume, and was said to have been more responsible for *Stray Feathers* than Hume himself.

The new Library and Museum building at the foot of Fort Canning Hill and the junction of Stamford Road and Orchard Road had in the meantime been completed. The building was formally opened by H.E. the Governor, Sir Frederick Aloysius Weld, G.C.M.G., on Wednesday, the 12th October 1887, at 5 p.m., and on the 7th November, at 6.45 a.m., the Committee formally inspected it.

The building was soon found to be too small. So in May 1889 enquiries were made whether " Fort Canning House " could be made available for the Curator, who so far had had his quarters in the Museum. This, apparently, refers to the only house which stood then in Back Road (later on called Fort Canning Road). However, nothing came of the proposal until the autumn of the year 1898, when the writer, as Curator, was allowed to occupy the house. He lived there until 1910, when he was given a house at the other end of Fort Canning Road (No. 3). The old Fort Canning House has since been converted into quarters for the Y.W.C.A.

In order to enlarge at least the Reading Room of the new Library a verandah was built in 1891.

At the meeting of the 2nd August 1889 a letter from Mr. Buckley to Mr. W. Nanson (member of the Committee) was read *re* the photographs for the Library of the statue of Sir Stamford Raffles. Resolved " that Mr. Nanson be asked to write to Mr. Buckley and ascertain the cost of two permanent photographs by the carbon or auto-type process, one of the complete statue (reduced), the other of the natural size of the inscription, and also to ascertain the cost of a replica of the statue of such a size as to fit nicely into one of the niches in the hall." In October following " upon a list of the prices forwarded by Mr. Buckley decided to order a large-size carbon photo of the statue of Sir Stamford Raffles, on pedestal in one with surroundings, at a cost of £6 6s., and oak frame £2 2s." This is the photograph which used to hang in

the old reading room, and which since has been transferred to the new building.

Buckley, in his *Anecdotal History of Singapore*, vol. 1, page 15, says : " In 1889 the compiler of this book had a photograph taken by the photographer to the Queen, with the consent of the Dean, of the Monument (of Raffles), and gave it to the Raffles Library, where it is placed." Whether this is an error on his part cannot be elucidated from the minute books and the account books still in existence.

Mr. Davidson remained in charge until the 25th January 1893, when he died under tragic circumstances. His annual report for the previous year (1892) was dated only eleven days before his death, and is ominously meagre, covering barely two pages. He records a great drop, both in the number of subscribers to the Library and of the visitors to the Museum : " The great falling-off in the number of visitors to the building—a decrease of 14,147—I do not know how to satisfactorily explain. Nothing very large or especially striking has been obtained." After a short interval, during which Mr. O. V. Thomas acted, Mr. Davidson was succeeded by Dr. G. D. Haviland, who took charge on the 5th April 1893, and in November of the same year Mr. T. S. Quin was appointed to assist in the Library. Unfortunately, Dr. Haviland stayed only until the end of the year. He accomplished much excellent work during the few months he was here, and his annual report (for 1893) is full and of unusual interest. Mr. Quin acted as Secretary until March 1895, when Mr. John Graham was appointed in the same capacity. The present writer arrived on the 30th June, and took over on the following day, the 1st July 1895, as Curator and Librarian under the Committee. From January 1899 the post was placed on the permanent establishment, under Government, and in 1908 the title of " Curator and Librarian " was changed to " Director."

Three factors have contributed to the growth and development of the Library and Museum during the last twenty-four years, so that now the Institution is

certainly appreciated by the public : firstly, the work has been under one control for a considerable period ; secondly, Government has always adequately and willingly supported it, especially by providing suitable accommodation for the ever-growing collections ; thirdly—and the two first factors would have availed nothing without this last one—the Director has been fortunate in the cheerful co-operation of an efficient and faithful staff. It is especially my pleasant duty to acknowledge the work of Mr. Valentine Knight, who joined in 1902 as Chief Taxidermist, and who in 1912 was raised to the post of Assistant Curator. To him much of the artistic work in the Museum is due, especially in the excellent collections of birds, fishes and models of fruit. He is ably assisted by the Taxidermist, Mr. P. M. de Fontaine, who joined in 1897, and who during these many years, both in indoor and outdoor work, has been of invaluable service. He accompanied me on most of my expeditions, to Mount Ophir, to Kedah Peak, to various other places in the Straits and F.M.S., to Kina Balu, to Sarawak and Christmas Island. In the Library I had for some years (December 1895 to April 1906) the good fortune of having at my right hand a brilliant young Chinaman, Mr. Kong Tian Cheng, who during those years acquired the most astounding knowledge of the contents of the Library. He worked incessantly both in and out of office hours. To him the chief work of compiling the " 1900 " Catalogue is due, whilst the *Catalogue of Literature relating to China* (1901) was entirely his own work. He died in Peking, in January 1914, his death being deeply regretted not only by his compatriots, but also by the numerous Europeans in Singapore who knew him. The present first clerk (since 1910) is Mr. Chua Hong Kay, whose faithful work I also gladly acknowledge.

BUILDING

It has been mentioned already that the Library and Museum building, opened in the Jubilee Year 1887, soon proved too small. By giving the Curator outside quarters

in 1898 a few more rooms became available for exhibition purposes, and in 1904 a large extension was commenced, behind and parallel to the old block, with an H connection, which fully doubled the former space. This new building was completed in 1906, at a cost of about \$80,000. The upper rooms were utilized as an animal gallery; the ground floor for workshop, store-rooms, and the Asiatic Society's quarters. The new gallery was opened to the public on Chinese New Year's Day, the 13th February 1907, and within a few minutes of the throwing open of the doors both the new and the old galleries were filled by dense masses of delighted holiday-makers. Even this large extension sufficed only for a short time. So it was decided to add to the block completed in 1906 a wing, towards Tanglin, this new building to contain the Library only. After some delay, chiefly caused by the War, this building was opened in August 1916. Its cost was about \$75,000. More space will soon be required, and this can be provided only by an additional building on the vacant piece of ground adjoining the Museum compound (Crown Lot No. 118, containing 35,860 square feet), which it was decided in 1909 to retain for the Library and Museum.

GOVERNMENT GRANT

From 1887, the year in which the present Museum building was opened, until 1889 the Government grant was \$10,000 per annum; from 1890 to 1898 it was \$9,000; in 1899 the grant was reduced to \$4,255, as from now the salary of the Curator was paid by Government; it was raised to \$4,755 in 1901, to \$7,400 in 1902, to \$10,000 in 1904, and lastly to \$12,000 in 1913. Another increase will become necessary when the proposed separation of the Library from the Museum takes place.

Books

The library now contains close on 39,000 volumes. The greater part are in the Lending Library, while the

rest constitute the Reference Library. This latter comprises (1) most zoological works of a systematic character, such as are required for museum work; (2) specially valuable works of a general character; (3) the "Logan collection," already mentioned; (4) the "Rost collection." This latter collection was received in the year 1897. It formed originally a portion of the private library of the late Dr. Reinhold Rost, Librarian to the India Office, and was acquired from his executors by the Government at a cost of £170 12s. 8d., the Raffles Library afterwards contributing one-third of the cost of purchase. It comprises 970 volumes, chiefly on the philology, geography, and ethnology of the Malay Archipelago. The books are housed in a special case, surmounted by a bust of Dr. Rost, the work and the gift of his son, Mr. A. E. L. Rost. There is a special catalogue to this collection, compiled on lines similar to that of the Logan collection.

CATALOGUES

The contents of the library are comprised in the following catalogues:

Catalogue I, published in 1905, comprising all books in the Library up to and including the year 1900. It numbers 636 pages, and 600 copies were printed, at a cost of \$1,693.

Catalogue II was published in 1911, and comprises the additions for the years 1901-10. It contains 363 pages, and 300 copies were printed, at a cost of \$711.

A supplement for the years 1911-15. Further, there are the "Monthly Lists," giving all additions to the Library received from month to month. These lists have been regularly issued ever since 1898. Finally, there were the special catalogues for the Logan and Rost collections, and one for the "Literature relating to China." All these different catalogues are fused in a "Slip" Catalogue, which is kept up-to-date from month to month, as the lists of additions are published. Thanks are due to the Singapore dailies for kindly publishing the monthly lists free of charge.

SUBSCRIBERS

In 1875, the year after the Library had been taken over by Government, there were nine life members (the last surviving "Proprietors" of the "Singapore Library"), fifty first-class and 131 second-class subscribers. In 1904 a third class was instituted. At present first-class subscribers are entitled to four books at a time, for a yearly payment of \$12; second-class to two books, for \$8; and third-class to one book, for \$4. The last life member was the Honourable Thomas Shelford, C.M.G., who died in 1899.

There has been a steady rise in the number of subscribers, especially so within the last few years. At the beginning of the War there was a marked drop, but after that a rapid and unprecedented increase, perhaps best accounted for by the opening of the new Library building in 1916, which the public find very much more attractive than the old place, with its cramped accommodation.

The cosmopolitan character of the subscribers has repeatedly been remarked upon in the annual reports. The report for 1912 enumerates the following nationalities: British (308), French (5), Dutch (4), Russian (2), American (2), German (1), Danish (1), Italian (1), Eurasian (13), Chinese (23), Malay (6), Armenian (3), Singalese (3), Japanese (3), Jewish (3), Tamil (3), Arab (1), Bengalese (1), Bombay (1), Javanese (1).

The subscriptions amount now to roughly \$3,500 per annum.

MUSEUM: ZOOLOGICAL COLLECTION

This section constitutes the main part of the Museum. There is an *Illustrated Guide*, published in 1908, which explains its chief features, and is at the same time meant to serve as a popular introduction to the study of the Malayan fauna.

The oldest specimen in the Museum, as far as the records go back, is the larger of the two rhinoceros skeletons. We read in the *Singapore Daily Times* of the

13th May 1875 that "Sir Andrew Clarke has presented the Zoological Department of the Gardens with a fine female two-horned rhinoceros. The animal is a magnificent specimen, and is besides in calf. She is a native of the Peninsula, and was a present to Sir Andrew Clarke from the Datu Klana of Sunghei Ujong." However, in February 1877 the Gardens Committee had become tired of the animal, and "it was agreed that the Rhinoceros should be got rid of, and the matter be left in Mr. Krohn's hands." Mr. Krohn was member of the Gardens Committee, and in charge of the animals. So in August following the animal was handed over to the Museum. The other skeleton, from British North Borneo, was presented by Mr. Rowe in 1901. The stuffed rhinoceros from Perak, a female, was presented in 1902 by Mr. R. von Pustau, Acting Consul for Austria. The stuffed sêladang, a cow, was the gift, in 1889, of Mr. (later Sir) J. P. Rodger, Resident of Pahang, whilst the skeleton, that of a young bull, was given in the same year by Captain H. C. Syers and Mr. W. C. Michell. Both specimens were obtained in Pahang. In addition, there is a fine series of sêladang horns, given at various times by Mr. A. D. Machado, Mr. H. Bertrand Roberts, and Dato Hole of Johore.

The elephant skeleton is that of a specimen (male) shot by H.H. the Sultan of Johore near Senai in November 1909. The work of preparing it was done on the spot, a full account of which was given in the *Singapore Free Press* of the 22nd November of that year. Other gifts of His Highness are the tiger, exhibited in the hall of the Museum, and the large black panther.

There are shown several examples of the deer (the Malay Sambar or Rusa). One of them was shot by Mr. Ridley near Changi in 1891, and the Museum is indebted to him for many other specimens, especially at the time when there was a small zoological department attached to the Gardens.

Only last year (1917) a gap in the collection was filled by the gift of two serows: the one from Annam,

presented by two French gentlemen, M. L. Chochod and M. G. Saint-Poulof; and the other from Sumatra, presented by Mr. P. Jansen, T. Pzn, and Mr. C. J. Brooks.

The skeleton of the Indian whale, measuring 42 feet in length, is that of a specimen stranded near Malacca in 1892. The Honourable D. F. A. Hervey, then Resident Councillor of Malacca, caused the skeleton to be prepared and to be conveyed to Singapore, but owing to lack of space it could not be mounted and exhibited till 1907.

The most generous of donors in recent years was Dr. W. L. Abbott. There are many animals in the Museum from his expeditions to Sumatra, Borneo, and neighbouring islands, the group of proboscis monkeys being the most striking of his gifts.

Of birds, more than 1,300 specimens are exhibited, representing about 680 different species. The great majority are, of course, Malayan, but there are a few game birds from the Himalayas, some parrots from the Eastern Archipelago, and a fine set of Birds of Paradise from New Guinea and neighbouring islands. Of local birds, perhaps the most showy are an Argus pheasant, from the Dindings, presented by Mr. R. J. Wilkinson in 1902, and one from Indragiri, Sumatra, presented by Mr. J. E. Romenij in 1905.

Of reptiles, there is a specimen of the rare leathery turtle, from Siglap, Singapore, presented by the Honourable A. M. Skinner in 1883, and a huge crocodile, measuring 15½ feet, from Serangoon, shot and presented by Mr. G. P. Owen in 1887.

Much progress has been made in recent years in the collection of fishes, stuffed and painted in their natural colours, and the Museum is indebted to Mr. C. H. Clarke and Mr. W. Perreau, Inspectors of Markets, for the greater part of the material.

The exhibited butterflies and moths fill two long rows of cases. The majority are Malayan; but there are several cases of butterflies from Lower Burma, the Philippines, and Celebes, given by Mr. H. Wilfred Walker in 1904 and 1905, and one case, from Celebes,

given by Dr. Martin in 1907. Most other insects are in cabinets, but are always accessible to persons interested in entomology.

The marine fauna of the neighbourhood is intensely interesting, but there have never been sufficient time and facilities for its study. However, the Museum contains fair collections of molluscs, crustaceans, worms, echinoderms, zoophytes, corals and sponges. Some mother-of-pearl shells, obtained near Singapore in three fathoms of water, were presented by Mr. W. F. C. Asimont in 1906. Scientifically the most interesting gifts were the numerous specimens (sea lilies, polyzoa, corals, and sponges) from telegraph cables, presented, about twenty years ago, by Mr. (now Captain) W. Maclear Ladds. Much welcome help in enlarging and working out the marine collections was given in 1899 by the late Mr. F. P. Bedford and Mr. W. F. Lanchester, both of Cambridge, who spent several months here studying the marine fauna. The neighbouring seas are specially rich in corals, and there are cases showing collections from Blakang Mati, from Gaya, British North Borneo (1899), and from Christmas Island (1904).

BOTANICAL COLLECTION

No attempt has yet been made to have a complete botanical collection in the Museum. However, there are samples of wood, fibres, and essential oils, and especially a series of models of local fruit and vegetables, prepared by the Assistant Curator, Mr. V. Knight, and the Taxidermist, Mr. P. M. de Fontaine. These models have always been attractive, and are of much interest to visitors. They are casts, in paraffin wax, or more satisfactorily in plaster of Paris, of the actual fruits, painted in their natural colours, and are, at least to timid passengers who have not yet explored the possibilities of an Eastern fruit market, in some respects preferable to the real article.

THE GEOLOGICAL SECTION

There is, besides a general collection of typical rocks and minerals, a fair collection of specimens from the

Peninsula, chiefly, of course, tin ore. There is a huge block of cassiterite, weighing half a ton, presented in 1894 by the Chinese of Kuala Lumpur to Sir Charles Mitchell, Governor of the Straits Settlements, and subsequently handed over by him to the Museum. Of much interest is a collection of minerals from Kelantan, presented in 1904 by Mr. R. W. Duff and Dr. Gimlette. The Peninsula is not rich in fossils; but there is some myophoria sandstone, from the Pahang Trunk Road, near Kuala Lipis, given by Mr. H. F. Bellamy in 1897. Of local interest are certain fossils, chiefly bivalves, probably Middle Jurassic, discovered in 1904 by Mr. J. B. Scrivenor, F.M.S. Geologist, in the silty clay of Mount Guthrie, near Tanjong Pagar. They were described by Mr. R. Bullen Newton, of the British Museum, in the *Geological Magazine* for 1906. A special case is devoted to Christmas Island with its phosphates.

ETHNOLOGICAL COLLECTION

This collection is housed in the upper floor of the old building. It comprises weapons, dresses, ornaments, domestic implements of the Peninsular Malays, of Sakeis, of the various native races of Borneo, Sumatra, Java, Celebes, Timor Laut, and New Guinea. There are also models of boats, more than 360 krises, swords, tumbok lada, etc., and many spears. The dresses include exquisite silk sarongs, shot with gold, especially from Padang, Sumatra. The collections are rich in silver and brass ware. There are numbers of silver pillow-ends, sirih sets, bowls and plates, belt buckles ("pinding"), and such like, all of which were acquired within the last twenty years. Many have been within the last few years purchased, directly or indirectly, from native rulers in the neighbouring Dutch islands, who thus endeavoured to supplement their shrinking incomes. The brass-ware includes pots and pans, trays, sirih sets, wonderfully ornamented, old bronze cannon ("lelah") and gongs, those from Brunei being especially valuable. There are also mats and baskets, some of them of beautiful and

intricate patterns. The following deserve special mention: Sakei implements, presented by Mr. A. D. Machado in 1900, by Mr. Meadows Frost in 1904, and by Mr. S. M. Schwabe in 1904 and 1906; a case illustrating the manufacture of Malacca baskets, presented by Mrs. Bland; a collection of Battak (Sumatra) specimens, acquired in 1911 through Miss Abel's kind help, from Mr. Pohlig, of the Rhenish Mission; many Dyak specimens acquired through, or presented by, Dr. Charles Hose, Archdeacon Sharp, and the late Mr. R. Shelford, of the Sarawak Museum; a case of Nias specimens from Mr. C. Boden Kloss; a large and valuable collection from Timor Laut, purchased in 1906 from Mr. A. Grossmann; a large case of specimens from New Guinea and neighbouring islands, presented by Captain H. McGill in 1903. Some years ago a set of Javanese shadow-play figures ("Wayang kulit"), together with an orchestra ("gamelan"), were purchased. To illustrate the working of this theatre, or puppet show, six life-size human figures were added, suitably dressed, their heads and limbs being modelled in plaster of Paris. There are also a full-sized figure of a Sea-Dyak woman working a loom, to illustrate the manufacture of sarongs; a group, Malay woman and boy, making Malacca baskets; and one, mother and child, showing the custom of head compressing amongst Malanau people (Sarawak). These figures were prepared by the Museum modeller, Lee Kim Swee.

NUMISMATIC COLLECTION

There is in the Museum a representative collection of coins of the British East India Company, Dutch East India, the Straits, British North Borneo, Sarawak, Siam, and the Philippines, with a few from India, China, and Japan. Some of these, especially those of the British East India Company, were in 1898 acquired from Lieutenant-Colonel Leslie Ellis. In 1909 Mr. J. P. Moquette, of Weltevreden, Java, gave, with lavish generosity, a large series of Dutch East India Company coins. The

most valuable section, however, are the old Portuguese tin coins which some years ago were dredged in the Malacca River, and were handed over to the Museum by Mr. (now Sir) W. Egerton (in 1900) and Mr. R. N. Bland (in 1904), the then Resident Councillors of Malacca. The coins, the earliest of which date back to the time of Albuquerque (1511), are the oldest records of the history of the Straits in the Museum. They were figured and described in the Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Nos. 39 and 44.

VISITORS

A museum is of little use without its visitors, and the Raffles Museum can certainly not complain of the lack of interest, at least on the part of the natives. If on ordinary days those coming here can be counted by the hundred, they number thousands on holidays, and the well-behaved crowds, in their gay festive garments, are then always a pleasure to behold. Especially on Chinese New Year the place is full to overflowing. On the last occasion, the 11th and 12th February 1918, the number of visitors was 10,907 and 8,847 on the two days respectively, and in other years the numbers were similarly high.

Of scientific and otherwise distinguished visitors a record has been kept since 1896.

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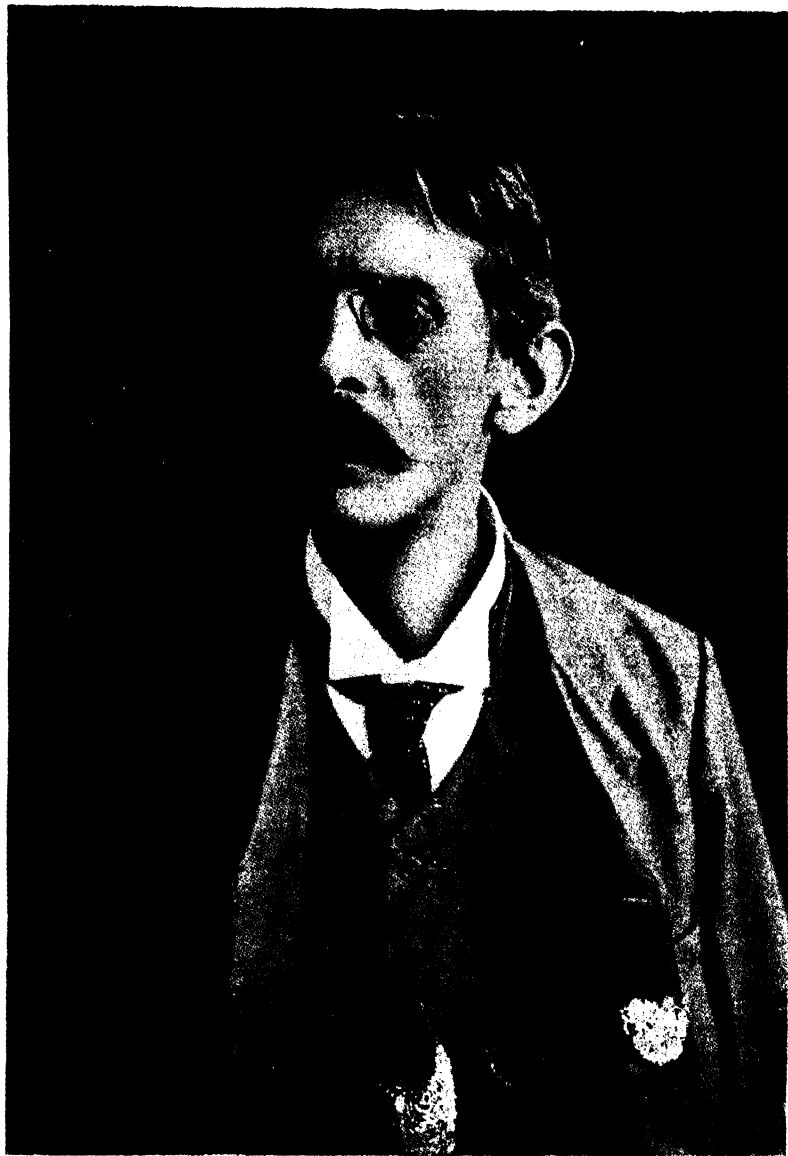
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Buckley's *Anecdotal History of Singapore*.

Files of *Singapore Free Press* from 1835 and of the *Straits Times* from 1845.

The various Directories from 1846.



DR. R. HANITSCH, PH.D.

DR. R. HANITSCH

Dr. R. Hanitsch was born in 1860. He went to England in October 1886, and was appointed Demonstrator of Zoology at University College, Liverpool, in 1887. He came to Singapore as Curator and Librarian of Raffles Library and Museum in 1895, the title being changed to Director in 1908, and held the post till the middle of 1919, when he retired and went to England, there to rejoin his family, his two sons having served in the English army and at the various fronts since the outbreak of the war. Dr. Hanitsch's work for the Museum is that of a lifetime. A true scientist in his accuracy, he is a lover of music and a classical scholar. In the quarter of a century he was at the Museum there was steady development, the building alone having been trebled in size. He succeeded in that important part of a Curator's work, keeping the Institution in touch with other museums and scientific men, and no visitor to the Museum failed to secure his attention, advice, and knowledge on the most varied of subjects.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HERALDIC NOTES

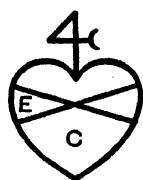
By Dr. Gilbert E. Brooke

The early colonial records extend from about the year 1800 to the Colonial Office *régime* in 1867, and consist of nearly 1,000 bound volumes of correspondence, returns, gazettes, etc., which are at present filed in the room which was formerly the P.C.M.O.'s office on the ground floor at the rear of the block of Government Offices. These records were recently collected, catalogued, and shelved, and have proved of great use in disclosing and correcting material which has been used in this History. Often, when the writer has been working late in the evening amongst the dusty tomes, with the silence of the great deserted building above and around, and the cool night breeze bringing confused sounds of

life from the river, the ghosts of the past have emerged with a verisimilitude almost uncanny.

Full of the thoughts and even the actual handwriting of the men who made history, these pages form a living link with a past which has long faded from human memory, and a striking memorial to the labours of those who "built better than they knew."

Much of the paper in the earlier volumes has yellowed with age—a condition probably due to the indifferent manufacture of the paper. The maker's name is watermarked on nearly all the sheets, the earliest being that of Edmeads and Pine, dated 1798, which is in good preservation. That of J. Budgen (1803-5) is also in excellent condition. Other early papers were by W.



Thomas (1815), which was always poor, and J. Rump (1818), which was consistently good. Smelgrove and Son, of 1820, seem to have been never good; but J. Whatman, Balston and Co. were, generally speaking, masters in the art of paper production, and they were

also the first amongst the local records to use the badge of the East India Company as an additional watermark. This badge was used by the Company on their bills of lading and other situations where a coat of arms was unsuitable.

The "United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies" was incorporated by Queen Elizabeth in 1600; and on the 4th February in that year the following armorial achievement was granted by William Camden, Clarenceux King-of-Arms: azure, three ships of three masts, rigged, and under full sail, the sails, pennants, and ensigns argent, each charged with a cross gules. On a chief of the second a pale quarterly azure and gules between two roses gules seeded or, having in the first and fourth quarters a fleur-de-lis, and in the second and third a lion passant guardant all of the second. *Crest*: on a wreath of the colours a sphere without a frame bounded by the zodiac in bend or between two split pennons floutant argent, each charged in chief with

a cross gules. Over the sphere the words "Deus indicat." *Supporters*: two sea-lions or, tails proper. *Motto*: "Deo ducente nil nocet."

Nearly a century later a new East India Company was established by Act of Parliament, and united with the old Company, when a new grant of arms by St. George, Garter, was recorded in 1698 as follows: Argent a cross gules, in the dexter chief quarter an escutcheon of the quartered arms of France and England, the shield ornamented and imperially crowned or. *Crest*: on a wreath of the colours a lion rampant guardant or, supporting between the forepaws an imperial crown proper. *Supporters*: two lions rampant guardant or, each supporting a banner erect argent charged with a cross gules. *Motto*: "Auspicio regis et Senatus angliae."

It was this later coat that was in official use during the early days of the Settlement for the various seals and chops; and it heads each number of the printed *Government Gazette* (E.C.R., vol. 730), which was issued for the first time on Friday, the 1st January 1858. In the following year it was replaced by the Royal Arms, for India passed to the control of the Crown in November 1858, chiefly as a result of the Indian Mutiny.

Singapore is remarkably deficient in heraldic decoration. Woolner's statue of Raffles, moved to the Town Hall site just before the Centenary, bears on the plinth a bronze shield of Raffles's arms impaling those of his wife. As there depicted, the *crest* is: out of an Eastern crown or, a griffin's head purple gorged gemel or; and the *coat*: or, on an eagle displayed double-headed gules an Eastern crown of the first. A chief vert charged with two oval medallions in pale argent, one bearing Arabic characters and the other a dagger in fesse proper blade wavy point to dexter. The whole impaling: per chevron argent and sable, a chevron ermine between three talbots heads erased proper. Whether this was a correct grant has not been ascertained, but *Papworth's Armorial* (1874) gives Sir Stamford the same coat, except

for a field erminois instead of or ; and also quotes a coat, which substitutes a cross-crosslet fitchy or, for the two medallions, as being that of the Rev. Thomas Raffles of Liverpool (1788-1863). Burke's *Landed Gentry* gives the reverend gentleman's coat as being that of the whole family. Another public shield is one which appears in colour, above the approaches to the bridge built by P. and W. Maclellan in 1868, and known as Cavenagh Bridge. It is : azure, a lion passant or between three crescents argent ; impaling : sable a chevron between three covered cups argent. The *crest* is a wheatsheaf within a crescent or ; and the *motto* : " Pax et Copia." *Papworth* gives these coats as being those of Cavanagh and Warcup respectively.

The Church monuments are also much lacking in heraldic interest ; but there is a fine brass in St. Andrew's Cathedral, to the memory of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Charles Bullen Hugh Mitchell, R.M.L.I., who died on the 7th December 1899, during his governorship of the Straits Settlements. The *blazon* is : sable, a chevron gules between three masles or ; the *crest* being : a sprig of wheat proper ; and the *motto* : " Sapiens qui assiduus." The coat is not quoted in *Papworth*, but it much resembles one which is assigned to the family of Mitchael of Alderstoun, Scotland.

Mention of the Church recalls that the See of Singapore, being a corporate body, must needs possess an official seal. The one now in use is an armorial one : " Argent a saltire gules "—an appropriation which F6x-Davies, in his *Book of Public Arms*, pronounces to be " of no authority." The better course would be either to obtain a grant, or else to adopt a non-heraldic device for the seal. The coat above mentioned belongs to the family of Fitzgerald, and the conventional coat of St. Andrew (azure a saltire argent) is already assigned to the Bishopric of St. Andrew's, though it appears on a shield outside the gate of St. Andrew's Mission School in Singapore.

It is not many years since the emblems of the Colony

were themselves legalised. The first *public seal* of the Colony after its transfer to the Colonial Office was issued by the Secretary of State (the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos) on the 13th November 1867. It consisted of the Royal Arms with three smaller shields: one of a tower and lion passant guardant, for Singapore; a betel-nut tree for Penang; and a sprig of oil-tree *Kruing* proper for Malacca. These arms were entirely unofficial as far as any heraldic authority was concerned. The Secretary of State therefore suggested in 1905, and again in 1909, that the Colony should apply for a grant. In consequence, an achievement was assigned by a Royal Warrant dated the 25th March 1911; and the *blazon* is as follows: quarterly, the first quarter gules issuant from the base a tower proper on the battlements thereof a lion passant guardant or; the second quarter argent on a mount an areca-nut palm tree proper; the third quarter also argent, a sprig of the oil-tree *Kruing* proper; the fourth quarter azure in base on waves of the sea in front of a representation of the sun rising behind a mountain, a sailing-yacht in full sail to the sinister all proper; and for the *crest*: on a wreath of the colours a demi-lion rampant guardant supporting in the paws a staff proper there on plying to the sinister a banner azure charged with three imperial crowns. This coat practically follows the local suggestion, except that the hideous realism of the "Labuan" quarter has been substituted for the reduplication of the dignified and symbolic first quarter. This new coat has not, up to the present, been made use of for the decoration of any public building, public seal, coin, postage stamp, or other recognised purpose.

There is, however, a *badge* which has for years been officially used in the Straits Settlements, and must have received the sanction of the Admiralty at some time or another: on a lozenge fesswise gules, a pall reversed argent surmounted by three imperial crowns one and two or. The British Blue Ensign, when charged in the fly with this badge, forms the official "Colonial ensign"

used by all Government vessels afloat ; and it seems a pity that official recognition was not accorded to it by the Heralds' College at the time when the arms were granted in 1911. In his *Book of Public Arms*, Fox-Davies refers to it as a "curious coat of arms formerly in general use for the Colony," but no record of its use as a coat of arms can be traced locally.

While on the subject of flags, it may be noted that, in the great port of Singapore, with shipping arrivals which total twenty or more ships daily, there are two national flags which are frequently to be seen, although but rarely met with outside her waters. These are the flags of *Sarawak* and *Siam*.

The former is a yellow flag embellished with a parti-coloured cross of black and red, known in heraldic parlance as : "or, a cross per pale sable and gules." It is an adaptation of the Brooke arms, and was granted to his country by Sir James Brooke, K.C.B., first Rajah of Sarawak, on the 21st September 1848. The grant was duly reported, on the 14th March 1849, to Lord Palmerston, and the approval of the British Government was conveyed to Sir James on the 20th of the following June.

The mercantile flag of *Siam* has for years consisted of a red ground bearing a white elephant in the centre. Owing to the increasing trade of Siam and the difficulties of distinguishing the flag at any distance, it was determined to alter it, and a law was passed on the 21st November 1916, which changed the national ensign to a red field with two white horizontal stripes. This came into force on the 1st January 1917. Later in that year Siam joined the Great Powers and declared war on Germany. To celebrate the occasion it was thought fitting to add another colour to the youthful flag of the nation. By a law dated the 28th September 1917 this was given effect to, and the central portion between the horizontal white lines was changed to blue. The flag as now in use might therefore be blazoned : "Gules, a fesse azure accosted by two bars argent." This did not appear in

the *Straits Settlements Gazette*, and thus silently and unheralded a new national mercantile flag came into being.

So far, the heraldic and not the archæological notes have been touched on. As a matter of fact, evidences of Singapore's existence, prior to the advent of Sir Stamford Raffles, are of the most meagre description. There are only two antiquities : a tomb found in the jungle of Fort Canning Hill in 1819 and a fragmentary monolith which once stood at the mouth of the Singapore River.

Singapore was visited by Mr. Crawford on the 21st January 1822, when *en route* to Siam. His diary for the 4th February contains the following remarks : " On the stony point which forms the western side of the entrance of the salt creek, on which the modern town of Singapore is building, there was discovered, two years ago, a tolerably hard block of sandstone, with an inscription upon it. This I examined early this morning. The stone, in shape, is a rude mass, and formed of the one-half of a great nodule broken into two nearly equal parts by artificial means ; for the two portions now face each other, separated at the base by a distance of not more than two feet and a half, and reclining opposite to each other at an angle of about forty degrees. It is upon the inner surface of the stone that the inscription is engraved. The workmanship is far ruder than anything of the kind that I have seen in Java or India ; and the writing, perhaps from time, in some degree, but more from the natural decomposition of the rock, so much obliterated as to be quite illegible as a composition. Here and there, however, a few letters seem distinct enough. The character is rather round than square. It is probably the Pali, or religious character used by the followers of Buddha, and of which abundant examples are to be found in Java and Sumatra ; while no monuments exist in these countries in their respective vernacular alphabets."

The following is the story of its discovery, taken from the *Hikayat Abdullah* :

"At the end of the point there was another rock found among the brushwood ; it was smooth, of square form, covered with a chiselled inscription which no one could read, as it had been worn away by water for how many thousands of years who can tell ? As soon as it was discovered people of all races crowded round it. The Hindoos said it was Hindoo writing, the Chinese that it was Chinese. I went, among others, with Mr. Raffles and the Rev. Mr. Thompson. I thought from the appearance of the raised part of the letters that it was Arabic, but I could not read it, as the stone had been subject to the rising and falling tides for such a long time. Many clever people came, bringing flour and lard, which they put in the hollows and then lifted out in the hope of getting the shape of the letters. Some again brought a black fluid, which they poured over the stone, but without success. Ingenuity was exhausted in trying to decipher the inscription. The stone remained there till lately. Mr. Raffles said the inscription was Hindoo, because the Hindoo race was the earliest that came to the Archipelago, first to Java and then to Bali and Siam, the inhabitants of which places are all descended from the Hindoos. But not a soul in Singapore could say what the inscription was. During the time Mr. Bonham was Governor of the three Settlements this stone was broken up by the Engineer. This is very much to be regretted, and was in my opinion highly improper ; perhaps the gentleman did it from ignorance or stupidity, and now, from his conduct, we can never know the nature of this ancient writing."

The tenth Annal of the *Sijara Malayu* contains a mythological account of the origin of these stones, and, in addition to these early references, there are several later ones.

Dr. Montgomerie said that the rock was brought to light by some Bengal sailors employed by Captain Flint, R.N., the first Master Attendant. There is a paper also, by Mr. James Prinsep, a Calcutta antiquarian, published in 1837, which states that Dr. William Bland, of H.M.S. *Wolf*, had at last made a facsimile of all that remained in any way perceptible on the rocky fragment.

It was a rock, said Dr. Bland, of coarse red sandstone, about ten feet high, two to five feet thick, and nine or ten feet in length. The surface was an irregular square, with a space of about thirty-two square feet, with a raised edge all round. There had been about fifty lines of inscription, the greater part illegible. He says he made frequent pilgrimages to the rock, and describes how he made as accurate a copy as possible of the marks on the stone.

During the governorship of Mr. Bonham (1837-43) the stone was blasted, notwithstanding the protests of Colonel Low, the Engineer. The latter crossed the river from his office after the explosion, and selected such fragments as had letters on them, and these were chiselled into the shape of slabs. One piece was presented to Governor Bonham, and three pieces are said to have been presented by Colonel Low to the Asiatic Society in Bengal, where it was conjectured that the inscription was a record of some Javanese triumph at a period anterior to the conversion of the Malays to Mohammedanism.

The Bengal Government asked Governor Butterworth (1843-55) to send any legible fragments. The only piece was that which had been given to Mr. Bonham, and Colonel Butterworth replied to Bengal: "The only remaining portion of the stone you mention, except what Colonel Low may have, I have found lying in the verandah of the Treasury at Singapore, where it was used as a seat by the Sepoy guard and persons waiting to transact business. I lost no time in sending it to my house; but alas, not before the inscription was nearly erased. Such as the fragment was then, however, it is now, for I have preserved the stone with much care, and shall have pleasure in sending it for your museum, having failed to establish one, as I hoped to have done, in Singapore."

The stone fragment was forwarded to J. W. Laidley, Esq., the Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, by the barque *Rob Roy*, with a covering letter from Mr.

Church, the Resident Councillor of Singapore, dated the 18th February 1848.

Mr. Laidley is said to have written a paper about it, as well as about the three other pieces sent by Colonel Low.

Various papers on the subject of this stone were afterwards collected by Sir William Maxwell, and published in 1886 in the first volume of *Miscellaneous Papers in Trubner's Oriental Series*, which was issued in two volumes by the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Buckley).

During 1918 the Committee of Management of the Raffles Museum and Library moved in the matter of the return of the one or more fragments to Singapore as being a more fitting home for them ; and the Calcutta Museum has kindly agreed to send such as there are to Singapore, on an extended loan.

The tomb on Fort Canning Hill is supposed to be connected with a remote line of Singapore Rajahs, who are dealt with elsewhere in this volume, and may therefore be dismissed with a brief extract from the diary of Mr. Crawford during his first visit to Singapore in 1822 :

“ The only remains of antiquity at Singapore, besides the stone . . . are contained on the hill before alluded to. After being cleared by us of the extensive forest which covered it, it is now clothed with a fine grassy sward, and forms the principal beauty of the new Settlement. The greater part of the west and northern side of the *hill* is covered with the remains of the foundations of buildings, some composed of baked brick of good quality. Among these ruins, the most distinguished are those seated on a square terrace, of about forty feet to a side, near the summit of the hill. On the edge of this terrace we find fourteen large blocks of sandstone ; which, from the hole in each, had probably been the pedestals of as many wooden posts which supported the building. . . . Another terrace, on the north declivity of the hill, nearly of the same size, is said to have been the burying-place of Iskandar Shah, King of Singapore. This is the prince whom tradition describes as having been driven from his throne by the Javanese, in the year

1252 of the Christian era, and who died at Malacca, not converted to the Mohammedan religion, in 1274 ; so that the story is probably apocryphal. Over the supposed tomb of Iskandar a rude structure has been raised, since the formation of the new Settlement, to which Mohammedans, Hindoos, and Chinese equally resort to do homage. It is remarkable that many of the fruit trees cultivated by the ancient inhabitants of Singapore are still existing, on the eastern side of the hill, after a supposed lapse of near six hundred years. Here we find the durian, the rambutan, the duku, the shaddock, and other fruit trees of great size ; and all so degenerated, except the two first, that the fruit is scarcely to be recognised.

“Among the ruins are found various descriptions of pottery, some of which is Chinese and some native. Fragments of this are in great abundance. In the same situation have been found Chinese brass coins of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The earliest is of the Emperor Ching-chung, of the dynasty of Sung-chao, who died in the year 967 ; another is of the reign of Jin-chung, of the same dynasty, who died in 1067 ; and a third, of that of Shin-chung, his successor, who died in 1085. The discovery of these coins affords some confirmation of the relations which fix the establishment of the Malays at Singapore in the twelfth century. It should be remarked, in reference to this subject, that the coins of China were in circulation among all the nations of the Indian Islands before they adopted the Mohammedan religion, or had any intercourse with Europeans.”

The Museum and Library Committee have recently brought the subject to the notice of the Government with a view to the removal of the sordid surroundings of the tomb, the erection of a mausoleum and cloister, and the beautifying of the approaches to this interesting though mysterious relic of the distant past.

CHAPTER XI

THE PORT OF SINGAPORE

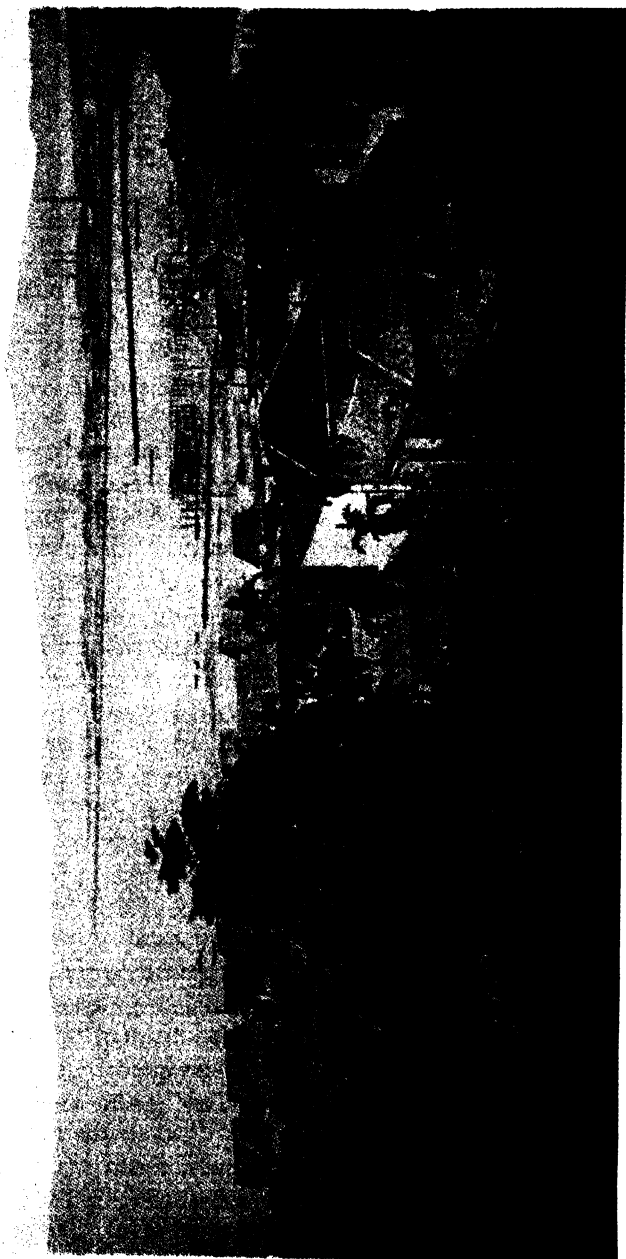
By Walter Makepeace

EARLY DAYS

THE early records of Singapore deal, naturally, very largely with ships, their building and repair, and their provisioning. Boat Quay was the first home of shipwrights—near where the Marine Police Station now stands—and there were three shipwrights established there in 1847, by which time Teluk Ayer had begun to be used; for we find “J. Clunis, Teluk Ayer,” Clunis’s name frequently recurring in the later years; he was also the first pilot. D. Lyon had an establishment at Kampong Glam in 1858, and one at Tanjong Rhoo in 1860, by which time William Cloughton’s Dock at New Harbour was at work.

Cloughton was an old East Indian skipper, and he signs for himself and *per pro.* for Burleigh. It is said that Cloughton was trading to Singapore in a barque, and wishing to repair and dock his vessel, selected the piece of ground referred to in the lease of 1855. The large sums of money referred to later returned with golden wings to the promoters.

Some part of the history of the New Harbour venture is shown by a deed of partnership dated the 24th December 1861, by which William Paterson, William Cloughton, on the one part, and William Wemyss Ker, Henry Melville Simons, Joseph Burleigh (of Calcutta), William Mactaggart, Joaquim d’Almeida, José d’Almeida and Syed Abdullah bin Omar al Junied, agreed to form a company to take over the concern upon which the three



THE BEGINNINGS OF TANJONG PAGAR.

first-named had "laid out large sums of money in the purchase and construction of a Patent Slip and Dock at the New Harbour." The original deed is recited to have been dated the 2nd April 1855, between them and the Datu Temenggong Daing Ibrahim Sri Maharajah of Singapore for a ninety-nine years' lease. A seven years' partnership was concluded, 130 equal shares: H. M. Simons, 32; W. Paterson, 29; W. Cloughton, 16; Joseph Burleigh, 13; W. W. Ker, 10; Syed Abdullah, 20; W. Mac-taggart, 4; the d'Almeidas, three each; Capital 130,000 Spanish dollars; Paterson, Simons and Co. to be General Managers, Agents, and Treasurers, and William Cloughton Manager. The deed contains the equivalent of the Articles of Association.

Ship-chandlers and victuallers and provisioners preceded the builders, Whampoa (to H.M. Navy) and five others appearing in 1840. Twenty years later they were eleven strong, well known among them in the town history being G. J. Dare and Co. and von Hartwig and Co.—all close in Flint Street and Battery Road. Most of them did sail-making too, but there were also professionals who did nothing else than attend to the wings of the then prevailing craft.

As late as 1871 Buyers and Robb were building ships at Teluk Ayer, launching in that year the *Bintang*, a forty-ton steamer, the engines of which were built by Riley Hargreaves and the christening ceremony carried out by Mrs. Riley. Ships almost without number have been built and launched since that time, including the *Sea Mew*, Government steamer, by Riley Hargreaves in 1903, concerning which Sir Frank Swettenham endorsed the policy: "it must be borne in mind that work for the Straits should be given in the Straits, if costs and workmanship are equal," in the words "keep yer ain sea guts for yer ain sea maw."

Among the other worthies who helped to build up the port of Singapore were Mark Moss, John Baxter, E. M. Smith, John Blair, and Charles Wishart.

In the olden days, like Pilot Burrows and E. M. Smith,

many men coming here as shipmasters settled down to business. Wise men, seeing the possibilities of the place, came ashore and anchored for life. One typical case is that of Mark Moss, who came out as master of his own vessel in 1838 and lived here, with an occasional trip home, till he died in 1872. When he was in the *Black Duke*, in 1840, they were attacked by pirates, and Moss jumped overboard and clung to the rudder, and, in spite of losing an ear and sustaining sundry cuts, kept his hold till Captain Keppel appeared in the *Dido*, just in time to save him. Captain I. Moss, his son, is still in Singapore. Of the same date are the sea experiences of Captain Ross, whose son, J. Dill Ross, has recounted them, and many other reminiscences of the 'Seventies to 'Nineties, in his entertaining book *Sixty Years' Travel and Adventure in the Far East* (Hutchinson, 1911).

John Baxter appears in the 1867 Directory as a Marine Surveyor (there is also a James Baxter, who may have been the Inner Guard, bearing the inscription plate at the Masonic laying of the foundation-stone of Raffles Light, 1854). John Baxter and John Lawrence Kirby started business as marine surveyors for Lloyd's in 1860, and John Baxter died here in 1892, leaving money to the Presbyterian Church to build the Manse in Cavenagh Road. He was a well-known character, and is referred to in W. H. Read's book *Play and Politics*. A straightforward Scotsman, with a thorough knowledge of his business, nothing would persuade him to sanction even the deviation of an eighth of an inch from what he considered the strict line of duty. By trade a shipwright, having built ships in Siam for Tan Kim Cheng, and as a partner in Tivendale and Co., "Jock" was the best judge of a wooden sailing vessel in the East. He knew the history of every vessel that traded to the Straits, knew her strong and weak points, and made a point of inspecting every new ship that came. (In this, his partner and successor, Mr. Charles Fittock, was equally facile). On one occasion an iron steamer had to dock at Singapore to replace plates damaged by her having recently been



CAPTAIN JOHN BLAIR.

ashore, and the captain called Baxter's attention to some little straining top-side. Jock replied that that could not be taken into account, as the damage had been done when the steamer first came out with a cargo of rails and met with bad weather. A very faithful servant of Lloyd's.

E. M. Smith was Official Assignee in 1867, also a director of the Singapore Ice Works, and proprietor of the *Singapore Daily Times* (John Cameron, Editor). The combination did not prevent him becoming Manager of Tanjong Pagar Dock Co., for he was an able man, and did much to develop the resources of that concern. He and Cloughton, of New Harbour, had great tussles. E. M. Smith started life as a master mariner, commanding ships sailing out of Singapore from 1850 to 1861, settling ashore in the latter year. He left the Dock Company in 1881 and retired to England, having lost one fortune by the failure of John Cameron and Co., which caused him to join the Dock. He came out from England in 1886 to look after some investments, and died in St. Thomas's Walk in that year, aged sixty-four.

John Blair, "as honest good a Scotsman as ever left the land of cakes" (contemporary history), came from Alloa, and was a master mariner by profession. He succeeded E. M. Smith as Manager of Tanjong Pagar, and under his able management—like most of the pioneer dock people, he believed in seeing to everything himself—the Company prospered. He is accorded a high place among the builders of Singapore, and his death at home, shortly after his retirement at a comparatively early age, was a matter of sincere regret to all, and some who thought of him as somewhat of a martinet will read with satisfaction, from the authority quoted above: "Any tale I could tell of him would merely be some act of kindness done in a quiet unpretending way, which he would have been the last to wish made public." He is buried at Cupar-Fife, where Mrs. Blair still lives. Mr. F. Younger Blair, a partner of Boustead and Co., and Mrs. Drummond, wife of Mr. D. Drummond, of the same firm, are children of Captain John Blair.

CHARLES WISHART

Charles Wishart was born the 7th May 1835, and died, at the age of seventy, on the 26th November 1905. He came East at the early age of twenty, and spent some time in Borneo. About 1860 Cloughton picked him as a good man for his New Harbour Docks, and Cloughton always chose his men with care and made them work hard. By 1867 he had become Superintending Shipwright, and Robert Allan (later of Riley Hargreaves) was an engineer under him. He then lived on Teluk Blanga Road, but on becoming Manager a few years later, he went to live at Kingston House, overlooking the old dock, on a hill about where the Power Station now stands. That house has many pleasant recollections for Singapore of the 'Seventies and 'Eighties, for Mr. and Mrs. Wishart's family of boys and girls was a great attraction. The late Mrs. Joyce, Mrs. Dashwood Saunders, Mrs. Kenneth Stevens, and Mrs. Cleaver (now of Penang) are all "Wishart" girls, who took an active part in music, acting, and sport in Singapore. Charles Wishart was a great character, and used to be down at the dock superintending the work early and late, attended by a man with a big umbrella, who in time got used to his master's energetic language. His whole interest was in his work, and tradition has it that he and Captain Darke, the pilot, never went across the river to the Tanglin end of the town oftener than once in ten years.

SIR HARRY KEPPEL

The Honourable Sir Henry Keppel first came to Singapore on the 5th September 1834; he was last here at the beginning of 1903. It was the Naning (Malacca) Expedition that first brought him to Malaya as a Lieutenant in the *Magicienne*, twenty-four guns, which anchored off Malacca on the 6th June 1831, and Keppel was sent in charge of a small force to blockade the mouth of the Linggi river. He narrowly escaped being a second Rajah Brooke, from the offer of the Naning



CHARLES WISHART.

Rajah as told in his book *A Sailor's Life under Four Sovereigns*. Keppel went on to Batavia, Mr. Bonham going on the *Magicienne* to the same place. Keppel's great work against the pirates of Borneo was done during the cruise of the *Dido*, which passed through Singapore for China in May 1842, and then returned at the end of the year, again going to China and returning in February 1844. It was during this commission of the beautiful *Dido* that Captain Keppel made so many friends, and it was in her that, as a small midshipman, Sir Charles Johnson Brooke, the late Rajah of Sarawak, went to his future kingdom. Keppel was Umpire and W. H. Read Secretary of a Regatta held in 1843, an account of which is given in the latter's book. In that year the officers of the *Dido* played a cricket match against Singapore, six years after Sunday cricket on the Esplanade had been objected to.

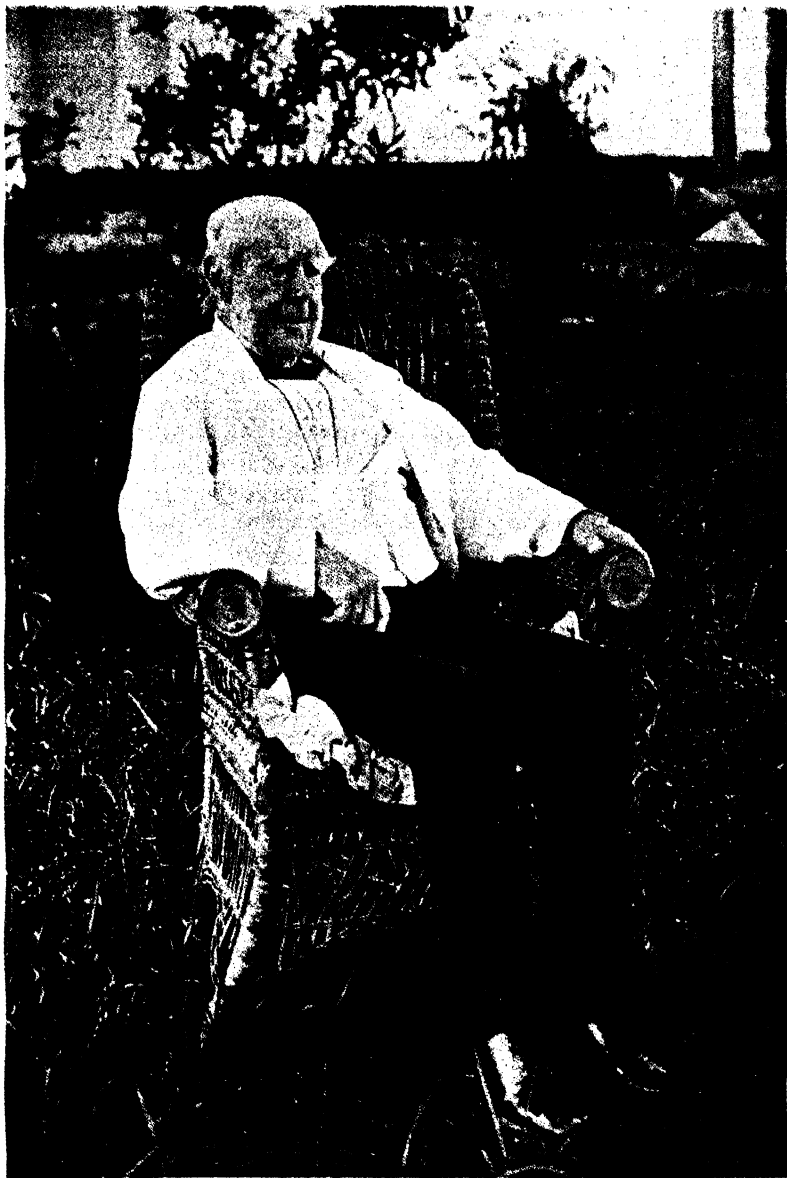
Keppel's *Narrative of the Expedition to Borneo of H.M.S. "Dido" for the suppression of piracy; with extracts from the Journal of James Brooke, Esquire, of Sarawak*, was published in 1846, and long extracts were given from it in the *Singapore Free Press* of the time. Keppel returned to Singapore in 1848 in the forty-four-gun frigate the *Meander*, and was supporter for Rajah Brooke when he was invested with the K.C.B. on the 22nd August. A few months before that he explored the New Harbour, and found the Meander Shoal with the ship's keel; the *Meander* was the first ship to be repaired in Keppel Harbour, as it was re-named in the Admiral's honour on the 19th April 1900, when he was the guest of Sir Alexander Swettenham at Government House. Keppel was thus the father of the huge works and wharves which now line the shores of the narrow strait, and if his advice had been followed, the Admiralty Dock and Wharf would not have been on Pulo Brani. In 1849 the Captain was entertained at a dinner by his friends the merchants, in the Masonic Hall, of which the W. M. and Brethren allowed the use as a mark of personal respect and public esteem being paid

to a distinguished member of their order. Mr. J. Purvis was in the chair, and the toast of Keppel was received with deafening applause and "nine times nine"—such sturdy fellows at the board were the early Singaporeans. The hope expressed that he would return as Commander-in-Chief of the China Station was actually realised on the 31st March 1867. Keppel, with the same navigating officer, brought H.M.S. *Raleigh* through New Harbour on the 19th March 1857, flying his broad pennant as Commodore, and showing full faith in the accuracy of his previous survey. At home, in 1866, Keppel worked with Sir James Brooke in the interests of the Transfer, and there was some talk of his succeeding Sir Orfeur Cavenagh. He was present at the inauguration of the new Government in the Town Hall on Monday, the 1st April 1867, concerning which Buckley writes, after describing the haughty entrance of Sir Harry Ord, the first Governor: "Then another salute was heard, and a very short man, in an Admiral's uniform, his breast covered with medals (there was not room to put them all on), came up the verandah on the side facing the Esplanade, and, as he walked into the room through the last side-door, taking off his hat with a bow to the company, with his smiling face, bright eyes, and long eyelashes, everyone stood up delighted to see him." The "little Admiral" charmed the hearts of all, from Queen Victoria to the lowest of her subjects who knew him.

The gallant Admiral came back to Singapore in 1903, and was at Mr. Buckley's Children's Play in January, being delighted and delighting all by his charm. He went to stay in Johore, and, sad to relate, had his medals and orders stolen by a servant of the late Dato Meldrum; but his luck was still in, and he recovered all his property.

• WILLIAM CLOUGHTON

"A place of honour should certainly be given to William Cloughton, master mariner, commonly known as Captain Cloughton, as the builder of the first dry



SIR HARRY KEPPEL, DURING HIS LAST VISIT TO SINGAPORE.

dock at Singapore, and about whom more funny stories were told by old Singaporeans than perhaps any other early worker. He was born and brought up at Hull, and first saw the light of day in the year 1811. He seems to have been brought up very strictly as a member of the Church of England, his parents being well-to-do. In Singapore he gave as his excuse for not going to Church the old one of having been there so much in his youth that his attendance would still show a better average than most men. At the same time he had a great respect for the Church, and paid regularly for a seat in St. Andrew's, of the whereabouts of which he had no notion, but said when asked that he was sure it was in a good position, as a friend, Mr. Paterson, had chosen it for him. About the age of fourteen Cloughton decided to free himself from the restraints of home life, and ran away to sea. He did not return for over fifty years, when he revisited Hull to see if he could find any trace of his parents. On his arrival at the town he found the clock in the church which he had known as a boy at Kingston stopped at a certain hour. He made a note of the time in his pocket-book, and went to a shop to ask why it had stopped. The man could not say ; it had never stopped before. Near by he passed another church which he had known, and noticed that that clock had stopped also. Later he found the Family Bible, and from it learned that both his parents were dead, his father dying at the hour indicated by one clock, and his mother at the time when the other clock had stopped. Whatever may have been the result of this coincidence, he was believed never in his life to inaugurate any new business or sign anything of importance on a Friday."

The above is taken from a MS., in Mr. C. B. Buckley's handwriting, among a bundle of other sketches of Old Singaporeans written by Mr. W. G. Gulland, of Paterson, Simons and Co., which Mr. Buckley had apparently intended to publish under the title of *Some Singapore Worthies: Tales of Old Times, written by Old Singaporeans some years ago and now committed to print for the first time.*" The date is "Singapore 191—," ten years after the publication of the *Anecdotal History*. They never

were printed, but the MS. has furnished many curious and interesting yarns about old Singapore. Mr. Gulland continues the story of Cloughton, and runs on to the New Harbour interestingly :

“ Already broken down in health, he did not live long after his home-going, and died in March 1874, in a nursing home at Sydenham, and lies at rest in Norwood Cemetery. When Cloughton first became known to Singapore he was trading between Calcutta and China in the opium brigs belonging to Apcar & Co., the well-known Armenian house. For a time he sailed as chief officer, with Captain Durham, of Calcutta fame, and afterwards with his own command. I have heard him say that the last ship he commanded was a retired man-of-war, and carried a crew of a hundred natives, all told. Stately vessels were these old country ships, and many a valuable cargo they carried between India and China. Going backwards and forwards, he saw that a dry dock was wanted at Singapore, and decided, with the aid of his friends and his own savings, to construct one, for which purpose he settled in Singapore about the year 1854, choosing his site in New Harbour, just opposite Pulo Hantu. He would never allow the wisdom of his choice to be discussed : all argument on the subject was silenced by the statement that as he had the first pick, he was not such a fool as not to select the best position. In 1862, as I first knew him, Cloughton was a short, thick-set man of about fifty, with a heavy, clean-shaven face. Of a morning he used to walk about in a light and airy costume, which, as far as could be seen, consisted of a pair of white calico pyjamas and an ordinary shirt, the ends of which, instead of being tucked in, hung down outside ; a pith hat and stout stick completed the get-up, in which he would sometimes stroll for miles. He seemed to take little or nothing before his breakfast, at about eleven, except sundry cups of tea, which were brought to him as he walked about in the dock premises ; the man held the saucer and Cloughton merely lifted the cup to his lips. One morning, without saying a word, as he put down the cup he gave the man a slap on the ear, which was taken quite quietly, and on being asked why he struck the man, he said that the tea was stone cold,

and that the man would quite understand the reason why. After breakfast he would have a nap, and between three and four start for town, dressed, if the day was wet, in a suit of navy blue cloth, but if fine he would have on the shiniest of Calcutta-made patent leather shoes, the whitest of duck trousers, no waistcoat, but a spotless white cotton shirt, with turned-down collar and black silk bow, the straight-cut coat belonging to the naval blue suit, the buttons on which, by the way, were of gold decorated not with an anchor, which would have looked like aping the Royal Navy, but with the rose of old England embossed thereon, while a black silk hat covered his head.

"On fine days he journeyed to town, a distance of some three miles, in an old-fashioned sort of a victoria with a great high leather front, on the top of which the driver was perched in a small seat, fortunately for him a long way out of reach, as Cloughton sat in the body of the chariot, or he might have had many a cuff on the side of the head when the steering was not to his master's liking. The other syce stood behind on the usual foot-board that eastern carriages are fitted with, holding in his hand a horse-fly brush. The motive power for some considerable time was supplied by two red and white piebalds; altogether, when seen it was a turn-out to be remembered. A tale is told of how one night Cloughton dined out, and went to sleep on the way back. As none of the native servants dare waken him, the chariot was drawn up at the front door of his house, the piebalds taken out, and the Dock Director left to slumber on peacefully till morning, guarded by the dock policemen. When day dawned he alighted, donned his usual costume, and started the day as if nothing out of the common had happened. As a rule Cloughton would not dine out; he used to say: 'What is the use? Far better chance your cook and staff at home; it is just as good.' Usually he would of an evening be the last to leave town, staying on at McAlister's as long as he could get anyone to talk to, only returning to the dock in time for dinner, at which the chances were he would be joined by some of the captains whose ships were being repaired. After dinner the entertainment consisted of Manila cigars, with brandies and sodas,

and might last for hours if the conversation flowed freely.

"If any of the visitors were musical, so much the better; the Director's grand piano was called into requisition, and the evening would be all the more jovial. Cloughton had a black factotum known by the name of Babo, who had sailed with him as serang (boatswain), and through whom his orders were conveyed to the various native workmen employed at the dock. Important as Babo was at home, it was at auction sales that he appeared to most advantage. The auctioneers always welcomed his arrival with delight, for they knew he would have a marked catalogue, no limits, and dare not go home without having secured what he had orders to buy. Tivendale had been a shipwright with a yard at Sandy Point. This, when he died, was put up at auction, and Cloughton conceived the idea of buying it with a view to lessening competition. On the day of the sale Cloughton arrived, as usual somewhat late, accompanied by Babo, and looking round the room he saw a lot of jobbing shipwrights who were bidding very cautiously; so Cloughton, addressing them, said: 'Gentlemen, when the late Mr. Tivendale was alive, you were counted his friends, I his enemy; but now that he is dead we will see who is his friend; Babo, you black rascal, bid.' The auctioneer knew he was safe, and Babo's bidding soon put a very different appearance on the sale. Cloughton tried to work the yard, but in the long run had to shut it up, merely putting in a couple of watchmen, who used to attend at the town office once a month to draw their pay.

"One day, on arriving, Cloughton saw these men waiting. He said not a word, but after depositing the black silk hat, turned round, walked quietly back and kicked them down stairs. On being asked the reason thereof, he said: 'The——place not paying a cent and the fellows have the face to come and demand pay.' One afternoon a black cloud of smoke was seen going up from Sandy Point, and later on the news reached town that the New Harbour Dock Company's property there was on fire. On Cloughton's arrival he was advised to go out into the front verandah of the office and see what was going on. He returned immediately, merely remark-

ing 'I always expected the —— place would play me that trick.'

"Cloughton could see no beauty in the benefits of competition, and viewed with no favour the formation of the Tanjong Pagar Dock Company in opposition to his own. Most of the Singapore merchants were interested in the new undertaking, among others the B. C. Ltd., from which company a gentleman, rather deliberate in manner and stilted in utterance, one afternoon appeared at the New Harbour town office to see Cloughton about the bill of some ship that happened to be consigned to the B. C. Ltd. He opened the conversation in a somewhat pompous style by stating that the charges were perfectly preposterous. Cloughton, in his usual quick way, immediately replied: 'You think so, do you? Just wait till that —— hole of yours is opened and I will take good care there is no reason for any such complaint,' and off he walked. Left to himself, he would have been as good as his word, for on the morning of the day the said dock was to be opened with a great flourish of trumpets, some wonderment was caused by the sight of Cloughton's chariot, at an early hour, proceeding towards Tanglin. The explanation was, however, that Cloughton was merely on his way to Broadfields to propose that in the *Straits Times* of that afternoon should appear a notice that from that day forward the New Harbour Company would dock vessels free of charge.

"Very exact himself, Cloughton had a great objection to anyone not being equally truthful. He would say: 'If your servant is a thief you can lock up your goods, but a liar you can do nothing with.' There was much to be admired in the character of Cloughton; he had all the good qualities of the old sea salt, and without some of the bad he could not have been the perfect type he was of the class who won for Britannia the rule of the waves. There was nothing mean about the man: his warm heart, love of truth, desire for honesty ever shone through all the bad language, love of harsh discipline and eccentricities of manner, proclaiming the natural goodness of one who must ever take a high place among the builders up of Singapore.

"Just beyond the scene of Cloughton's labour stands,

at the western entrance to New Harbour, a small hill called Bukit Chermin (glass hill), on the top of which, years before the docks existed, William Wemyss Ker built himself a house, from the back verandah of which you look down upon the sea, lying some eighty feet below, like a sheet of glass. If you want to see the view aright, then go visit it, like fair Melrose, by pale moonlight, when the picture presented, lit up by the silver rays of a tropical moon, might be fairy-land. To the left is Blakang Mati, with a solitary palm, like a weird sentinel, standing up here and there to break the sky-line, while Pulo Hantu rises between that and the northern shore of New Harbour. To the right the view is more extended, and an occasional flash of sheet lightning reveals merely the distant horizon where sea and sky meet. In those days no sound disturbed the quiet beauty of the prospect, unless it were the clock of the night-jar or the chant of Malay oarsmen as they drove their swift sampans through the entrance in passing to or from Teluk Blanga.

"Captain the Honourable Harry Keppel may be said to have been the first to make use of the New Harbour, as late in the 'Forties he anchored H.M.S. *Meander* in the placid water, while staying with W. W. Ker at Bukit Chermin, where the second Mrs. Ker lived for nine years without going home. What would the Singapore ladies of to-day think of such a sojourn? We can hardly say, spent entirely in contemplating the beauties of New Harbour, for the Kers used to entertain right royally, and no doubt, what with a young family to look after and a house full of visitors, the good lady's time must have been fully occupied. A kindly, hospitable pair were the late Mr. and Mrs. Ker, with many friends and no enemies.

"About that time the Guthries built and occupied St. James; but fashion decided in favour of Tanglin, and with the exception of the Tumunggong of Johore's many establishments at Teluk Blanga (for the use of himself, his sisters, his cousins, and his aunts), there were no other houses of importance in that district. H.H. the Tumunggong and Mr. Ker used to ride out together of a morning, discussing both business and pleasure. It was to Mr. Ker that the Tumunggong entrusted the first



RAFFLES LIGHTHOUSE.

gutta-percha shipped to Europe ; but neither of them had any idea of what a great part this gum was to play in the future, for without it ocean telegraphy as known to us would not have been possible. Mr. Ker, like many other people, had to dine at houses where the wine was a headache next day. This he very much objected to ; but fortunately the custom of each guest taking his own servant opened a way of escape in going to entertainments where the wine was not above suspicion. His boy had instructions to take enough champagne for the Bukit Chermin party, so that they were able, unknown to their host, to enjoy themselves to the full without fear of the morrow. Mr. Ker used to say : ' If people cannot or will not afford good wine, they should be content to give what is at least wholesome ; good beer is much better than bad champagne.' Mr. Ker had a friend, a fellow Singapore merchant, who in his later years was most generous, and gave away large sums to charities. Whenever old Ker saw his friend's name in any fresh lists of subscriptions he used to remark : ' Poor old —, paying more fire insurance.' ”

PILOTS

Before the use of the “ New Harbour,” pilots must have been needed for the anchorage, and date, no doubt, back to the earliest days. Jacob Clunis, in 1847, combined the occupations of “ blacksmith at Teluk Ayer ” and “ pilot, New Harbour ” ; he was the P. and O. pilot in 1860. In 1869 an attempt was made to enforce compulsory pilotage, but this was defeated by the action of the Straits Settlements Association of London. The pilot service has naturally been recruited from the Mercantile Marine, and the best type of seamen, seeing the possibilities of the place, have left the sea and settled down ashore as pilots.

William Burrows commanded many vessels in the Eastern trade, seldom going west of the Cape of Good Hope, and in 1860 left the schooner *Shanghai* to become a pilot, building a house on Button Island. He had been captain of Cloughton's vessel the *Ascendant*, and Cloughton would have none but smart men on his ships. That

Burrows the pilot should caricature Cloughton, his former owner, was nothing but in accordance with the healthy feuds between the old sea-dogs of the 'Sixties—masterful men they were, but knew how to respect a good seaman. Archibald Skinner was an early Messageries Maritimes pilot, but the best known was his successor, A. C. Bing, a courtly gentleman of the old school, who spoke excellent French and made money ; he died in 1898. William Marshall was P. and O. pilot in 1868, and shipping business had then reached a point of considerable importance, since J. L. Kirby was in business as an "average adjuster," and W. C. Leisk (1857) as a chronometer maker. It is curious that tide-tables were not published till 1885, but the old pilots probably kept their knowledge to themselves. In 1868, when the Pilots Ordinance was passed, there were four pilots licensed for New Harbour. By 1878 there were nine, W. Burrows still the senior, the list including M. H. John, J. C. Davies, A. H. Tilly, H. Crockford, down to the youngest, F. M. Darke. In 1880 the Pilot Club consisted of W. Burrows, A. H. Tilly, and eight other pilots. Later the Singapore Pilots' Association was formed, with its own office at Tanjong Pagar, and a representative on the Pilot Board. Mr. A. Snow, who retired early in 1919, was the doyen of the Association.

END OF VOL. I

